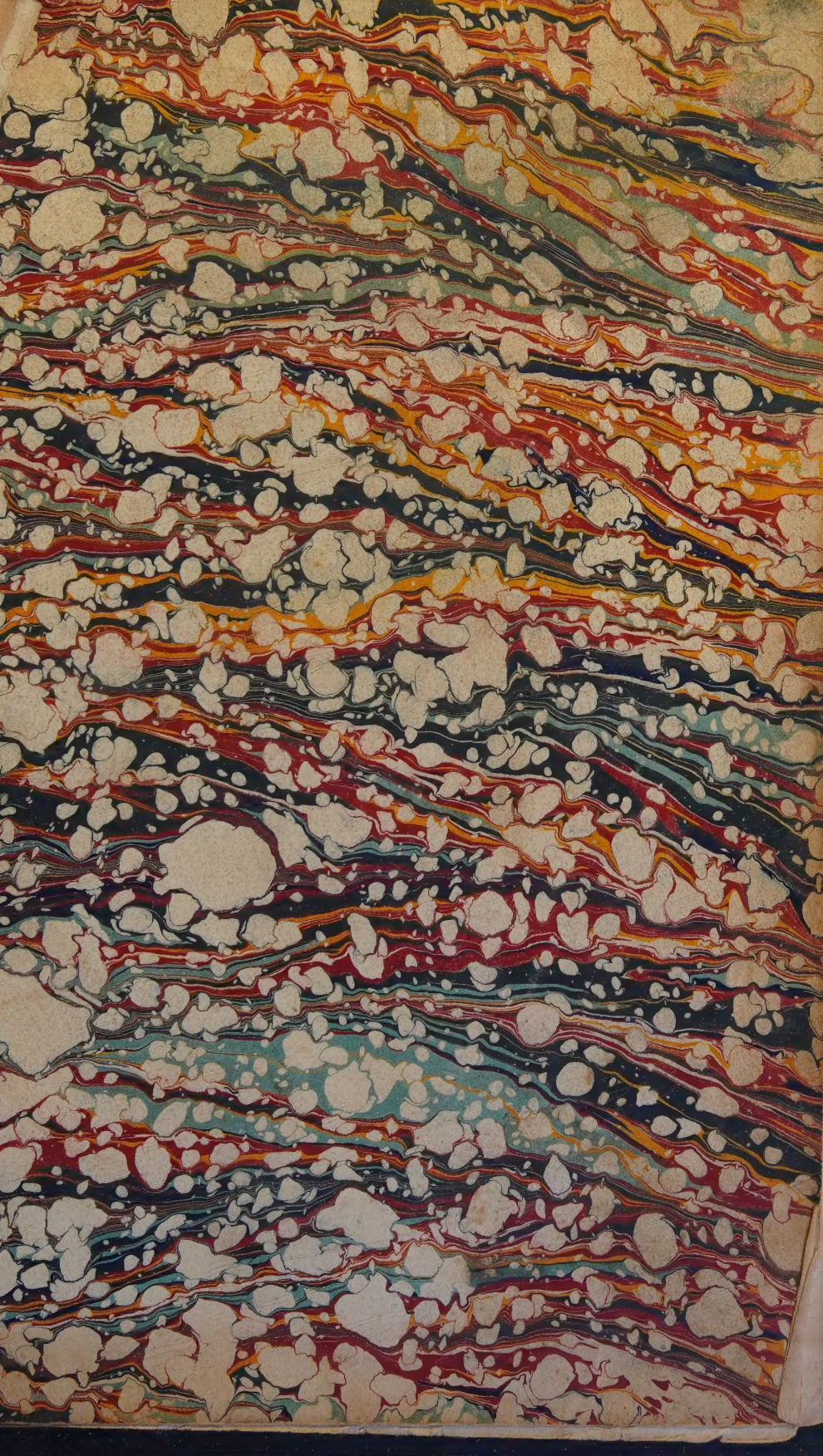

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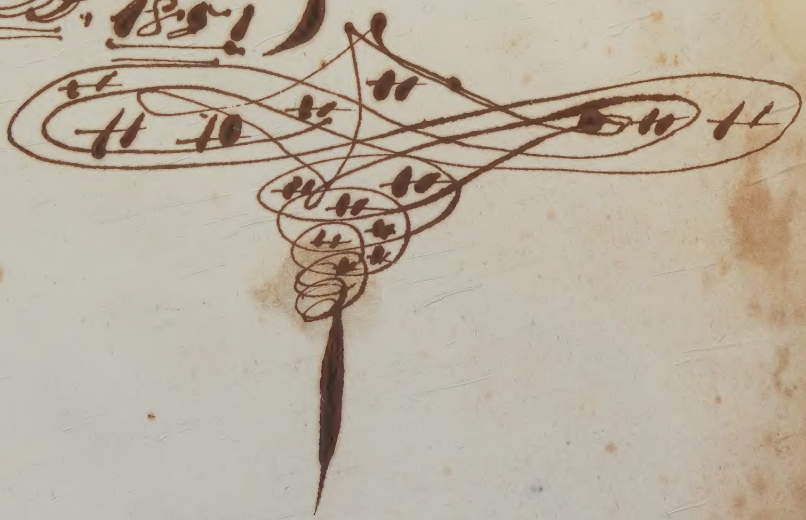

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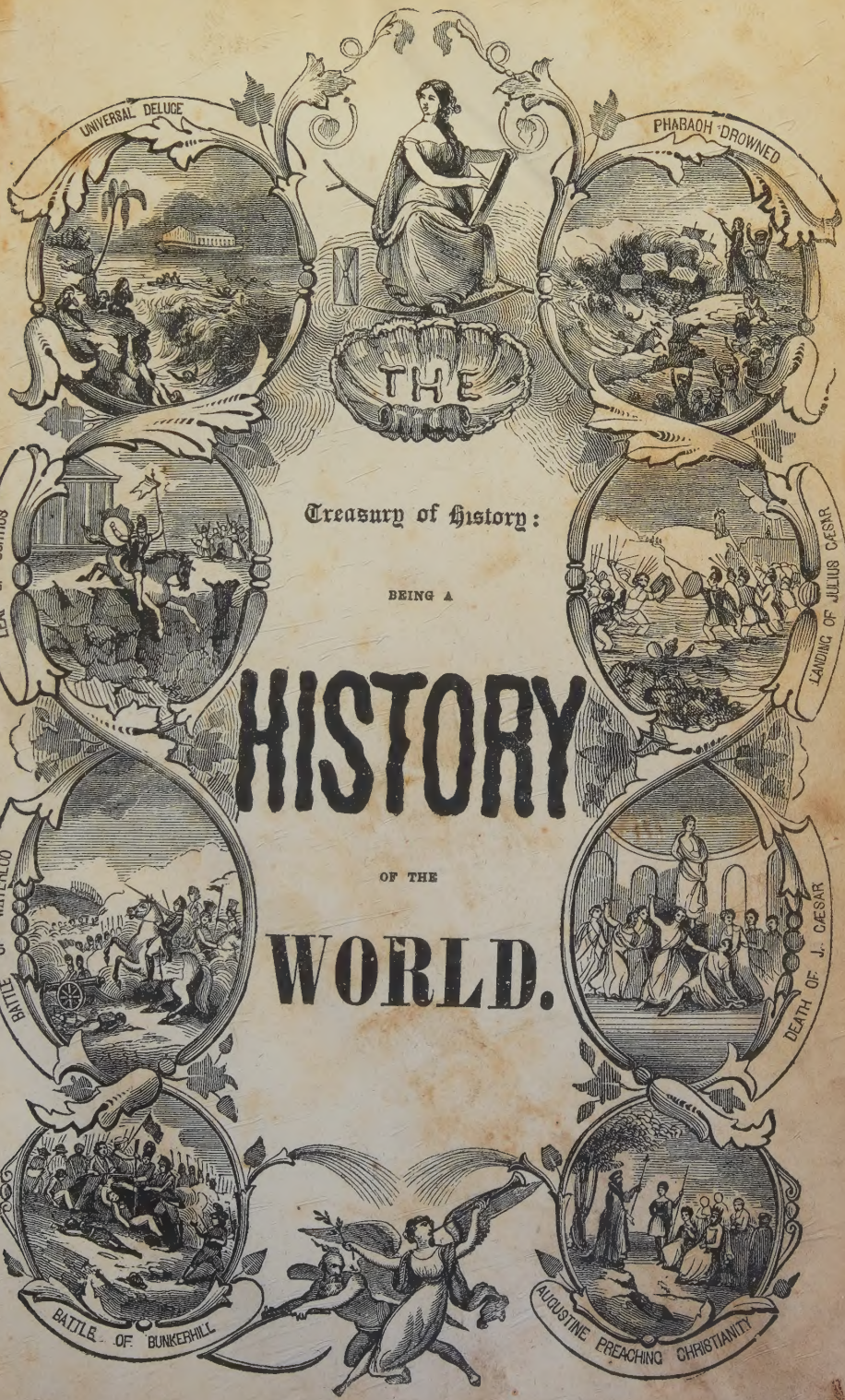

Treasury of History:

BEING A

HISTORY

OF THE

WORLD.

LANDING OF JULIUS CÆSAR.

THE

TREASURY OF HISTORY;

BEING

A HISTORY OF THE WORLD:

COMPRISING

A General History, both Ancient and Modern,

OF

ALL THE PRINCIPAL NATIONS OF THE GLOBE,

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL I.

NEW YORK:
HENRY BILL.
1851.

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1850,
By Henry Bill,
In the Clerk's Office of the District Court for the Southern District of New York.

INTRODUCTION TO THE AMERICAN EDITION.

The republication of this valuable work has been undertaken partly on account of the high favour with which it has been received in England, but chiefly in consideration of its intrinsic value, arising from the felicitous adaptation of the plan to a want that has been long and generally felt, and from the judgment and fidelity manifested in its execution. The idea of giving in a single work, of no very formidable dimensions, and at a price which brings it within the reach of very moderate circumstances, a sufficient outline of the world's whole history, and similar outlines of the history of every nation, is so obviously judicious and appropriate as to require no eulogium. Every person who cares at all for the acquisition of useful knowledge, must desire to possess such a general knowledge of past events, not only in his own country but in all countries, as shall enable him to understand the perpetually recurring allusions that are found in almost any course of general reading; because for want of such understanding there is always a serious diminution both of pleasure and profit, even in the perusal of such works as are designed chiefly for amusement. For instance, most of Sir Walter Scott's novels are founded upon history, and abound with references to historical events and personages, a want of some acquaintance with which detracts seriously from the interest and delight they are so well qualified to awaken and so of most other works belonging to the better class of what is called light literature. But the difficulty has been to obtain this genera. knowledge without going through many books, requiring a greater expenditure of time and money than most persons are able or willing to afford; and to obviate such difficulty has been the purpose of Mr. Maunder.

His plan has the merit of completeness, and is undoubtedly the best that could have been desired. He gives first a general sketch of ancient and modern history—a rapid and comprehensive bird's-eye view, as it were, of the rise and progress of nations, the most important incidents of their career, and their relations to each other; and after this he takes up the nations separately, furnishing a concise digest of all that it is important or desirable to know concerning each, and thus affording a sort of key to the changes and events that were more briefly indicated, rather by their results than by their incidents, in the general sketch or outline.

Thus the salient points of history are brought within a manageable compass, and an excellent foundation is laid for more thorough and extensive reading in reference to any portion of the world or any epoch of which a complete knowledge may be desired.

In the execution of this plan the author has been very successful. His notices of historical events, though brief, are lucid and satisfactory; and he traces the connection of effect and cause with singular acumen and generally with most commendable freedom from partiality or bias; thus supplying a very good idea of the philosophy of history as well as of the facts which history records.

Upon the portion devoted to American History particular attention has been bestowed in this edition, in order to supply a deficiency which has long been felt regarding the events which have transpired since the war of the Revolution.

While most historians have deemed that the reader and student need to be particularly well informed with respect to every engagement which has occurred in our struggle for liberty, they have almost entirely overlooked the equally important measures and events which have transpired in cabinet and in council. To remedy this neglect has been aimed at in this history, and consequently the editor has contented himself with a recapitulation of the battles of the Revolution, which will be found sufficiently minute for the general reader, and devoted himself more fully to an account of the political history of the nation since the close of the war, thus supplying a narrative, which, though long wanted, has never yet been given in a connected and distinct form. In a word, the work will be found invaluable to the general reader, and a very useful help to the student.

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PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS.

HISTORICAL, CHRONOLOGICAL, AND GEOGRAPHICAL.

"It is not without reason," says Rollin, "that History has always been considered as the light of ages, the depository of events, the faithful evidence of truth, the source of prudence and good counsel, and the rule of conduct and manners. Confined without it to the bounds of the age and country wherein we live, and shut up within the narrow circle of such branches of knowledge as are peculiar to us, and the limits of our own private reflections, we continue in a kind of infancy, which leaves us strangers to the rest of the world, and profoundly ignorant of all that has preceded, or even now surrounds us. What is the small number of years that make up the longest life, or what the extent of country which we are able to progress or travel over, but an imperceptible point in comparison to the vast regions of the universe, and the long series of ages which have succeeded one another since the creation of the world? And yet all we are capable of knowing must be limited to this imperceptible point, unless we call in the study of History to our assistance, which opens to us every age and every country, keeps up a correspondence between us and the great men of antiquity, sets all their actions, all their achievements, virtues and faults before our eyes; and, by the prudent reflections it either presents, or gives us an opportunity of making, soon teaches us to be wise before our time, and is in a manner far superior to all the lessons of the greatest masters. * * * It is History which fixes the seal of immortality upon actions truly great, and sets a mark of infamy on vices which no after age can ever obliterate. It is by History that mistaken merit and oppressed virtue, appeal to the incorruptible tribunal of posterity, which renders them the justice their own age has sometimes refused them, and without respect of persons, and the fear of a power which subsists no more, condemns the unjust abuse of authority with inexorable rigour. * * * * Thus History, when it is well taught, becomes a school of morality for all mankind. It condemns vice, throws off the mask from false virtues, lays open popular errors and prejudices, dispels the delusive charms of riches, and all the vain pomp which dazzles the imagination, and shews, by a thousand examples, that are more availing than all reasonings whatsoever, that nothing is great and commendable but honour and probity." The foregoing exordium is as just as it is eloquent—as apposite as it is complete.

It has been very truly remarked, that the love of fame, and a desire to communicate information, have influenced men in almost every age and every nation, to leave behind them some memorials of their existence, actions and discoveries. In the earliest ages of the world, the mode of conveying to posterity an account of important facts was very vague and uncertain: the most obvious and easy was first resorted to. Thus, when Joshua led the twelve tribes of Israel over the river Jordan, in a miraculous manner, he set up twelve stones for a memorial; but it was necessary for tradition to explain the circumstances which gave rise to it; and

he said accordingly, "When your children shall ask their fathers, in time to come, what mean these stones? Then ye shall let your children know, saying, Israel came over this Jordan on dry land." (Joshua, c. iv., v. 21.) Poets who sung to the harp the praises of deceased warriors at the tables of kings, are mentioned by Homer: the Scandinavians, Gauls, and Germans, had their bards; and the savages of America preserved similar memorials in the wild strains of their country. To supply the defects of such oral tradition as this, founders of states and leaders of colonies gave their own names to cities and kingdoms; and national festivals and games were exhibited to commemorate extraordinary events.

From such imperfect attempts to rescue the past from the ravages of time and oblivion, the progress to inscriptions of various kinds was made soon after the invention of letters. The Babylonians recorded their first astronomical observations upon bricks; and the most ancient monuments of Chinese literature were inscribed upon tables of stone. In Greece and Rome very similar methods were sometimes adopted; two very curious monuments of which are still extant—the Arundelian marbles, upon which are inscribed, in Greek capital letters, some records of the early history of Greece; and the names of the consuls registered upon the Capitoline marbles at Rome. Such was the rude commencement of annals and historical records. But when, in succeeding times, nations became more civilized, and the various branches of literature were cultivated, persons employed themselves in recording the actions of their contemporaries, or their ancestors; and history by degrees assumed its proper form and character. At length "the great masters of the art arose, and after repeated essays, produced the harmonious light and shade, the glowing colours and animated groups of a perfect picture."

"All history," says Dryden, "is only the precepts of moral philosophy, reduced into examples." He also observes, "the laws of history in general are truth of matter, method, and clearness of expression. The first property is necessary, to keep our understanding from the impositions of falsehood, for history is an argument framed from many particular examples or inductions: if these examples are not true, then those measures of life which we take from them, will be false, and deceive us in their consequences. The second is grounded on the former; for if the method be confused, if the words or expressions of thought be obscure, then the ideas which we receive must be imperfect, and if such, we are not taught by them what to elect, or what to shun. Truth, therefore, is required as the foundation of history, to inform us; disposition and perspicuity, as the manner to inform us plainly."

The manner in which History ought to be studied is the next important consideration. To draw the line of proper distinction, says a judicious writer on this subject, is the first object of the discerning reader. Let him not burden his memory with events that ought perhaps to pass for fables; let him not fatigue his attention with the progress of empires, or the succession of kings, which are thrown back into the most remote ages. He will find that little dependence is to be placed upon the relations of those affairs in the Pagan world, which preceded the invention of letters, and were built upon mere oral tradition. Let him leave the dynasties of the Egyptian kings, the expeditions of Sesostris, Bacchus, and Jason, and the exploits of Hercules and Theseus, for poets to embellish, or chronologists to arrange. The fabulous accounts of these heroes of antiquity may remind him of the sandy deserts, lofty mountains, and frozen oceans, which are laid down in the maps of the ancient geographers, to conceal their ignorance of remote countries. Let him hasten to firm ground, where he may safely stand, and behold the striking events and memorable actions which the light of authentic record

displays to his view. They alone are amply sufficient to enrich his memory, and to point out to him well-attested examples of all that is magnanimous, as well as all that is vile;—of all that has debased, and all that has ennobled mankind.

THE DIVISIONS OF HISTORY.

Considered with respect to the nature of its subjects, History may be divided into *General* and *Particular;* and with respect to time, into *Ancient* and *Modern.*

Ancient History commences with the creation, and ends in the year of Christ 476, with the destruction of the Roman empire in the West Modern History commences from the fall of that empire, and extends to the present time. Ancient History is divided into two parts, or ages; the *fabulous* and the *historic.* The Fabulous Age begins with the first empires, about 2000 years before the birth of Christ, and closes with the foundation of Rome: a period which comprehends 1246 years.

The Historic Age had its beginning at the foundation of Rome, 753 years before Christ, and terminated with ancient history. The foundation of Rome is chosen for the commencement of this important division, because at that time the clouds which were spread over the historic page began to dissipate daily; and because this period, in the end, has served as an era for all the West, and also a part of the East. This age pre sents us with the grandest revolutions in Europe and Asia. In the latter, the entire destruction of the Assyrian empire, and the foundation of three celebrated monarchies upon its ruins. In Europe, the establishment of the principal republics of Greece, the astonishing progress of legislation, and the successful cultivation of the fine arts. This division embraces 1230 years.

GENERAL HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE.

The history of Modern Europe commences with the fall of the Roman empire in the West, and continues to the present time: it embraces nine remarkable periods, the epochs of which are:—

	A.D.		A.D.
1. The fall of the Western Empire	476	to	800
2. The re-establishment of that empire by Charlemagne	800	"	962
3. The translation of the Empire to Germany, by Otho the Great	962	"	1074
4. The accession of Henry IV. to the imperial crown, and the Crusades	1074	"	1273
5. The elevation of Rodolph of Hapsburg to the imperial throne	1273	"	1453
6. The fall of the Empire of the East	1453	"	1648
7. The peace of Westphalia	1648	"	1713
8. The peace of Utrecht	1713	"	1789
9. The French Revolution to the present time	1789	"	——

FIRST PERIOD.—(476—800.)

In the fifth century many of the modern monarchies of Europe had their commencement: the empire of the East having been, about that period, brought to the very verge of ruin by the innumerable hosts of barbarians from the north, which poured in upon it, and, at length, subdued it in the year 476. The Vandals, the Suevi, and the Alans, were the first adventurers. These were soon followed by the Visigoths, the Burgundians, the Germans, the Franks, the Lombards, the Angles, the Saxons,

and the Huns. These depredators taking different routes, armed with fire and sword, soon subjected to their yoke the terrified victims of their ferocity, and erected their conquests into kingdoms.

The Visigoths, after having driven out the Vandals, destroyed the Alans, subdued the Suevi, and founded a new kingdom in Spain.

The Angels and the Saxons made a conquest of Britain from the Romans and natives, and formed the Heptarchy, or seven kingdoms.

The Huns established themselves in Pannonia, and the Germans on the banks of the Danube. The Heruli, after having destroyed the Western empire, founded a state in Italy, which continued but a short time, being driven out by the Ostrogoths. Justinian retook Italy from the Ostrogoths. The greater part of Italy soon after fell under the power of the Lombards, who formed it into a kingdom. The exarchate of Ravenna, raised, by them, to the empire of the East, enjoyed it but a short time. The exarchate being conquered by Charlemagne, was settled, by him, on the Pope, which may be properly styled the epoch of the temporal grandeur of the Roman pontiffs, and of the real commencement of the combination of church and state.

Numerous bodies of people, from various countries, having taken possession of Gaul, founded therein several kingdoms, which were, at length, united by the Franks, under the name of France. Pharamond was its first monarch; and under Clovis it arrived at considerable eminence. Pepin le Bref (the Short) expelled, in the person of Childeric III., the race of Pharamond (called the Merovingian) from the throne, and assumed the government. His son, Charlemagne, the greatest prince of his time, retrieved the honour of France, destroyed the Lombardian monarchy, and renewed the empire of the West, being himself crowned emperor at Rome.

About the middle of this period, Mohammed, styling himself a prophet, by successful imposture and the force of arms, laid the foundation of a considerable empire, the East, out of the ruins of which are formed the greater part of the present existing monarchies in western Asia.

SECOND PERIOD.—(800—962.)

Under Charlemagne, France was the most powerful kingdom of Europe; and the title of Roman emperor was renewed by one of the descendants of the destroyers of that empire; the other monarchies, hardly formed, were eclipsed by the lustre of this new kingdom.

Spain was subdued by the Saracens, who formed a new kingdom in the mountains of Asturias. The Moors and Christians arming against each other, laid waste this beautiful country.

The seven Saxon kingdoms, which formed the Heptarchy, were united by Egbert, who became the first king of England: but the incursions of the Danes prevented that power from making any considerable figure among the states of Europe. The North was yet plunged in barbarism, without laws, knowing even but very little of the arts of the first necessity.

The French monarchy, which had risen to such a high pitch of grandeur under Charlemagne, became weak under his successors. The empire was transferred to the kings of Italy; which event was followed by civil and foreign wars in France, in Germany, in Italy; while the Hungarians, from Tartary, augmented the troubles. Otho the Great subdued Italy, which he united to Germany with the dignity of emperor, and shewed to a barbarous age, the talents of a hero and the wisdom of a great legislator.

THIRD PERIOD.—(962—1074.)

The German empire during this period reached the summit of its grandeur under Otho the Great. Conrad II. joined the kingdom of Bur

gundy to his possessions; and his son, Henry III., added a part of Hungary. This empire arrived at a high degree of power; but was soon after brought into a state of decay by the influence of its nobles, and by the feudal government.

Spain, although desolated by the continual wars between the Visigoths and the Saracens, was again divided by the differences of worship of those two rival nations. In France the Carlovingian kings were deposed by the usurpation of Hugh Capet, chief of the third or Capetian race of kings.

The Danes ravaged England, and now became masters of it under Canute the Great, who conciliated the love of his new subjects. Edward the Confessor succeeded the Danish princes. He was succeeded by Harold II., a virtuous prince slain in battle by William duke of Normandy, who made a conquest of England. At the same time the Normans established themselves in Sicily, and laid the foundation of a new kingdom.

Italy, oppressed by little tyrants, or devoted to anarchy, offered nothing of interest, if we except Venice, which was every day extending its commerce. The other states of Europe did not furnish any important event, being at this period plunged in obscurity and barbarity.

FOURTH PERIOD.—(1074—1273.)

The quarrels between the emperors and the popes diminished the grandeur and power of the empire: the discords which began under the emperor, Henry IV., agitated Germany and Italy during several centuries; the factions of the Guelphs and the Ghibelines (the one partisans of the popes, and the other of the emperors) were alternately destroying each other. Frederic I. and Frederic II. endeavored to uphold the majesty of the empire; but the house of Hohenstauffen at length yielded: they were despoiled of their possessions, and driven from the throne. The empire was much weakened by the incapacity of its chiefs, the disunion of its members, and the authority of the popes, ever aiming at their further aggrandizement. The Crusades commenced: a part of Asia Minor, Syria and Palestine, were presently wrested from the infidels; and the banner of the cross was planted on Mount Sion. In the meantime the crusaders established a kingdom in Jerusalem, which was of short duration. It was during the time of the crusades, that the Greek empire, sapped to its foundation, passed to the Latins. Michael Paleologus, emperor of Nice, retook Constantinople. The Crusades finsihed in 1231. It is said, that to them was owing the origin of armorial bearings, military orders, and tournaments.

Spain continued to be the theatre of wars between the Christian kings and the Moors. The kings of Castile, Arragon, and Navarre signalized themselves by their conquests over the Saracens.

In France, the number of great vassals was somewhat diminished; but the continental wars with the English exhausted it both of men and money.

The power of England increased considerably; the navy became puissant; and, in consequence of the civil wars between the king and the people, the royal authority became more weakened, and a preponderance was given to democratical institutions.

The provinces of Naples and Sicily were erected into a kingdom. Roger, prince of Normandy, was the first king; and his family possessed the crown till 1194. It them passed into the house of Hohenstauffen, which house was dispossessed by that of Anjou.

Denmark increased in power under Walidemar II., but the influence of Sweden seemed to be of little weight in the European system.

Russia groaned under the yoke of the Tartars, who also made incursions into Poland. Bohemia, and the island of Sardinia, were erected

into kingdoms. Genoa and Venice were increasing in power: by the strength of their navies, they supported an extensive commerce. Venice became possessed of Dalmatia, and a part of the Islands in the Archipelago.

FIFTH PERIOD.—(1273—1453.)

The states of Europe enjoyed an equality or equilibrium during this period. Rome alone seemed to possess superior power at first, but this power very soon diminished considerably: it laboured without effect to drive the Ghibelines out of Italy, and to reunite the Greeks to the church.

The empire of Germany, confined to its own limits, underwent some changes. Its chaotic government was rendered somewhat more clear; and emperors of different houses successively occupied the throne. At the death of Sigismund, Albert II., of the house of Hapsburg, or Austria, was elected; from which time to the present day, this family, with little exception, have possessed the imperial crown.

France was considerably agitated by intestine feuds, but became more powerful by the expulsion of the English. Legislation and police were beginning to be understood, which served to soften the manners of the people, and promote the tranquillity of the nation.

Edward III. rendered England the terror of its neighbours: he held at the same time three kings prisoners; and France was reduced, by his prowess, to the condition of an humble supplicant. The factions of the *red* and *white roses*, (the first as the supporters of the title of the house of Lancaster, and the latter that of York,) were deluging their native land with the blood of each other at the close of this period.

Spain continued to enrich itself with the spoils of the Saracens; who, notwithstanding the efforts of the Spaniards, were yet masters of all the southern parts. In Portugal, the legitimate descendants of Henry became extinct, and an illegitimate prince of the same house ascended the throne. Sicily was taken by Peter of Arragon, of the house of Anjou, who also held the kingdom of Naples. Margaret, queen of Denmark, the Semiramis of the north, united in her person the three crowns of Denmark, Sweden and Norway. This union, made at Calmar, continued but a short time. The Swedes broke the treaty, and choose for themselves a king.

Russia, (hitherto under the yoke of the Tartars) was delivered from slavery and obscurity. In Poland, the royal dignity began to have permanency. In Hungary, the house of Anjou mounted the throne; the crown of which, as well as that of Bohemia, soon after passed to the house of Austria.

Othman, sultan of the Turks, erected a monarchy, which arrived to great power under Mohammed II. This prince took Constantinople, and put an end to the empire of the East. The consequence resulting from the capture of this fine city, was a reflux of letters from the East to the West, which contributed to the establishment of the arts. Printing, engraving of prints, papermaking, painting in oil, gunpowder, and the mariner's compass, were the principal, among many other useful inventions.

SIXTH PERIOD.—(1453—1648.)

The history of Europe during this period becomes very interesting. The discovery of the East Indies and America, and the great changes brought about in religious opinions by the successful endeavours of Luther, Calvin, and others, gave a new appearance to many states in this quarter of the world.

The house of Austria increased in territorial possessions. Europe appeared like a vast republic, the balance of power therein being at this time on a better footing than it was in Ancient Greece.

Almost every state in Europe underwent important revolutions. Germany was considerably improved in its legislation under Maximilian I.; the Imperial Chamber and Aulic Council were established. The religious disputes brought on a succession of cruel and destructive wars; they were, however, terminated by the treaty of Passau, the peace of 1555, and that of Westphalia.

In France, the feudal government was at length destroyed by Charles VII. and Louis II. The wars against England succeeded those of Italy; and those were followed by intestine wars against the Huguenots, or Protestants, which were terminated by the reduction of Rochelle, and the expulsion of the Protestants. In Spain, the three Christian kingdoms were united. This monarchy, founded by Ferdinand V., surnamed the Catholic, arrived at its zenith of power under his grandson, Charles V. It lost a part of its splendour under Philip III. and Philip IV., princes without genius, valour or resources.

Portugal became formidable under Emanuel; but grew weak after the death of Sebastian. The kingdom submitted to the Spanish yoke: which it shook off in 1640, when the house of Braganza, by an unexpected revolution, ascended the throne.

England gained strength under Henry VII., and became, from time to time, more powerful under his successors, the Tudors, by its policy and its commerce, and particularly so during the reign of queen Elizabeth. After the death of Elizabeth, James VI., king of Scotland, ascended the English throne, and took the title of James I., king of Great Britain; but neither himself, nor his successors, possessed the genius or the activity of that celebrated princess.

Italy was divided into many small states. Tuscany, Parma and Placentia, heretofore cities of the kingdom of Italy, were raised to the dignity of dukedoms. The princes of Florence encouraged the progress of the arts and sciences by honours and rewards. Venice was less considerable for its commerce than formerly; the discovery of the compass enabling other nations to partake with the Venetians in the profits arising from navigation. Genoa also experienced a considerable diminution of commerce from the same cause.

The seven United Provinces, viz. Holland, &c. threw off the Spanish yoke, and became free; while the Swiss, in the centre of their rocky fastnesses, formed governments for the protection of their liberty.

Denmark, under the kings of the house of Oldenburg, now began to make a figure among the powers of Europe. The Swedes threw off the Danish yoke, and elected Gustavus Vasa for their king, who redeemed the lustre of the nation. Gustavus Adolphus added considerably to its power by his valour and his victories. Russia also assumed a new face. Iwan Basilowitz delivered his country from the Tartarian yoke. Iwan Basilowitz II. extended the empire. The house of Romanof ascended the throne, and commenced those grand schemes which the genius and perseverance of Peter the Great afterwards executed.

Poland flourished under the Jagellon race of princes; but these becoming extinct, foreigners were introduced to the throne. Hungary and Bohemia, after having had kings of different nations fell to the house of Austria.

The Ottoman empire augmented its grandeur and power under Solyman II. After his death, the government falling into the hands of indolent and effeminate princes, became considerably weakened, and the unbridled power of the Janissaries now arrived at its highest pitch.

SEVENTH PERIOD.—(1648—1714.)

The political system of Europe experienced a change at the commencement of this period. France extended its territory, and became

very powerful under Louis XIV.; but the wars carried on by this prince against Spain, Holland, and the empire, exhausted the resources of the kingdom.

Germany presented some interesting changes. Leopold established a ninth electorate in favour of the house of Hanover. Augustus, elector of Saxony, was elected king of Poland; and George, elector of Hanover, ascended the throne of Great Britain. Prussia was erected into a kingdom under Frederic, the third elector of Brandenburg, who took the title of Frederic I.

Spain lost power under the latter princes of Austria, and was dismembered by the "succession" war, which terminated in favour of the house of Bourbon.

Alphonsus VI., king of Portugal, was deposed and the kingdom declared independent of Spain by the peace of Lisbon.

In England, Charles I. was beheaded, and the monarchy abolished. Oliver Cromwell was declared protector of the Commonwealth, which lasted but a short time after his death. The Stuart family were established again on the throne. James II. abdicated. William, stadtholder of the United Provinces, was elected king, and secured the succession of the house of Hanover at the death of Anne.

Italy underwent an almost entire change by the peace of Utrecht; the house of Austria was put in possession of its most fertile countries. At the same time the house of Savoy, profiting both by the war and the peace, increased its possessions in Italy, and thereby raised its influence in Europe.

The United Provinces increased in riches and power: their independence was secured by the peace of Westphalia; but they engaged in wars which drained them of their treasures, without augmenting their power.

The republics of Switzerland and of Venice appeared to be of less consequence among the European states than heretofore; but the former continued to be happy in its mountains; the latter tranquil among its lakes.

Sweden, whose power was prodigious under Charles X. and Charles XII., lost much of its grandeur after the defeat of the latter prince at Pultowa. Russia became almost on a sudden enlightened and powerful, under the auspices of Peter the Great. Poland, unfortunate under John Casimir, was made respectable under John Sobieski. Hungary was desolated by continual intestine war, and deluged with the blood of its own inhabitants.

The Ottoman empire continued weak under princes incapable of governing, who placed the sceptre in the hands of ministers altogether as weak and incapable as themselves.

EIGHTH PERIOD.—(1714—1789.)

This period was replete in negotiation, in treaties, and in wars. The balance of power, intended systematically to produce perpetual peace, had, on the contrary, been the means of exciting continual war. The peace of Utrecht, signed by almost all the powers of Europe, failed to reconcile the emperor and the king of Spain. Philip V. commenced war. The English and Dutch procured the treaty of Vienna, in 1731, which put an end to that calamity; but a new war commenced on the election of a king of Poland. France declared war against the emperor, which terminated by the peace of Vienna. The death of Charles VI., 1740, produced a new war, more important than the former was, and of longer duration. France took the part of the elector of Bavaria, as a competitor for imperial dignity against the house of Austria. The success of the arms of the French and Bavarians, induced the queen of Hungary to detach the king of Prussia from the alliance. The defection of this prince changed the face of affairs; and the subsequent victories of marshal Saxe obliged the

belligerent powers to conclude the peace of Aix-le-Chapelle, which afforded but a short calm to ensanguined Europe. The houses of Bourbon and Austria, so long enemies and rivals, now united their efforts to maintain the balance of power. But the English and French soon found pretext for new disagreements, and war was again declared. The king of Prussia took part with the English, and the king of Spain with the French. This war terminated much in favour of the English, and peace was concluded in 1763. In Italy the houses of Austria and Bourbon had the principal sway. Savoy, assisted by England, augmented its power: the island of Sardinia was given in exchange for Sicily. Charles Emanuel III. joined a small part of the Milanese to this territory, and Corsica became a province to France. In Holland, William IV., prince of Orange, was declared stadtholder of the Seven United Provinces.

Sweden, after the death of Charles XII., underwent an entire change: the house of Holstein-Eutin ascended the throne. Gustavus III., the second king of this family, seized upon the liberties of his people, and became a despot. In Russia the four princesses who had held the sceptre since the death of Peter the Great, rendered the empire worthy of the great genius who may be styled its founder. Poland was dismembered by its three powerful neighbours, Russia, Austria and Prussia.

Prussia, which had not ceased to aggrandize itself since the elector of Brandenburg received the title of king, was raised to the height of grandeur and power under the wise government of that celebrated hero and philosopher, Frederic II.

In Turkey, Achmet III. was obliged to surrender his crown to his nephew, Mohammed V. Mustapha III. espoused the cause of the Poles against the Russians, and sustained great losses. His successor, Achmet IV. put an end to this unfortunate war by a peace, to gain which he made great sacrifices.

The English colonies in America revolted from the mother country, threw off its yoke, and declared themselves independent. France, Spain and Holland, declared in their favour; when after a war of eight years, it was terminated by in 1783 by a peace, whereby they were acknowledged as an independent nation.

NINTH PERIOD.—(1789—1815.)

This period was ushered in by one of the greatest revolutions that ever happened in Europe, or the world. The French, so long habituated to despotism, threw off, as it were in a moment, the yoke imposed upon them and their forefathers for many ages. Their king, Louis XVI., apparently joined in the effort, but at length, wanting firmness for so trying an occasion, prevaricated, and attempted to fly; he was seized, tried, iniquitously condemned and executed. His queen, Antoinette of Austria, suffered also under the guillotine. The powers of Europe, headed by the emperor and the king of Prussia, coalesced together to crush the revolutionary spirit of France. Great Britain, Spain, Russia, Holland, Sardinia, Naples, the Pope, and a variety of inferior powers, joined the confederacy: to this was added a powerful party in the interior, and the flames of civil war spread far and wide. Massacre, rapine and horror, stalked through the land; notwithstanding which, the Convention formed a constitution, levied numerous armies, and conquered Holland, the Netherlands, and all the country west of the Rhine. Italy submitted also to the Gallic republicans; and Germany was penetrated to its centre.

Several changes took place in the government Buonaparte conquered Egypt: and, in his absence, France lost great part of his conquests in Italy. He returned, and assuming the government under the title of first consul, reconquered Italy. Soon after, he established the Italian republic; was himself constituted president; and made peace with England,

which lasted but a short time. A new war commenced. Buonaparte was elected emperor of the French.

Great Britain, notwithstanding the part it took in the confederate war, pushed its commerce and manufactures to an extent heretofore unknown. It made several conquests, nearly annihilated the French navy, and obliged their army to evacuate Egypt. Peace was restored, but was of short duration. War again commenced: a military spirit showed itself throughout the nation, and tremendous efforts were made. French impetuosity and British valour were for years witnessed in the Spanish peninsula. Russia was invaded by a powerful host under Napoleon Buonaparte but the invaders were utterly annihilated. The crowning act of the war was the ever-memorable battle of Waterloo, whereby the overthrow of Napoleon was effected, and the peace of the world restored, after gigantic efforts and sacrifices, on all sides, which have no parallel in history.

CHRONOLOGY.

Comparatively speaking, the science of Chronology is but of recent origin; for many ages elapsed before the mode of computing time, or even of giving dates to important events, was at all regarded: nay, after the value of historical writings was felt and acknowledged, Chronology long remained imperfect; the most ancient historians leaving the precise periods they record undetermined. When Homer and Herodotus wrote, and for centuries afterwards, there was no regular distribution of time into such parts as months, weeks, and hours; nor any reference to clocks, dials, or other instruments, by which the perpetual current of time was subdivided. The divisions of time which are considered in Chronology, relate either to the different methods of computing days, months, and years, or the remarkable eras or epochs from which any year receives its name, and by means of which the date of any event is fixed. The choice of these epochs is for the most part arbitrary, each nation preferring its most remarkable revolution as the standard by which to regulate its measurement of time. Thus, the Greeks have their Argonautic expedition, their siege of Troy, their arrival of Cecrops in Attica, and their Olympic Games. The Romans reckoned from the foundation of their city; but in their annals they also frequently advert to their various civil appointments and external conquests. The modern Jews reckon from the Creation; and the Christians from the Birth of our Saviour. From this we count our years backward towards the beginning of time, and forward to the present day. But it was not till the year 532 that this plan was introduced; and even then the abbé Dionysius, who invented it, erred in his calculations: nor was his error discovered for upwards of six centuries afterwards, when it was found to be deficient four years of the true period. But as an alteration of a system which had been adopted by nearly all Europe, would have occasioned incalculable inconveniences in civil and ecclesiastical affairs, the error was, by general consent, suffered to remain, and we continue to reckon from what is called the "vulgar era," which wants four years and six days of the real Christian epoch.

It cannot be denied that there are many difficulties in the way of fixing a correct Chronology; but still there are four data from which satisfactory conclusions relative to certain events may be drawn; and, by ascertaining whether others occurred before or after them, we may in general arrange the most remote transactions with a degree of regularity that at the first view might have appeared hopeless. These are, 1. Astronomical observations, particularly of the eclipses of the sun and moon, combined with the calculations of the years and eras of particular nations. 2. The

testimonies of credible authors. 3. Those epochs in history which are so well attested and determined as never to have been controverted. 4 Ancient medals, coins, monuments and inscriptions. We have also some artificial distinctions of time, which nevertheless depend on astronomical calculations; such are the Solar and Lunar Cycles, the Roman Indiction, the Feast of Easter, the Bissextile or Leap-Year, the Jubilees and Sabbatic Years of the Israelites, the Olympiads of the Greeks, the Hegira of the Mohammedans, &c. But it must be borne in mind, that the study of Chronology, though so useful to the clear understanding of historical records, is a distinct science, and requires to be studied methodically.—Our purpose in this place is merely to point to it as *one* of "the eyes of history."

GEOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF THE WORLD AND ITS INHABITANTS.

By Geography is understood a description of the Earth. It is divided into Physical or Natural Geography, and Civil and Political Geography. The first, or Physical Geography, refers to the surface of the earth, its divisions, and their relative situations; the climate and soil; the face of the country; and its productions, animal, vegetable and mineral. The second, or Civil Geography, includes the various nations of the earth, as divided into empires, kingdoms, republics, provinces, &c., and the origin, language, religion, government, political power, commerce, education and manners and customs of those nations.

The form of the earth is very nearly spherical; the polar axis being only about 38 miles shorter than the equatorial; and as the diameter is nearly 8000 miles, so slight a difference in a globular body would be imperceptible.

In the study of Geography, maps and globes are indispensable: but, owing to their form, globes give a better idea of the relative sizes and situations of countries than can be learned from maps.

The earth has an annual and a diurnal motion; it moves completely round the sun in about 365 days, 6 hours; and turns completely round, as if on an axis or spindle, from west to east, in about 24 hours: an imaginary line, therefore, passing through its centre, is called its *Axis*. The extremities of the axis are called *Poles*—North and South—the one nearest to the country we inhabit being the *North Pole*.

A line drawn round a globe is obviously a circle; and as various circles are described on artificial globes, for reasons hereafter mentioned, we speak of them as though they were really so delineated on the earth's surface.

The principal circles on the globe are the Equator, the Ecliptic, the Tropic of Cancer, the Tropic of Capricorn, and the Arctic and Antarctic circles. All circles are considered as divisible into 360 equal parts, called *degrees*; each degree into 60 minutes, and each minute into 60 seconds: a degree is thus marked °, a minute thus ′, and a second thus ″: so that 28° 52′ 36″ means 28 degrees, 52 minutes, 36 seconds. And as a whole circle contains 360 degrees, a *semi-circle* (or half a circle) will contain 180°, and a *quadrant* (or quarter of a circle) 90°.

That circle on the surface of the globe which is everywhere equally distant from each pole, is called the *Equator;* and it divides the globe into two equal parts or *Hemispheres*, the Northern and Southern. The appellation Equator, or Equinoctial (*noctes æquantur*), is given to it, because, when the sun, through the annual motion of the earth, is seen in this circle, the days and nights are equal in every part of the world.

The *Ecliptic* is so called, because, all eclipses of the sun or moon can

only take place when the moon is in or near that circle. This circle is described on the terrestrial globe solely for the purpose of performing a greater number of problems.

The *Tropics* are two parallels to the equator, drawn through the ecliptic, at those points where the ecliptic is at the greatest distance from the equator; which is about 23° 30′ from the equator, on either side. When the sun is opposite to one of the tropics, those people who are as far from the corresponding pole as the tropic is from the equator, see the sun for more than twenty-four hours. This is the case with every part nearer to the poles, but never with any part farther from them. To point out this peculiarity, a circle is described on the globe, 23½° from each pole One of these *Polar Circles* is called the *Arctic*, the other the *Antarctic*; signifying the *north*, and that which is *opposite to the north*.

The *Zones* (so called from a Greek word signifying belts or girdles) denote those spaces between the several principal circles before described. Thus between the poles and polar circles are the two frigid zones, between the two frigid zones and the tropics are the two temperate zones, and between the two tropics the torrid zone; deriving these appellations from the temperature of the atmosphere.

The *Latitude* of a place is its distance from the equator. It is measured by the number of degrees, &c., in the arc of the meridian, between the place and the equator; and is called *North* or *South*, according as the place is north or south of the equator.

Longitude is the distance of any place from a given spot, generally the capital of the country, measured in a direction *east* or *west*, either along the equator or any circle parallel to it. The English measure their longitude east and west of Greenwich, the French east and west of Paris, &c.

Meridians, or circles of longitudes, are so called from *meridies*, or mid-day; because, as the earth makes one complete revolution round its own axis in twenty-four hours, every part of its surface must in the course of that time be directly opposite to the sun. The sun, therefore, at that point, will appear at its greatest altitude, or, in other words, it will be *mid-day* or *noon*.

Divisions of the Earth.

It was usual until the present century to speak of the great divisions of the Earth as the *Four Quarters of the World*, viz; Europe, Asia, Africa, and America. But a more scientific distribution has since been generally adopted; and the chief terrestrial divisions of the earth's surface are now thus enumerated: *Europe*, *Asia*, *Africa*, *North and South America*, *Australia*, *and Polynesia*. Of these, Europe, Asia, and Africa, form the Eastern Hemisphere, (or the Old World); and America the Western Hemisphere, which, from its not being known to Europeans till the close of the 15th century, is called the New World. Australia includes that extensive region called New-Holland, together with New-Zealand and adjacent isles; and Polynesia comprehends the numerous groups of volcanic and coraline islands in the Pacific Ocean, extending eastward to the Philippine Islands and from New-Guinea to the coast of America.

The *Ocean* occupies about two thirds of the earth's surface; and its waters are constantly encroaching upon the land in some places, and receding from it in others. To this cause may be attributed the formation of many islands in different parts of the world. The greatest depth of the ocean which has been ascertained, is about 900 fathoms; its mean depth is estimated at about 200 fathoms. Near the tropics it is extremely salt, but the saltness considerably diminishes towards the poles.

This immense expanse of water is divided into smaller oceans or seas, gulfs, bays, &c., limited partly by real, partly by imaginary boundaries. The *Pacific Ocean*, which covers nearly one third of the earth's surface,

and is about 10,000 miles in breadth, lies between the eastern coast of Asia and Australia, and the western coast of America. The *Atlantic Ocean* lies between Europe and Africa on the east, and America on the west. The Pacific and Atlantic Oceans are each distinguished into North and South. The *Indian Ocean* is bounded by Asia, Africa, and Australia. The *Arctic* or *Frozen Ocean*, lies to the north of Europe, Asia, and part of America. The *Southern Ocean* lies south of all the continents.

In this condensed Work which we now submit to the public, it will not be expected that the manifold uses and advantages of a knowledge of History could be discussed, or that many facts and reasonings which might elucidate obscure or controverted passages could be brought forward; but we trust it will generally be found that the materials we have made use of have been derived from the most accurate sources of historical information; that while a great mass of matter has been brought together, it may, at the same time, appear, that judgment and circumspection have been used in proportion to the importance and difficulty of the task; and, moreover, that truth and impartiality have been regarded beyond all other considerations. Upon events which have recently occurred, or are in progress at the present moment, we know that different opinions will prevail; and therefore, in relating such transactions, an honest and fearless regard for truth and the good of society is the bounden duty of every one who presumes to narrate them. By this golden rule we have endeavoured to abide, and humbly hope we have succeeded.

The idea of making the Treasury of History extend to another volume was at first entertained; and, in truth, no small portion of it was prepared under an impression that such was inevitable. If, therefore, it should appear that some of the Histories have not due space allotted to them, this fact is offered as our most valid reason for such apparent inequality: but it is by no means intended as an excuse for the length of the History of England; for it is almost impossible to speak of any great events which have occurred among civilized nations—especially within the last century—that do not, directly or indirectly, bear on British interests, and which consequently, come within our province to notice.

It seems, however, that a few words of an explanatory or apologetic nature are still neccessary. To be brief, then:—A uniform method of spelling foreign proper names has not always been rigidly adhered to; or, it may be, such names are spelt differently in other works. For instance, we have written *Genghis-Khan*, as the most usual orthography; but we have found it elsewhere written *Zingis Khan*, *Cingis Khan*, and *Jenghis Khan*. The name of *Mahomet*, or Mohammed, is written both ways, and each has its advocates, though modern custom, we think, is in favour of the latter method. Many others might, of course, be mentioned; but in none are so many variations to be found as in the Chinese names. It may also happen that the transactions of one country may appear to be given more fully than necessary in the history of another; and *vice versa*. The necessity of avoiding needless repetitions, in a work so condensed, and the desire at the same time to omit nothing of importance, must plead our excuse for such faults; while the too frequent absence of a vigorous or elegant style of composition, may be thought to require a similar apology. We are, indeed, fully sensible that, with all our care, many imperfections will be found, and that we must rely chiefly upon the candour and liberality of that public, whose kind support and encouragement on former occasions we have felt and gratefully acknowledged.

THE

TREASURY OF HISTORY.

INTRODUCTORY OUTLINE SKETCH

OF

GENERAL HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

THE ANTEDILUVIAN WORLD.

History, beyond all other studies, is calculated to enlighten the judgment and enlarge the understanding. Every page conveys some useful lesson, every sentence has its moral; and its range is as boundless as its matter is various. It is accordingly admitted, as an indisputable axiom, that there is no species of literary composition to which the faculties of the mind can be more laudably directed, or from which more useful information may be derived. While it imparts to us a knowledge of man in his social relations, and thereby enables us to divest ourselves of many errors and prejudices, it tends to strengthen our abhorrence of vice, and creates an honourable ambition for the attainment of true greatness and solid glory. Nay, if considered as a mere source of rational amusement, History will still be found infinitely superior to the extravagant fictions of romance, or the distorted pictures of living manners; for by the *habitual* perusal of these, however polished their style or quaint their humour, the intellect is frequently debilitated, and the heart too often corrupted.

In all the records of ancient history there is a mixture of poetical fable: nor is it wholly to the historian's immaturity of reason, or to the general superstition that prevailed in remote ages, that we are to ascribe this predilection for marvellous and wild narration. It has with great truth been said that the first transactions of men, were bold and extravagant—their ambition being more to astonish their fellow-creatures by the vastness of their designs, and the difficulties they could overcome, than by any rational and extensive plan of public utility.

Modern history, however, claims our more particular regard. In that is described those actions and events which have a necessary connection with the times in which we live, and which have a direct influence upon the government and constitution of our country. It unfolds the secret wheels of political intrigue, the artifices of diplomacy, and all those complications of interest which arise from national rivalship; while at the same time it lays before us the causes and consequences of great events, and edifies us by examples which come home to our understandings, and are congenial with our habits and feelings. But we will not take up more of the reader's time in expatiating on the relative merits of ancient and modern history; trusting that sufficient has been said to induce him to accompany us while we attempt to describe the rise, progress and subversion of empires, and the causes of their prosperity or decay.

As speculations upon the origin and formation of the world belong rather to philosophy than history, we should deem it supererogatory to notice

the subject, however slightly, were it not probable that its entire omission might be considered an unnecessary deviation from an almost universal practice, inasmuch as it has been sanctioned by the example of the most eminent writers of ancient and modern times. On these and other questions, alike uncertain, the most opposite opinions have been promulgated, and the most irreconcilable hypotheses advanced in their support; we shall, however, not stop to inquire into the relative merits of the various and discordant theories which have so long and so uselessly occupied the attention of philosophers, naturalists, and theologians.

That the earth has undergone many violent revolutions, no possible doubt can exist in the mind of any one who has paid even the most superficial attention to the discoveries in geological science during the last and present centuries; but the mighty process by which our globe was originally formed is a mystery quite as unfathomable now as it was in the darkest periods of human existence. Let us, then, be content with the sublime exordium of the great Jewish lawgiver; and we shall find that the account he gives of the creation, though eloquently brief, is neither allegorical nor mystical, but corresponds, in its bold outline, with the phenomena which is exhibited to us in the great book of nature. It is true that there is nothing in the writings of Moses either calculated or intended to satisfy curiosity; his object was simply to declare that the whole was the work of an Almighty architect, who as the Creator and Sovereign of the Universe, was alone to be worshipped.

With regard to the primitive condition of mankind, two very opposite opinions prevail. Some represent a golden age of innocence and bliss; others a state of wild and savage barbarism. The former of these is found not only in the inspired writings of the Jews, but in the books esteemed sacred by various oriental nations, as the Chinese, Indians, Persians, Babylonians, and Egyptians. The latter began their history with dynasties of gods and heroes, who were said to have assumed human form, and to have dwelt among men. The golden age of the Hindoos, and their numerous avatars of the gods, are fictions of a similar character, as well as their two royal dynasties descended from the sun and moon, with which we find a remarkable coincidence in the traditions of Peru. According to the other doctrine, the human race was originally in the lowest state of culture; and gradually, but slowly, attained perfection. It is in vain, however, for us to look to the traditionary tales of antiquity; for with the exception of the Mosaic history, as contained in the first six chapters of Genesis, we can find none which does not either abound with the grossest absurdities, or lead us into absolute darkness.

"Commentators," says Anquetil, "have amplified by their reveries the simple, natural, and affecting narrative of Moses. That historian has informed us, in a few words, what was the origin of various customs and arts, and recorded the names of their inventors. Lamech, the son of Cain, gave the first example of polygamy. Cain himself, built the first city, and introduced weights and measures. One of his grandsons 'was the father of such as dwell in tents, and of such as have cattle.' Jubal invented music, Tabul-Cain the arts of forging iron, and casting brass; and a female named Naamah, those of spinning and weaving."

That the antediluvians led a pastoral and agricultural life, forming one vast community, without any of those divisions into different nations which have since taken place, seems fully evident. But the most material part of their history is, that having once began to transgress the divine commands, they followed the allurements of passion and sensuality, and proceeded in their career of wickedness, till at length the universal corruption and impiety of the world had reached its zenith, and the Almighty Creator revealed to Noah his purpose of destroying the whole human race except himself and his family, by a general deluge; commanding him to

prepare an ark, or suitable vessel, for the preservation of the just from the impending judgment, as well as for the reception of animals destined to reproduce their several species.

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE DELUGE, TO THE SETTLEMENT OF THE JEWS IN CANAAN.

After the Flood had prevailed upon the earth a hundred and fifty days, and had decreased for an equal time, Noah became convinced, by the return of a dove with an olive branch, that the land had again emerged. The time when this great event took place was, according to the common computation, in the 1656th year of the world; though other dates have been assigned by different chronologists. Many other nations, in the mythological part of their history, narrate circumstances attending a vast inundation, or universal deluge, which in their essential particulars, correspond with the scriptural account, and are supposed to owe their origin to it. The Chaldeans describe a universal deluge, in which all mankind was destroyed, except Xisuthrus and his family. According to the traditionary history of the Greeks, the inhabitants of the earth all perished by a flood except Deucalion, and his wife Pyrrha. By the Hindoos it is believed that a similar catastrophe occurred, and that their king, Satyavrata, with seven patriarchs, was preserved in a ship from the universal destruction. Even the American Indians have a tradition of a similar deluge, and a renewal of the human race from the family of one individual. But these accounts being unsupported by historic evidence, it would be an unprofitable occupation of the reader's time to comment on them. We shall therefore merely observe, that many ingenious theories have occupied the attention of distinguished men in their endeavours to account for this universal catastrophe. The Mosaic account simply tells us, that the windows of heaven were opened and the fountains of the deep were broken up, and that as the flood decreased the waters returned from off the face of the earth. That there is nothing unnatural in this, geological science furnishes ample evidence; in short, distinct proofs of the deluge are to be found in the dislocations of the regular strata, and in the phenomena connected with alluvial depositions—which can only be attributed to the agency of vast torrents everywhere flowing over and disorganizing the surface of the earth.

According to the narration of the inspired writer, the individuals preserved from the deluge were Noah and his wife, and his three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japhet, with their wives; in all, eight persons. We are informed that the ark rested on mount Ararat (in Armenia); but whether Noah and his sons remained long in that neighbourhood must be left to mere conjecture. We merely learn that the greatest portion of the human race were some time afterwards assembled on the plains of Shinar, where they engaged in building a tower, with the foolish and impious intention of reaching the skies, or, in the language of Scripture, "whose top may reach unto heaven." But this attempt, we are informed, was frustrated by the Almighty, who confounded their language, so that they no longer understood each other's speech. The scene of this abortive undertaking is supposed to have been upon the Euphrates, where Babylon was built, not far from which are extensive masses of ruins; and the remains of a large mound, called by the Arabs the Bursi Nimrod, or Nimrod's tower, is generally believed to be the foundation of the tower of Babel.

In endeavouring to account in a natural way, and not as the effect of a miracle, for the confusion of languages and the dispersion of mankind Dr. Shuckford comes to the following rational conclusion; "I imagine that

the common opinion about the dispersion of mankind, is a very wrong one. The confusion of tongues arose at first from small beginnings, increasing gradually, and in time grew to such a height, as to scatter mankind over the face of the earth. When these men came first to Babel, they were but few; and very probably lived together in three families, sons of Shem, sons of Ham, and sons of Japhet; and the confusion arising from some leading men in each family inventing new words and endeavouring to teach them to those under their direction; this in a little time divided the three families from one another. For the sons of Japhet affecting the novel inventions of a son of Japhet; the sons of Ham affecting those of a son of Ham; and the sons of Shem speaking the new words of a son of Shem; a confusion would necessarily arise, and the three families would part; the instructors leading off all such as were initiated in their peculiarities of speech. This might be the first step taken in the dispersion of mankind: they might at first break into three companies only; and when this was done, new differences of speech still arising, each of the families continued to divide and subdivide among themselves, time after time, as their numbers increased, and new and different occasions arose, and opportunities offered; until at length there were planted in the world, from each family, several nations called after the names of the persons of whom Moses has given us a catalogue. This I think is the only notion we can form of the confusion and division of mankind, which can give a probable account of their being so dispersed into the world, as to be generally settled according to their families; and the tenth chapter of Genesis, if rightly considered, implies no more."

From the families of the three sons of Noah, then, are all the nations of the earth descended. The children of Shem were Elam, Asshur, Arphaxad, Lud, and Aram. Elam settled in Persia, where he became the father of that mighty nation; the descendants of Asshar peopled Assyria; and Arphaxad settled in Chaldea. To the family of Lud is generally assigned Lydia; and Aram is believed to have settled in Mesopotamia and Syria. The children of Ham were Cush, Mizraim, Phut, and Canaan. The descendants of Cush are supposed to have removed from the south-east of Babylonia, afterwards called Khusestan, to the eastern parts of Arabia; from whence they by degrees migrated into Africa. Mizraim peopled Egypt, Ethiopia, Lybia, and the rest of the northern parts of the same continent. No particular country has been assigned to Phut, who is believed to have settled somewhere in Arabia, near to Cush. But Canaan is generally allowed to have settled in Phœnicia; and to have founded those nations who inhabited Judea, and were for the most part subsequently exterminated by the Jews.

As Moses gives no account of the life and death of Japhet, Noah's eldest son, he is presumed not to have been present at the confusion of Babel, but that his seven sons were afterwards heads of nations there is good reason to believe. Their names were Gomer, Magog, Madai, Javan, Jubal, Meshech, and Tiras. Gomer, according to Josephus, was the father of the Gomerites or Celtes, viz., of all the nations who inhabited the northern parts of Europe, under the names of Gauls, Cimbrians, Goths, &c., and who also migrated into Spain, where they were called Celtiberians. From Magog, Meshech, and Jubal, proceeded the Scythians, Sarmatians, and Tartars; from Madai, Javan, and Tiras, the Medes, Ionians Greeks, and Thracians.

It is evident that the monarchical forms of government began early, Nimrod, one of the sons of Cush, having been made king of Babylon, while the rest are supposed to have planted different parts of Arabia. The sacred historian says "Nimrod began to be a mighty one in the earth—a mighty hunter before the Lord." He is said to have built several cities, but when he began his reign, how long he reigned, and who were

his successors, we are not informed. The Jews suppose him to be the same with Amraphel, the king of Shinar, who, with his three confederates, were defeated by Abram. Some have imagined him to be the same with Belus, and the founder of the Babylonish empire; others with Ninus, the founder of the Assyrian. Nineveh, afterwards the capital of the Assyrian empire, was built by Asshur, who also founded two other cities, called Resen and Rehoboth, of the situation of which we are now ignorant. About the same time various other kingdoms sprung up in different parts of the world. Thus we read, in the sacred volume, of the kings of Egypt, Gerar, Sodom and Gomorrah, &c., in the time of Abraham; and it is but reasonable to suppose that the nations over which they reigned had for some time existed: for, as the learned and pious Bossuet remarks, "we see laws establishing, manners polishing, and empires forming. Mankind, by degrees, gets out of ignorance: experience instructs it: and arts are invented or improved. As men multiply, the earth is more closely peopled; mountains and precipices are passed; first rivers, then seas, are crossed; and new habitations established. The earth, which at the beginning was one immense forest, takes another form: the woods cut down make room for fields, pastures, hamlets, towns and cities. They had at first to encounter wild beasts; and in this way the first heroes signalized themselves. Thus originated the invention of arms, which men turned afterwards against their fellow creatures."

The first considerable national revolution on record is the migration of the Israelites out of Egypt, and their establishment in the land of Canaan. This event was attended with a terrible catastrophe to the Egyptians. The settlement of the Jews in the land of Canaan is supposed to have happened about 1491 B.C. For nearly 200 years after this period we find no authentic account of any other nations than those mentioned in Scripture.

CHAPTER III.

THE FABULOUS AND HEROIC AGES, TO THE INSTITUTION OF THE OLYMPIC GAMES.

We now perceive, in profane history, the dawn of what is called the heroic age; in which historical facts, though still tinctured with the marvellous, begin to assume something like the appearance of truth. Egypt is seen gradually recovering from the weakness induced by the visitation of the destroying angel, and the memorable disaster of the Red Sea, by which her nobility and the flower of her army had been engulfed. Greece rapidly emerges from obscurity, and makes other nations feel the effects of that enterprising and martial spirit for which her sons were afterwards so renowned. Various migrations take place in Egypt and Asia, and make settlements in different parts of Europe. Thus was civilization greatly extended; for by the concurrent testimony of all writers it appears, that while the descendants of Shem and Ham, who peopled the east and south, were establishing powerful kingdoms, and making great advances in the useful arts, the posterity of Japhet, who settled in the west and north, by degrees had sunk into a state of barbarism. To the Egyptian colonists, therefore, were they indebted for their laws and religious mysteries; and they also excited among them a taste for science and the arts, while the Phœnicians taught them writing, navigation and commerce.

The Greeks were now growing great and formidable, and their actions had an immense influence on the destinies of other nations. About 1184 years B.C. they distinguished themselves by their expeditions against Troy, city of Phrygia Minor; which, after a seige of ten years they plundered and burnt. Æneas, a Trojan prince, escaped with a small band of his

countrymen into Italy; and from them the origin of the Roman empire may be traced. At the period we are now speaking of we find the Lydians, Mysians, and some other nations of Asia Minor, first mentioned in history.

Though we necessarily omit, in this brief outline, a multitude of important transactions which are recorded in the Bible, the reader must not lose sight of the fact that the sacred volume is full of historical interest; and we shall have frequent occasion to refer to the actions of "God's chosen people" as we describe events mentioned by profane writers. For the present it is sufficient to state, that about 1050 years before the birth of Christ, the kingdom of Judea, under king David, approached its utmost extent of power; that in the glorious reign of his son, the wise and peaceful Solomon, which followed, that stupendous and costly edifice, "the temple of God," was completed, and its dedication solemnized with extraordinary piety and magnificence; that the revolt of the ten tribes took place in the reign of Rehoboam, the son and successor of Solomon, by which Jerusalem was rendered a more easy prey to the Egyptian king, called in Scripture, Shishak, and supposed to be the great Sesostris, whose deeds make so conspicuous a figure in the history of his country. After the lapse of another century, we learn that Zera, an Ethiopian, invaded Judea with an army composed of a million of infantry and three hundred chariots, but was defeated with great slaughter by Asa, whose troops amounted to about half that number. By this time the Syrians had become a powerful people; and, taking advantage of the rivalry which existed between the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, aimed at the subjugation of both. The Syrian empire was, however, eventually destroyed by the Assyrians, under Tiglath Pilesar, in 740 B.C.; as was also the kingdom of Samaria by Shalmaneser his successor, in 721; and such of the people as escaped death, were carried captives into Media, Persia, &c.

While the resources of the mighty nations of the East were expended in effecting their mutual destruction, the foundations of some powerful empires were laid in the West, which were destined, in process of time, to subjugate and give laws to the eastern world. About eight centuries before the Christian era the city of Carthage, in Africa, was founded by a Tyrian colony, and became the capital of a powerful republic, which continued 724 years; during the greater part of which time its ships traversed the Mediterranean and even the Atlantic, whereby it was enabled to monopolize, as it were, the commerce of the whole world. In Europe a very important revolution took place about 900 B.C., namely the invasion and conquest of the Peloponnesus by the Heraclidæ, or descendants of Hercules. Of this event, and its consequences, we shall have to speak at greater length, in its proper place, in the body of the work; we shall, therefore, merely remark here, that the Peloponnesus is a large peninsula situated at the southern extremity of Greece, to which it is joined by the isthmus of Corinth. It is of an irregular figure, about 563 miles in circumference, and is now called "The Morea." On the isthmus stood the City of Corinth; while the Peloponnesus contained the kingdoms and republics of Sicyon, Argos, Lacedæmon or Sparta, Messenia, Arcadia and Mycenæ.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE INSTITUTION OF THE OLYMPIC GAMES, TO THE DEATH OF CYRUS.

In 776 B.C., the Olympic games, instituted by Hercules, and long discontinued, were revived, and with their revival we find the history of the Grecian states, and the affairs of the world generally, are more to be depended on; in short, the period which Varro calls fabulous ends, and the

historical times begin. This is mainly attributable to the continuance of the Olympic games, which greatly facilitated not only the writing of their history, but that of other nations; for, as each olympiad consisted of four years, the chronology of every important event became indubitably fixed by referring it to its olympiad. They also greatly contributed to the civilization of the Grecian states, and to the general advancement of the polite arts. At this period Rome, which was one day to be the mistress of the world, arose: its foundation being laid by Romulus about 750 years before the commencement of the Christian era. Forty-three years after, the Spartan state was remodelled, and received from Lycurgus those laws which alike contributed to the renown of him who made and they who observed them.

If we take a glance at the general state of the world in the following century, we shall find that the northern parts of Europe were thinly peopled, or inhabited by unknown and barbarous nations. The Gomerians, or Celtic tribes, had possession of France and Spain. Italy was divided into a number of petty states, among which the Romans had already become formidable, having enlarged their dominions by the addition of several cities taken from their neighbours. Foremost among the states of Greece were those of Athens and Sparta: the martial character of the institutions of Lycurgus had rendered the latter famous in war; while the former were enriching themselves by navigation and commerce. Corinth, Thebes, Argos, and Arcadia, were the other states of most consideration.

The sceptre of Babylon was at this time swayed by Nebuchadnezzar, by whom the kingdom of Judea was totally overthrown, 587 B.C., and its temple burned to the ground in the following year. He also took and demolished the city of Tyre, despoiled Egypt, and made such prodigious conquests both in the east and west, that the fame of his victories filled the world with awe; till at length his empire comprehended Phœnicia, Palestine, Syria, Babylonia, Media, Persia, and part of India. One great object of his pride and ambition was to render his capital beyond all example gorgeous; nor can we consider the wonders of that city, as related by Herodotus, at all incredible, when we remember that the strength and resources of his mighty empire were made subservient to the purpose.

The next important event that occurred was the revolution occasioned by the misconduct of Evil-merodach, Nebuchadnezzar's son, who, without provocation, wantonly attacked and began to plunder and lay waste the country of the Medes. This produced an immediate revolt, which quickly extended over all Media and Persia. The Medes, headed by Astyages and his son Cyaxeres drove back the intruder and his followers with great slaughter; nor does it appear that the Babylonish monarch was afterwards able to reduce them to subjection. We now come to the period when the brilliant career of Cyrus demands our notice. He had signalized himself in various wars under Astyages, his grandfather, when, having been appointed generalissimo of the Median and Persian forces, he attacked the Babylonish empire, and the city of Babylon itself fell before his victorious arms. Cyrus now issued a decree for the restoration of the Jews, and the rebuilding of their Temple. By a succession of victories he had become master of all the East, and for some time the Asiatic affairs continued in a state of tranquillity. It is necessary to observe in this place, that the Medes, before the time of Cyrus, though a great and powerful people, were eclipsed by the superior prowess of the Babylonians. But Cyrus having conquered their kingdom, by the united force of the Medes and Persians, it appears that the great empire of which he was the founder must have taken its name from both nations; so that the empire of the Medes and that of the Persians were one and the same, though in consequence of the glory of its wise and victorious leader it subsequently retained only the latter name. Meanwhile, it continued to extend itself

on every side; and at length Cambyses, the son and successor of Cyrus, conquered Egypt, and added that country to his already overgrown dominions.

CHAPTER V.

FROM THE ERECTION OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE, TO THE DIVISION OF THE GRECIAN EMPIRE AFTER THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER

The Babylonians, groaning under the oppressive yoke of their Persian masters, in 517 B.C. made a desperate effort to shake it off; but they were signally defeated by Darius Hystaspis, who besieged the city of Babylon, demolished its fortifications, and caused its walls to be lowered from 200 to 50 cubits. Darius then turned his arms against the Scythians; after which he directed his course eastward, and reduced the country as far as the Indus. In the meantime the Ionians, who had submitted to Cyrus, revolted, which led to the invasion of the Grecian states, and those disasters to the Persians by land and sea, which we have elsewhere related. In 459 B.C. the Egyptians made an ineffectual attempt to regain their independence. They also again revolted in 413 B.C., and, being assisted by the Sidonians, drew upon the latter that terrible destruction foretold by the prophets, while they more firmly rivetted the chains which bound themselves to the Persian rule.

The Persian history exhibits every characteristic of oriental cruelty, treachery, and despotism; and, with a few splendid exceptions, presents us with a series of monarchs whose lust of power was equalled only by their licentiousness. But the greatness of the Persian empire was soon about to be humbled. Ten thousand Greek mercenaries had served under the younger Cyrus in his rebellious attempt to seize the throne of his elder brother, Artaxerxes Mnemon; but he was defeated and killed at the battle of Cunaxa, near Babylon; and his Grecian allies, though in a strange country, and surrounded on all sides by enemies, effected their safe retreat under Xenophon, whose conduct on this occasion has been extolled both by ancient and modern writers, as exhibiting a matchless union of prudent caution and military skill.

In this rapid sketch we shall not stop to notice the various contests which took place between the Grecian states, though they make a considerable figure in their respective histories; but pass on to the time of Philip of Macedon, who, taking advantage of the wars and dissensions which were gradually weakening the neighbouring states of Greece, began to meditate their conquest; and by sometimes pretending to assist one state and sometimes another, he finally effected his object. Having become master of all Greece, he projected the conquest of Asia: his death, however, by assassination, left that great achievement to be attempted by his ambitious and warlike son, Alexander, surnamed the Great.

No man who ever lived, perhaps, possessed the necessary qualities for the execution of this mighty project in a more eminent degree than the youthful Alexander. Brave, skilful, and impetuous, he marched from victory to victory; till at length the power of the Persians was totally overthrown at the battle of Arbela, 331 B.C., and an end put to the empire by the murder of Darius by Bessus in the following year. Alexander having subdued Persia, his victorious arms were now directed against the countries which bounded Persia; and having reduced Hyrcania, Bactria, and several other independent kingdoms, he entered India and subdued all the nations to the river Hyphasis, one of the branches of the Indus. At length the patience of his troops became exhausted; they saw that the ambition of their leader was boundless, and refused to gratify his passion for universal conquest by proceeding farther. He died at Babylon in the

year 323 B.C., leaving the affairs of his vast empire in a most unsettled state, and not even naming his successor.

In the western world, at this period, great kingdoms were evolving from obscurity, and events of the highest importance succeeding each other with unexampled rapidity. The first object that here claims our attention is the establishment and rapid growth of the Roman republic. In 509 B.C. Tarquin, the last king of Rome, was expelled, and the government entrusted to two magistrates, annually elected, called consuls. Thus the republic proceeded, though amid perpetual jealousies and contentions, till it reached its highest pitch of power and grandeur, by the successive conquest of Italy and her isles, Spain, Macedonia, Carthage, Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Gaul, Britain and Egypt. It was, nevertheless, exposed to the greatest danger from the ambition of individuals: the civil wars of Marius and Sylla, and the conspiracy of Catiline, shook its very centre; and by the contention arising out of the rivalry of Julius Cæsar and Pompey, it was ultimately overthrown.

On the death of Alexander the Great, four new empires immediately, as it were, sprung up. He had left behind him a large and victorious army, commanded by generals who, bred in the same school, were not ess ambitious of sovereign rule than their master. Cassander, the son of Antipater, seized Macedonia and Greece; Antigonus, Asia Minor; Seleucus marked out for his share Babylon and the eastern provinces; and Ptolemy, Egypt and the western ones. Furious wars soon succeeded this division of Alexander's wide-spread empire; and several provinces, taking advantage of the general confusion, shook off the Macedonian yoke altogether. Thus were formed the kingdoms of Pontus, Bithynia, Pergamus, Armenia, and Cappadocia. Antigonus was defeated and killed by Seleucus at the battle of Ipsus, 301 B.C., and the greater part of his dominions fell to the lot of the conqueror. The two most powerful and permanent empires were, in fact, Syria, founded by Seleucus, and Egypt by Ptolemy Soter. But there was also another empire at that time existing which demands our notice. The Parthians, originally a tribe of Scythians who had wandered from their own country, at length settled in the neighbourhood of Hyrcania, and were successively tributary to the Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes and Persians. The country in which they settled obtained from them the name of Parthia; and when Alexander invaded Asia, they submitted, with the other dependencies of the Persian empire. After the death of the Macedonian conqueror, Parthia was subject, first to Eumenes, then to Antigonus, and finally to the kings of Syria and Babylon. In the reign of Antiochus Theos, the rapacity and crimes of Agathocles, the Syrian governor, roused the spirit of the Parthians; and, under Arsaces, a man of great military talents, they expelled their oppressors, and laid the foundation of an empire which ultimately extended over Asia, B.C. 250. The Syrians attempted in vain to recover this province. A race of able and vigilant princes, who assumed the surname of *Arcacidæ*, from the founder of their kingdom, not only baffled their efforts, but so increased in power, that while they held eighteen tributary kingdoms, between the Caspian and Arabian seas, they even for a time disputed with the Romans the empire of the world.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE WARS OF ROME AND CARTHAGE, TO THE BIRTH OF CHRIST.

The Romans, who for more than five hundred years had been constantly victorious, met with an opponent in Hannibal, commander of the Carthaginian forces, whose consummate generalship for a time turned the tide

of fortune, and, making Italy the battle-field, he gallantly opposed on their native soil the hardy veterans of Rome. Long and doubtful were these sanguinary contests; but in the end the Carthaginian armies were recalled into Africa, which the Romans had invaded; and he who, at the battle of Cannæ, had struck the Roman legions with terror, was totally defeated at Zama; by which the second Punic war was concluded, in the year 188 B.C. In forty years from that date the fate of Carthage was ultimately decided. The Romans having declared war against it a third time, used all their energies for accomplishing its final destruction. The city was long and fiercely assailed; the genius of the younger Scipio at length triumphed over the desperate valour of the besieged; and Carthage, once mistress of the sea and the most formidable rival of Rome, was reduced to ashes, and for ever blotted from the list of independent nations.

During the contentions between Rome and Carthage, a confederacy was formed by the states of Greece, under the name of the Achæan League, which soon eclipsed, in splendid achievements and power, both Athens and Sparta. Weary of the tyranny of the Macedonians, the Grecian states had entered into this compact for recovering their liberties; but having imprudently given the Romans an opportunity of intermedding in their affairs, they were eventually reduced to a Roman province, under the name of Achaia. This celebrated league was begun about the year 284 B.C., and continued formidable for more than 130 years, under officers called Prætors, of whom Aratus and Philopœmen were the most renowned.

About this period we read of the direful oppression of the Jews by Antiochus Epiphanes. After their return from the Babylonish captivity, they continued in subjection to the Persians till the time of Alexander; and subsequently, as the fortune of either Egypt or Syria happened to prevail, they were under its dominion. On the subjugation of Egypt by Antiochus Epiphanes, the Jews being treated with great severity by him, they naturally, but imprudently, expressed their joy on hearing a report of his death; and it was not long before the enraged monarch took the fiercest vengeance on them. He marched at the head of a powerful army, took Jerusalem by storm in 170 B.C., and committed the most horrid cruelties on the inhabitants. Their religion was for a while abolished, their altars defiled, and every indignity offered to the people that tyranny and hate could suggest. An image of Jupiter Olympius was erected in the holy place, and unclean beasts were sacrificed on the altar of burnt offerings. But the Jews soon rallied; and under Mattathias the true worship was restored in most of the cities of Judea; the temple was purified by Judas Maccabæus, 165 B.C.; and a long series of wars ensued between the Syrians and the Jews, in which the latter gained many signal advantages.

About 150 years before the birth of Christ the principal empires and states of the world may be thus enumerated. In Asia were the empires of Syria, India and Parthia—each of them powerful and extensive—with Arabia, Pontus, Armenia, and some other countries of less importance. In Africa were the kingdoms of Egypt, Ethiopia, Numidia, Mauritania, and Getulia; the last named three, now that Carthage was destroyed, appearing to the eyes of the ambitious Romans as their easy prey. In Europe there were none able to oppose the Roman legions, save the Gauls and some of the nations inhabiting Spain. It was not long, therefore, after the conquest of Carthage and Corinth that the final subjugation of Spain was resolved on; for all the possessions which the Carthaginians held in that country had already fallen into the hands of the victorious Romans. They accordingly began by attacking the Lusitanians; but this brave people, under the conduct of Viriatus, a leader whose skill, valour, and prudence eminently qualified him for his post, long bid defiance to the Roman arms: in the field he was not to be subdued; and he at last met his death from the hands of assassins hired by his treacherous

enemy. The Romans now, in the wantonness of their power, scrupled not to use the basest and most corrupt means for reducing the whole country; and though many tribes bravely maintained their independence for years, Spain ultimately became a Roman province. But all-powerful as Rome had now become, her civil and political condition was far from enviable. Her conquests in Greece and Asia brought luxury, cruelty, and general corruption in their train; and those heroic virtues for which in the early days of the republic she was renowned, had totally disappeared. We must, however, reserve for its proper place an account of the civil commotions, proscriptions, and assassinations which followed; and pass onward in our brief recital of such events as peculiarly appertain to general history.

Attalus, king of Pergamus, had left all his goods and treasures, by will to the Roman people; upon which his kingdom was speedily converted into a Roman province, under the name of Asia Proper. Next followed the conquest of the Balearic Isles (now called Majorca, Minorca and Iviga); Numidia was soon afterwards reduced; but the subjugation of Mauritania and Getulia was for a time delayed.

While Rome was approaching her zenith, the decline of the Syrian empire was apparent. The civil dissensions between the two brothers, Antiochus Gryphus and Antiochus Cyzicenus, gave an opportunity for the cities of Tyre, Sidon, Ptolemais and Gaza, to declare their independence; while the Jews not only recovered their liberty, but extended their dominions as far as in the days of Solomon. About the year 83 B.C., Tigranes, king of Armenia, became master of Syria, but the Romans soon wrested it from him, and added it to the immensely extensive possessions of the republic.

Egypt, which had hitherto maintained its proper station, fell after the battle of Actium, and, like its predecessors, was reduced to a Roman province about the year 30 B.C. Rome must no longer be regarded as a republic; and its change from that form of government to an empire may be looked upon as advantageous to those nations who were still free, for the inordinate desire of conquest which had hitherto marked the Roman character, for a time seemed to be lulled, and during the reign of Augustus the temple of Janus was thrice closed—a ceremony coeval with the origin of the state, to denote that it was at peace with the whole world. This pacific prince died in the 76th year of his age, and in the 45th year of his reign, A.D. 14; his empire extending, in Europe, to the ocean, the Rhine and the Danube; in Asia, to the Euphrates; and in Africa, to Ethiopia and the sandy deserts. It was in this memorable reign, in the year of Rome 752 that Jesus Christ was born, and the holy religion of which he was the founder, persecuted and despised though it was at first, gradually spread over the Roman world.

CHAPTER VII.

FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA, TO THE APPEARANCE OF MOHAMMED.

In the year 67 A.D. the memorable war with the Jews commenced, which, though it lasted but three years, ended in the total destruction of their city and nation, after enduring all the horrors of war carried on by each party with sanguinary fury. About ten years after this event the real conquest of Britain was effected by Agricola. The empire had now reached its utmost limits, and under the just and upright Trajan, Rome had reason to rejoice, not merely in her extent of territory, but in the equitable administration of her laws, and in the virtue and wisdom of her

senators. Adrian succeeded Trajan, and followed in his footsteps. The decline of imperial Rome was, however, fast approaching, for although Antoninus, surnamed the Pious, obtained the regard of his subjects and the respect of foreigners, living in peace during the whole of his reign, yet scarcely had Marcus Aurelius Antoninus succeeded to the throne, before the Germanic tribes united, as in the time of Marius, and poured in their warlike hordes upon Italy; and, while they grew more and more formidable, famine and pestilence ravaged many of the Roman provinces, A.D. 180.

From this time repeated incursions of hardy adventurers from the north of Europe, under various names, took place, but though often beaten, they renewed their attempts with a degree of courage and perseverance that required all the energy and superior discipline of the Roman legions to overcome. From the death of Aurelius to the reign of Dioclesian, many of the Roman emperors were mere sensualists; there were, however, some splendid exceptions, and by the warlike genius of such the incursions of the barbarians were from time to time arrested. The Romans had also for a long period met with a most powerful adversary in the Persians, and when, in 260, the emperor Valerian was defeated and taken prisoner by them, the empire seemed to be hastening to utter and irremediable destruction. While Gallienus, the son of Valerian, and his associate in power was revelling in luxury at Rome, numerous claimants of the imperial dignity arose in the different provinces. These were designated the "thirty tyrants," (though their numbers did not exceed twenty, and there was no good reason for designating them tyrants). Their dominion was, however, not of long duration, and on the death of Gallienus he was succeeded by Claudius, who had the merit of delivering Italy from the Goths. After him came Aurelian, who introduced order into the state, restored internal tranquillity, and defeated his enemies both in Europe and Asia. Under Tacitus, Probus and Carus, the empire was in a measure restored to its former lustre; but the barbarians still pressed onward; and when the government fell into the hands of Dioclesian, he changed its form, sharing the imperial dignity with Maximinian, to whom he committed the West, while he ruled in the East. In this manner was the government administered till the days of Constantine, who in A.D. 330 removed the imperial seat to Byzantium, which he named Constantinople, became a convert to Christianity, and put an end to one of the most virulent persecutions against its professors that ever disgraced the world. The immediate successors of Constantine did little to uphold the Roman power, and Julian, who ascended the throne in 361, renounced Christianity and openly professed the ancient religion, but he was both too politic and too humane to persecute his Christian subjects. We find, however, that the decline of the empire was everywhere visible. After his death its internal corruption and weakness continued to increase; that strict discipline which had formerly rendered the Roman legions invincible, relaxed, and while corruption and injustice rendered the government odious at home, its frontier towns were attacked and its distant provinces overrun by fierce and uncivilized hordes issuing from the north, east and west. It is at this period that we read of Alaric, the Visigoth, who plundered Rome, A.D. 409; of Genseric, the powerful king of the Vandals; and of Attila, the Hun, emphatically termed "the scourge of God." In fact, the Scythians, Sarmatians, Goths, Huns, Vandals, and other barbarous nations, watched all occasions to break into it, and though some of the emperors bravely withstood their attacks, no efforts could finally stem the ruthless torrent which kept pouring in on all sides. At length the Heruli, a people who migrated from the shores of the Baltic, and had grown formidable as they proceeded southwards, appeared in Italy. They were headed by the valiant Odoacer, and being joined by other tribes, quickly became masters

of Italy, and the city of Rome itself surrendered to their victorious arms, A.D. 476.

The fall of the western empire was thus consummated, but the Romans still maintained their sway at Constantinople. The eastern empire, in fact, at this time comprehended all Asia Minor and Syria, Egypt and Greece; but neither its domestic management nor its military prowess gave hopes of a lengthened dominion. Luxury, effeminacy, and superstition sapped its vitals; continued wars with the Persians, Bulgarians, and other barbarous nations, exhausted its strength; and a similar fate to that of the western empire appeared to await it at no very distant period. Still, as we follow the stream of history, we shall find that it not only survived the wreck for several centuries, but at times displayed an energy and power worthy of the Roman name.

Revolutions succeeded one another among the savage conquerors of the West with fearful rapidity. The Heruli under Odoacer were driven out by the Goths under Theodoric. The Goths were expelled by the Romans under their able general Belisarius, but while he was absent quelling an insurrection in Africa, they regained their footing, and again took possession of Rome. The Franks next invaded Italy, and made themselves masters of the province of Venetia, but at last the superior fortune of the emperor Justinian prevailed, and the Goths were finally subdued by his pro-consul Narses, A. D. 552. From that time till the year 568, Narses governed Italy with great prudence and success, as a province of the eastern empire, but having incurred the emperor's displeasure, Longinus was appointed to succeed him, and was invested with absolute power. He assumed the title of exarch, and resided at Ravenna, whence his government was called the exarchate of Ravenna, and having placed in each city of Italy a governor, whom he distinguished with the title of duke, he abolished the name of senate and consuls at Rome. But while he was establishing this new sovereignty, a great portion of Italy was overrun by the Lombards. In short, we find that they steadily marched on from Pannonia, accompanied by an army of Saxon allies, and were not long before they became masters of all Italy, with the exception of Rome, Ravenna, and some of the eastern seacoast.

A warlike nation called Franks, who were divided into several tribes, had been gradually rising into importance, and quitting the banks of the Lower Rhine, they had made themselves masters of no inconsiderable part of Gaul. A warlike and ambitious chief among them, named Clovis, undertook the conquest of the whole country, and having defeated and killed his powerful rival, Alaric, king of the Goths, he possessed himself of all the countries lying between the Rhine and the Loire, and thus became the founder of the French monarchy, A.D. 487.

A few years before the conquest of Rome by the Heruli, the Visigoths erected a kingdom in Spain, and as they advanced eastward, about the same time that Clovis was extending his conquests to the West, the river Loire was the natural boundary of the two kingdoms; but a war soon broke out between them, which ended in favour of Clovis. Another kingdom had previously been founded in the western parts of Spain by the Suevi, who were subdued by the Goths under Theodoric, in 409; and eventually, A.D. 584, these restless warriors subjugated nearly the whole of Spain.

CHAPTER VIII.

FROM THE RISE OF MOHAMMED, TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE CRUSADES.

Let us now turn our attention for a moment to a general view of the world as it existed in the sixth century of the Christian era. The Roman

empire in the west was annihilated, and various nations of northern extraction were either fiercely contending with each other, or meditating new conquests; the eastern empire was continually at war, contending with the Persians on one side, or harrassed by the attacks of the Huns and other tribes on its northern frontiers, while it was agitated and weakened by religious and political animosities. The Indians and other oriental nations, unaccustomed to war, were ready to fall a prey to the first powerful invader, while the fiery inhabitants of Arabia, from their earliest origin accustomed to bold and predatory warfare, were as ready to undertake any enterprise which seemed to promise an adequate reward.

This, then, was the very nick of time most favourable for such a revolution in the world as was undertaken by the wily and daring Mohammed (or Mahomet), who, foreseeing the power and glory that awaited him if success should crown his efforts, assumed the title of "prophet," and professed to have received a direct commission from God to become the founder of a new religion. A.D. 622. This forms a marked epoch in chronology, and is designated the Hegira, or Flight of Mohammed. He at first endeavoured by the force of his persuasive eloquence alone to make proselytes, but finding himself ere long at the head of many thousand warlike followers who acknowledged that "there was but one God, and that Mohammed was his prophet," he took advantage of their enthusiasm, and proceeded in the work of conquest. With a celerity truly surprising, the armies of the prophet and his successors overran Syria, Palestine, Persia, Bukharia and India. On the west their empire soon extended over Egypt, Barbary, Spain, Sicily, &c. But Mohammed who died in the 63d year of his age, did not secure the succession, or give any directions concerning it, and the consequence was that the caliphate was seized by many usurpers, dissensions broke out among the "true believers," and in the course of time this great empire, like the others which we have noticed, declined in importance. The religion, however, still exists, and the temporal power of those who profess it is by no means trifling.

While this extraordinary revolution was going on in the East, and the Arabian arms were conquering "in the name of God and the prophet," the western nations as zealously upheld the doctrines promulgated by the pope. From the days of Constantine the Roman pontiffs had been gradually extending their power, temporal as well as spiritual, and at the period of which we are now speaking, not only was their sacerdotal dominion firmly established, but their political influence was often exerted for or against those princes of surrounding states as best suited the interests of the church. When, in 726, Luitprand, king of the Lombards, had taken Ravenna, and expelled the exarch, the pope undertook to restore him, and his restoration was accordingly speedily effected. The authority of the Byzantine emperors in Rome, was, indeed, little more than nominal, and the interference of the popes in the temporal concerns of the different European monarchies was of the most obnoxious and intolerable kind.

We have seen that the reduction of Gaul was effected by Clovis, the Frank, who is styled the founder of the French monarchy. That kingdom, it may be observed was subsequently divided into several petty sovereignties, and while the princes weakened each other by their contests, the nobles increased in power, leaving their kings little more than the shadow of royalty. At length they gave themselves up to a life of indolence and ease, and abandoned the reins of government to officers called mayors of the palace, of whom the most celebrated were Charles Martel, and his son Pepin the Little, who deposed Childeric, and became the founder of the Carlovingian or second royal race of France. Of the princes of this race we shall here only speak of Carolus Magnus, afterwards called Charlemagne, on account of the extent of his conquests, his restoration of the western empire, and the splendour of his reign. Very

soon after his accession to the throne, the Saxons, who had long been tributaries to France, revolted, and bravely and obstinately contended for their freedom, but they were at last obliged to submit. In 774, after the reduction of Pavia, and the capture of Didier, the last king of the Lombards, Charlemagne repaired to Milan and was there crowned king of Italy. From this time he was engaged in an almost unceasing warfare against the Moors in Spain, the Saxons and Huns in Germany, the party of the eastern emperor in Italy, and the Normans, who infested his maritime provinces. Having subdued his enemies, he repaired to Rome, in the year 800, for the fourth and last time, and on Christmas-day, while assisting at the celebration of mass, the pope, Leo III., suddenly and unexpectedly crowned him emperor of the Romans, from which time he was honoured with the title of Charlemagne, or Charles the Great. At the time of his death, which occurred in 814, he had reduced all that part of Spain which lies between the Pyrenees and the Ebro, seized Italy from the Alps to the borders of Calabria, and also added to his dominions all Germany south of the Eyder, and Pannonia. The world was therefore once more shared among three great powers. The empire of the Arabs or Saracens extended from the Ganges to Spain, comprehending almost all of Asia and Africa which has ever been known to Europeans, China and Japan excepted. The eastern Roman empire was reduced to Greece, Asia Minor, and the provinces adjoining Italy. And the empire of the west, under Charlemagne, comprehended France, Germany, and the greater part of Italy. The son and successor of Charlemagne was Louis I., at whose death the restored empire of the west was divided, in 840, among his four sons: Lotharius was emperor; Pepin king of Aquitain; Louis II. king of Germany; and Charles II. surnamed the Bald, king of France: a division that proved the source of perpetual contentions. The French retained the imperial title under eight sovereigns, till 912, when Louis III. the last king of Germany of the race of Charlemagne, dying without male issue, his son-in-law, Conrad, count of Franconia, was elected emperor of Germany. Thus the empire passed to the Germans, and became elective, by the suffrages of the princes, lords, and deputies of cities, who assumed the title of electors.

During the period we have been describing, the union of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms was effected by Egbert, the king of Wessex, A.D. 827. The pirates of Scandinavia, too, about this time began to make their appearance in large fleets, and spread devastation on the shores of France and other kingdoms of continental Europe. In England, where they were called Danes, these Northmen harrassed the coast in a similar manner, and, though frequently repulsed, in the course of time they had the satisfaction of seeing monarchs of their own nation seated on the throne of England. The Saxon race was, however, restored in 1041, in the person of Edward surnamed the Confessor, who, dying without issue, nominated William, duke of Normandy, to be his successor. Here we may just remark, that the predatory tribes of Northmen, of whom we have before spoken, at different times overran and ravaged most countries of Europe, and a party having entered France, under their leader Rollo, Charles the Simple ceded to them, in 912, the province of Neustria. On this occasion Rollo embraced Christianity, changed his name to Robert, and that of his duchy to Normandy. From him was William the Conqueror descended.

At no period of the history of the world do we find it in a more confused and distracted state, than at the epoch to which we have now arrived. It appears, indeed, like one vast battle-field. Our attention, however, is principally attracted by the preponderating influence of Germany, in the west; the decline of the Byzantine empire, and the increase of that of the Turks, in the east; the divisions among the Saracens of Spain, and their subjugation by those of Africa. Civilization was taking a retrogade

course; and while the feudal system and the spirit of chivalry, assisted by the papal superstitions, were rivetting the chains of barbarism in one part of the world, the conquests and spoliations of the Turks, like those of the Goths and Huns before noticed, were fast obliterating the faint traces of human science and learning that remained in the other. At last the Crusades (though they must ever be deplored as the wretched offspring of enthusiasm and misguided zeal), by directing the attention of Europeans to one particular object, made them in some measure suspend the slaughter of one another, and were the means of extricating Christendom from a state of political bondage.

CHAPTER IX

FROM THE FIRST CRUSADE, TO THE DEATH OF SALADIN.

The world, as we have seen, was at this time divided into two grand religious parties, namely, the Christians and Mohammedans, each of whom affected to regard the small territory of Palestine, which they called the Holy Land, as an invaluable acquisition. The origin of the crusades may therefore be attributed to a superstitious veneration for the places where our Saviour had lived and performed his miracles, which annually brought vast numbers of pilgrims from all parts of Christendom to visit the city of Jerusalem, and those particular spots in its vicinity which had been rendered especially memorable by his preaching, sufferings, and death. Although the Saracens, under Omar, their second caliph, had taken Jerusalem, and conquered Palestine, in the 7th century, they allowed the pilgrims to continue to visit their favourite haunts on payment of a small tribute. In 1065, however, the Turks wrested the holy city, as it was styled from the Saracens; and, being much more fierce and barbarous, the pilgrims could no longer with safety perform their devotions; and Europe resounded with complaints against the infidel possessors of Palestine, who profaned the holy places, and so cruelly treated the devotees. Europe was at the time full of enthusiastic warriors, who wanted but little stimulus to lead them to the field of glory; and pope Gregory VII. had already meditated and urged the union of Christendom against the religion of Mohammed. Besides the religious motive of freeing Jerusalem from the dominion of the Turks, some views of ambition might have induced the court of Rome to engage in this project. But whatever might have been the chief motives, an opportunity soon presented itself, which was seized with avidity. A bold enthusiast, named Peter, who from his ascetic life was called the Hermit, having been on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, represented the oppression of the holy city, and the cruel treatment which the Christians suffered, in terms so appalling to Urban II. (who filled the papal see at the time), that the pontiff listened to his scheme for uniting all the Christian states against the Turks, and leading armies into Asia, sufficient in number and prowess to conquer these warlike people by whom the Holy Land was held in subjection. In consequence of this a council was summoned, and a meeting of clergy and laity took place in a field in the neighbourhood of Placentia, at which 4000 ecclesiastics and 30,000 seculars were present. Both Peter the Hermit and the Pope, represented in the most vivid colours the direful situation of their brethren in the East, and the indignity offered to the religion of Christ. Their speeches were suited to the passions of their hearers, and so well seconded by the adventurous spirit of the times, that a violent and tumultuous declaration of war burst forth from all sides; and the assembled multitude devoted themselves cheerfully to a service that they believed to be meritorious in the sight of Heaven. The zealous Peter next visited the chief cities and sovereigns of Chris

tendom, calling upon them to rescue the sepulchre of their Saviour from the tyrannous grasp of the Turks. Another council was speedily held at Clermont, in Auvergne, which was attended by many princes, and the greatest prelates and nobles; and when Urban and the Hermit renewed their pathetic declamations, the whole assembly burst forth in a general exclamation, "It is the will of God!" words which were immediately attributed to divine inspiration, and adopted as the signal of rendezvous and battle. Men of all ranks now flew to arms with the utmost ardour; and a cross of red cloth was affixed to their right shoulder; hence the names of *crusade* (or *croisade*) and *crusaders* were derived to express this new expedition professedly undertaken on religious grounds. However imprudent the project, the prevailing taste and prejudices of the age occasioned its being adopted without examination. Independent of this, their passions were absorbed in their love of war; they were delighted with the thoughts of adventures, and the brave were attracted by the hopes of gain as well as with the love of glory. What was not to be expected from the valour of an infinite number of warriors fighting under the banners of the cross? No means were left unemployed to swell their ranks. The rich and poor, the saintly and the criminal, were alike eager to show their devotion in the cause. Sovereigns shared in and applauded it; the nobility with their vassals engaged in it; and the clergy not only loudly extolled it from the pulpit, but taught the people to consider it as an atonement for their sins. No wonder then that the number of adventurers at last became so numerous, that their leaders grew apprehensive, lest the greatness of the armament should disappoint its purpose. Some were elated at the prospects of worldly advantage which opened to their view as they beheld in perspective the rich conquests in Asia; others thought of the expiation of their offences in the tumult of war, and rejoiced that they could gratify their inclinations while performing a sacred duty. If they succeeded, their fortune seemed to be secured in this world; if they died, a crown of martyrdom was promised in the next. So many causes uniting had almost an insurmountable power; and their concurrence is one of the most curious phenomena to be met with in history.

An undisciplined multitude, computed at three hundred thousand men, led the way, under the command of Peter the Hermit, and a soldier of fortune, called Walter the Moneyless. They passed through Hungary and Bulgaria, towards Constantinople; and trusting to supernatural aid for the supply of their wants, they made no provision for subsistence on their march. They were, in fact, composed partly of fanatics and partly of wretches bent on plunder; and the result was, as might have been expected, that the enraged inhabitants of the countries which they pillaged fell upon and nearly annihilated them before they could reach Constantinople, the place appointed for their general rendezvous. The more disciplined armies followed soon after. Among their leaders were the celebrated Godfrey of Bouillon, with his brothers, Baldwin and Eustace; Robert, duke of Normandy; Hugh, brother of Philip I., king of France; Robert, earl of Flanders; Raymond, count of Toulouse, and other experienced commanders. Thus led, this host of warriors traversed Germany and Hungary, passed over the straits of Gallipoli, conquered Nice in 1097, Antioch and Edessa in 1098, and lastly, Jerusalem, in 1099; of which city Godfrey of Bouillon was chosen king; but he refused to bear that title in the Holy Land; and died in 1100. In 1102, an army of 260,000 men left Europe on the same destination; they perished, however, partly on the march, and partly by the sword of the sultan of Iconium. Such was the issue of the first crusade; but the spirit which had been thus excited was not to be so readily extinguished; a second, a third, and several other crusades were undertaken during a succession of almost two hundred years, and ended in very similar results. In 1201, the town of Acre, or Ptole-

mais, in which the descendants of Godfrey still maintained the regal title, was plundered by the sultan of Egypt, and the Christians were driven out of Syria.

Three monastic and military orders, the Hospitallers, the Templars, and Teutonic knights, were instituted at Jerusalem, to protect the pilgrims from the attacks of the Turks. In this age the sacred was so confounded with the profane, that it was thought the virtues and austerities of the monk might be united with the warlike qualities and passions of the soldier. The new orders, loaded with wealth and particular privileges, in a short time became greedy, licentious, and insolent warriors, enemies of one another, and by their mutual hatred weakened the cause of Christianity. What happened before in Europe was likewise seen in Asia: every lord wanted to erect a sovereign power; principalities were subdivided into feifs; discord prevailed, and the Turks would soon have destroyed them, if they had not likewise been divided among themselves.

The Christian empire in the East extended at this period from the borders of Egypt to Armenia; but it was encompassed by powerful enemies, and its population, though brave, was by no means considerable. The Turks had already taken Edessa, and there was great reason to be apprehensive for the fate of Jerusalem, when Eugenius III., fifty years after the beginning of the crusades, was solicited by deputies from the East to renew them. This time the monk St. Bernard took upon himself the office of its chief advocate. He is represented as running from town to town, and though ignorant of the language of the country, yet making the people follow him, and performing numberless miracles. He accordingly everywhere gained an influence, of which there had been no parallel; yet his success could scarcely keep pace with his zealous wishes. Under the humble habit of a monk, Bernard enjoyed a greater respect than was paid to the most powerful princes: he was as eloquent as he was enthusiastic, and obtained an unbounded influence over the minds of the people. The emperor Conrad, who first listened to him with a resolution to oppose those dangerous emigrations, concluded with enrolling himself. Neither could Louis VII., king of France, resist the appeal of the orator. The people abandoned their habitations in crowds; the nobles sold their lands and laid the price at his feet; and nearly a million of men solicited to be enrolled among the champions of Christianity. It is said that each of the armies had 70,000 "men at arms:" these consisted of the nobility, who were heavy armed, and followed by a much more numerous body of light cavalry. The number of infantry was immense. The emperor Conrad was the first that set out: he was the brother-in-law of Manuel-Comenus, at that time reigning in Constantinople; but the Greeks, it is said, apprehensive that similar excesses would be committed by the crusaders as in the former expedition, furnished them with treacherous guides, which led to their destruction; his army was almost annihilated; upon which he fled to Antioch, made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and returned to Europe with a mere handful of men. Louis met with similar disasters, and followed the example of Conrad; so that when they were compelled to withdraw, they left the Holy Land in a much weaker condition than they had found it.

Expeditions so ill planned and ill conducted, served only to animate the Turks to the destruction of the Christians of Jerusalem, and to show them the little difficulty there would be in expelling them. Noradin, whom they chose for their leader, promoted this design, and Saladin, his successor, completed the work. The latter, after having usurped Syria, triumphed over the Persians, conquered Egypt, and made himself master of dominions that extended to the Oxus, returned by sea, in order to strip the Europeans of the places they still retained. Damascus, Aleppo, and Acre, opened their gates to the conqueror, who, after having artfully

drawn the Christian army into narrow defiles, where he commanded the passes, obliged them to surrender, with Lusignan, their king; A. D. 1187. He then marched towards Jerusalem, which, being in a manner defenceless, was easily taken; and thus he destroyed for ever the little kingdom which had not subsisted a century, and for the acquisition of which by the Christians so much interest had been excited, and so much blood had been shed.

The news of the loss of the Holy Land spread consternation in Europe. Urban III., who had exerted all his influence, spiritual and temporal, to prevent that misfortune, died of grief soon after the fatal news reached his ear. The Christian princes suspended their quarrels, and the desire of recovering Jerusalem produced a third crusade; A. D. 1189. This was infinitely better planned than the former ones, and gave the most splendid hopes. Three princes of distinguished merit, who would have excited the admiration of any age, were the leaders of this expedition. Frederic I., surnamed Barbarossa, one of the most distinguished emperors that ever governed Germany, advanced by land, at the head of 150,000 men. Philip-Augustus, king of France, also conducted thither a large and well-appointed army; while Richard Cœur-de-Lion, king of England, the hero of this crusade, set out with his nobles and the flower of his troops. Isaac Angelus, the emperor of Constantinople, looking upon the crusaders as intruders, had formed an alliance with Saladin and the sultan of Iconium; but Frederic triumphed over the obstacles which were opposed to him, and though he found hostile armies everywhere on his march, he obtained many signal victories. In this manner he was proceeding towards Palestine, when, after crossing Cilicia, he met his death from having incautiously bathed in the Cydnus, the extreme coldness of which had fifteen hundred years before nearly proved fatal to Alexander.

Philip of France, and Richard the "lion-hearted" king of England, though ambitious rivals, were apparently united in their design of carrying on the holy war; and, in order to avoid the Greeks, they prudently preferred going by sea. Philip, who arrived first, distinguished himself in several engagements with the Saracens, took many places, and having made himself master of the open country, laid siege to Acre. In the meantime, Richard was advancing to second the efforts of the French monarch; and on his arrival they found that their united forces amounted to about 300,000 men. There was, however, no real union among the leaders. Philip, jealous of the heroic character of his rival, and tired of the fruitless expedition, embarked with the greatest part of his army for France, having first sworn not to attack the possessions of Richard until the return of both to their dominions. Cœur-de-Lion now became sole master of the operations, and resumed the siege of Acre, which at length capitulated; he defeated the sultan in several desperate encounters, and by prodigies of valour and military skill, forced victory from the standards of the brave Saladin, who till then had been deemed invincible. While Richard was pursuing his successes, and on the eve of reaping all the fruits of his toil, he learned that Philip, on his return to France, had incited his (Richard's) brother to take up arms against him, and was attacking the English provinces in that kingdom. Thus forced to sacrifice his expectations in the East to the interest and defence of his native dominions, he renounced, with rage and vexation, the laurels he had won, and his hopes of future conquest. He then agreed to a truce with Saladin, by which the Christians were to be securely protected in Palestine; but though Acre was in their possession, and served as a bulwark for them until the entire termination of the crusades, the design of this expedition was frustrated by leaving the sultan master of Jerusalem. Saladin died in 1193.

CHAPTER X.

FROM THE DEATH OF SALADIN TO THE END OF THE CRUSADES.

During the third crusade a revolution happened at Constantinople, which divided the eastern empire for fifty-eight years. Alexius Angelus, surnamed the Tyrant, having dethroned Isaac II., usurped his seat in 1195; and Alexius, son of Isaac, applied to the French and Venetians, who passed that way to the holy wars, to assist him in the recovery of his father's empire. They accordingly, in 1203, renouncing their designs against the Holy Land, laid siege to Constantinople, took it by storm, and replaced Isaac on the throne; the next year, Alexius Ducas, surnamed Murtzulphus or Murzufle, assassinated the emperor, whom the crusaders had re-established, and seized the crown. On hearing this, the French returned, attacked the city, deposed Murtzulphus, and elected Baldwin, count of Flanders, in his room; he had four successors, the last of whom, Baldwin II., was deposed in 1262, by Michael Paleologus.

This was the period in which the sovereign pontiffs carried their attempts against crowned heads to the greatest excess; and we shall consequently find that a general history of the European states becomes more and more connected with the court of Rome. But before we enter into the condition of Christian Europe, it will be better that we resume the thread of history by which the crusades are continued, and then return.

It appears that notwithstanding the blood which had been fruitlessly shed in the "holy" cause, the zeal of the popes was not lessened. But Innocent III., who foresaw much greater advantages to the tiara in the taking of Constantinople than in the deliverance of Jerusalem, readily pardoned the leaders of the crusade for having broken through their engagements, and was resolved to reap all the advantages he could from an event so unexpected. Up to a recent period the armies of the cross had no other view but to attack the Infidels. That confederacy was now about to be directed against their fellow-christians. In the south of France and elsewhere, the ostentatious pomp and ambition of the clergy had given great offence to many of the laity, who publicly proclaimed that in the members of the sacred profession they could not discover the ministers of a religion founded on humility and peace, and had formed a resolution not to consider them as their pastors. Under the name of Patarins, Cathares, and Vaudois, they had spread themselves in the southern provinces, and particularly in Languedoc, contiguous to Alby, which they seemed to have made their head-quarters. Innocent, who was too sagacious not to see the future ill consequences to the papal power if the daring principles of these sectaries were permitted to extend, resolved on their extermination. By the assistance of the clergy, who were equally interested in their destruction, he preached up a crusade, and formed a powerful army, the command of which he entrusted to Simon de Montfort. At the same time he erected a bloody tribunal, by which unhappy victims were dragged to the stake, on the testimony of the vilest informer. It was in every respect as iniquitous as the Inquisition, of which it was in fact the origin. Two religious orders, lately established under the auspices of Innocent, and entirely devoted to his interest, were commissioned to preside at these executions. Thousands of the inhabitants of Alby (whom we know by the name of Albigenses) persecuted by the soldiers of the cross and the members of the Inquisition, perished by the swords of the former, or expired in the flames kindled by the latter.

After this inhuman persecution, carried on under the banners of the

God of mercy, Innocent resumed his project of conquering the Holy Land; but he could not persuade the emperor to join in the design, because his throne was too much disturbed; nor the kings of France and England, as they were too deeply engaged in their mutual quarrels. Andrew, king of Hungary, and John de Brienne, titular sovereign of Jerusalem, commanded this crusade, and Cardinal Julien, legate of the pope, accompanied them. As the Christian leaders perceived that Egypt was the support of the Turks of Palestine, they formed a new plan of attack and directed their first operations against that kingdom. In this they were successful. The enemy, after having sustained several severe defeats, abandoned the flat country to the Christians, and took refuge in the mountains. The generals, sensible of the great danger of marching in a country to which they were strangers, thought it necessary to secure the heights, and reconnoitre the places through which they were to pass, before they proceeded any farther. The cardinal, consulting only the dictates of impetuous ardour, treated their prudence as timidity, and declared for pursuing the barbarians immediately. Finding the two kings opposed his opinion, he assumed the style of a superior, showed them the pope's order, and, being supported by the knights of St. John and the Templars obliged them to pay a blind obedience to his will. The army, thus governed by this ecclesiastic, daily committed new blunders, and at length was hemmed in between two branches of the Nile. The Saracens then opened their sluices, and were preparing to drown the Christians, who thought themselves happy to preserve their lives, by supplicating the mercy of the enemy, and being allowed to return to Europe, though covered with disgrace.

The crusades seemed now to be at an end; for the dire misfortunes which attended these distant expeditions had quite extinguished the zeal of Christian warriors, and the ferment which pervaded all Europe would not allow sovereigns, however martial or ambitious, to leave their respective countries. But there was yet another struggle to be made for the possession of the Holy Land, the relation of which, although it carries us too far forward in our attempt at chronological order in this outline of general history, must be given here. Louis IX., of France, better known by the name of St. Louis, having recovered from a dangerous illness made a vow to take the cross, and, with all the zeal of one who was desirous to signalise himself in the places that had been sprinkled with the blood of his Redeemer, he invited his people to follow his example, and effect the deliverance of Palestine from the power of the infidels. His consort, Margaret of Provence, marched at his side, in order to share his dangers; his brothers and the principal nobility of the kingdom, accompanied by him. Nor was the French monarch left to contend with the enemy single-handed. Prince Edward, the valiant son of the king of England, followed with a large train of English noblemen. Having arrived on the coast of Egypt, the army made good their landing, and marched for Damietta, A. D. 1246. Margaret led the troops in person, and the city was carried by storm. The intrepid conduct of the leaders, and the success which had hitherto crowned their arms, seemed to show that the decisive moment was now at hand when the subjection of Egypt was to secure the conquest of Judea. But a sudden and dreadful pestilence which raged in the Christian camp, a dearth of provisions, and the imprudent ardour of the count of Artois, who was surrounded by the enemy, and perished with the flower of the nobility, gave a most unhappy turn to its prosperous commencement. Louis was attacked near Massoura, and, notwithstanding his heroic behaviour, his army sustained a signal discomfiture, and he himself was made prisoner; A. D. 1250. Such was the fate of the last crusade for the recovery of Palestine.

CHAPTER XI.

FROM THE TIME OF GENGHIS KHAN, TO THAT OF TAMERLANE.

While the crusaders were fighting in the western part of Asia, the nations of the more easterly part were threatened with extermination by Genghis Khan, the greatest as well as the most sanguinary conqueror that ever existed. The rapidity of his conquests seemed to emulate those of Alexander; but the cruelties he committed were altogether unparalleled The Moguls, or Mongols, over whom this tyrant assumed the sovereignty, were a people of Eastern Tartary, divided, as at the present day, into various petty governments, but acknowledging a subjection to one sovereign, whom they called Vang-Khan, or the Great Khan. Temujin, afterwards Genghis Khan, one of the minor princes, had been unjustly deprived of his inheritance at the age of thirteen, and could not recover it till twenty-seven years after, A. D. 1201, when he totally reduced the rebels, and caused seventy of their chiefs to be thrown into as many cauldrons of boiling water. In 1202 he defeated and killed Vang-Khan himself (known to Europeans by the name of Prester John of Asia); and possessing himself of his vast dominions, became thenceforward irresistible. In 1206 he was declared king of the Moguls and Tartars, and took upon him the title of Genghis Khan, or the great Khan of Khans. This was followed by the reduction of the kingdoms of Haya in China, Tangut, Kitay, Turkestan, Karazim, or the kingdom of Gazna, Great Bukharia, Persia, and part of India; all of which vast regions he conquered in twenty-six years. It is computed that upwards of fourteen millions of human beings were butchered by him during the last twenty-two years of his reign, and that his conquests extended eighteen hundred leagues from east to west, and a thousand from south to north. He died in 1227. One of his sons subdued India; another, after crossing the Wolga, devastated Russia, Hungary, Poland, and Bohemia; while a third advanced into Syria, and conquered all the martime provinces of the Turkish empire. The caliphate of Bagdad, and the power of the Turks in that quarter, were finally destroyed by this sudden revolution. In the meantime the Mamelukes, a body of militia formed by the sultan of Cairo, expelled the Turkish conquerors, and seized the throne of Egypt.

The vast empire of Genghis Khan, however, had the fate of all others. being too extensive to be governed by any one of ordinary capacity, it split into a multitude of small kingdoms as before; but they all owned allegiance to the house of Genghis Khan till the time of Timur Bek, or Tamerlane. The Turks at this time, urged forward by the inundation of Tartars who poured in from the East, were forced upon the remains of the Greek empire; and at the time of Tamerlane they had almost confined this once mighty empire within the walls of Constantinople.

We must now again cast our eyes upon the transactions of Europe. After the death of Frederic II. the empire of Germany fell a prey to anarchy. An interregnum took place on the death of the emperor Richard, in 1271, which continued two years, and completed the destruction of the imperial domain. The tributary nations, Denmark, Poland and Hungary, absolutely shook off the yoke; each of them taking possession of what lay most convenient for them; freeing themselves from quit-rents and every obligation by which they thought themselves under restraint; and leaving nothing to the emperors but their paternal inheritance. Formerly taxes were paid to the emperor by the imperial cities; from which they endeavoured to free themselves, by taking advantage of the anarchy that prevailed at this time, and assumed the title of *free cities*, to distinguish them from a great number of imperial cities which they admitted into their body; and thus the Han

seatic league was formed. At length they grew tired of anarchy; and Gregory X. having threatened to name an emperor if they did not, they elected Rodolph, count of Hapsburg, the descendant of an old count of Alsace; from which election, humble as it was, the lustre of the House of Austria is derived. The new emperor was seated on the throne with nothing but an empty title to support the dignity; he had neither troops nor money; he was in subjection to the clergy; surrounded by vassals more powerful than himself, and in the midst of an enthusiastic people who were ripe for sedition and anarchy. His first care therefore was to conciliate the affections of the people, and by that means he happily appeased the spirit of faction. He also studied how to increase his dominions, so as to make them respectable; with this view, he artfully blended the idea of glory and the right of the empire with his own interest; and having united the forces of the Germanic body against Ottocar, king of Bohemia, that prince was compelled to yield Austria to the conqueror, who also obtained Suabia; so that he was enabled to leave his son Albert in possession of a rich and powerful state.

From the time of Rodolph of Hapsburg the amazing power of the popes began to decline. The form of government remained the same in Germany; but it was materially altered in England and France, where the middling classes of society had obtained a voice in the assemblies of each nation. The manners of the lower classes of society were still rude and barbarous in the extreme; but those of the nobility exhibited a singular mixture of devotion, gallantry, and valour, in which originated the several orders of knighthood, such as the order of the garter in England, and the golden fleece in Spain, of St. Michael in France, of Christ in Portugal, &c. To this strange combination of religion with war and with love, may be traced the origin of judicial combats, jousts and tournaments, and that spirit of chivalry which pervaded all the upper classes of society. Painting, sculpture, and architecture, arose in Italy through the exertions of the fugitive Greeks. The arts of printing and engraving were also enlightening the world; and the science of navigation, and consequently geography, were much advanced by the discovery of the mariner's compass.

CHAPTER XII.

FROM THE TIME OF TAMERLANE, TO THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

We now revert to the East. In 1362 Tamerlane invaded Bukharia, which he reduced in five years. Proceeding from conquest to conquest, he successively subdued Persia, Armenia, Georgia, Karazim, and a great part of Tartary. He then turned his course westward, and having subjugated all the countries to the Euphrates, next poured his hordes over the fertile plains of India, plundering Delhi, and pursuing the flying Indians to the banks of the Ganges. The cities of Asia Minor then felt his power; and among his cruelties may be numbered a general massacre of the inhabitants of Bagdad. In 1393 he invaded and reduced Syria. In 1402 he brought an army of 700,000 men against the Turks, under the sultan Bajazet, who with a force of 120,000 engaged him; but it ended in the total rout of the Turkish host, and the captivity of its leader. At length, while on his way to China, in 1405, the conquest of which empire he meditated, his progress was arrested by a sudden death, and most of the nations he had vanquished were able ere long to regain their independence, or had to submit to new masters.

The civil contentions that arose among the sons of Bajazet revived the hopes of the Greek emperor Manuel Paleologus; but they were speedily annihilated. Amurath II. after overcoming his competitors, took Thes-

salonica, and threatened Constantinople, which owed its salvation to the Hungarians under John Hunniades. Amurath having obtained a truce, immediately resigned the crown to his son Mohammed II., but an unexpected attack from Uladislaus, king of Hungary, induced him again to take the field. After the battle of Varna, in which the Chrstians were completely defeated, he finally abandoned the throne, A.D. 1444. In Mohammed II. were combined the scholar, the warrior, and the politician ; and he proved the most determined as well as formidable enemy of Christendom. He, however, met with some signal reverses, particularly when engaged against the celebrated Scanderbeg, prince of Albania. After making immense preparations, Mohammed, in the full confidence of success, undertook the siege of Constantinople. The defence was obstinate ; but having obtained possession of the harbour, by having, with the most indefatigable perseverence, drawn his fleet overland the distance of two leagues, the city surrendered; and thus an end was put to the eastern empire.

Russia had long languished under the heavy yoke of the Tartars, when Demetrius Iwanowitz made a desperate effort to effect the deliverance of his country ; and having defeated its oppressors, he assumed the title of grand duke of Russia. But the ferocious Tartars returned with an immense force, his troops were routed, and their gallant leader fell in the conflict. His death was, however, shortly after revenged by his son, Basilius Demetriwitz, who expelled the ferocious enemy, and conquered Bulgaria, A. D. 1450. Much confusion arose after his death ; but Russia was saved from anarchy by John Basilowitz, whose sound policy, firmness, and singular boldness rendered him at once the conqueror and the deliverer of his country. Freed from every yoke, and considered as one of the most powerful princes in those regions, he disdained the title of duke, and assumed that of czar, which has since remained with his successors.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE REFORMATION, AND PROGRESS OF EVENTS DURING THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

At the beginning of the 16th century the popes enjoyed the utmost tranquillity; the commotions excited by the Albigenses, Hussites &c., were suppressed ; and, according to all appearance, they had no reason to fear an opposition to their authority. Yet, in a short time after, a totally unforeseen event produced a singular change in the religious and political state of Europe ; this was the opposition of Luther to the doctrines of the church of Rome, or the beginning of what is commonly called *the Reformation*. The publicity with which the sale of indulgences was carried on under the sanction of Leo X., excited the indignation of Martin Luther, an Augustine monk and professor of theology at Wittemberg, in Saxony. Emboldened by the attention which he gained, not only from the people but from some of their rulers, he pushed his inquiries and attacks from one doctrine to another, till he at length shook the firmest foundations on which the wealth and power of the church were established. Leo, therefore, finding there was no hopes of reclaiming so incorrigible a heretic, issued a sentence of excommunication, A. D. 1520 ; but he was screened from its effects by the friendship of the elector of Saxony. On the election of Charles V. to the imperial throne of Germany, his first act was the assembling a diet at Worms, to check the progress of Lutheranism. In the progress of his arduous work, Luther had the assistance of several learned men, among whom were Zuinglius, Melancthon, Carlostadius, &c. ; and there was the greatest probability that the papal hierarchy would have been overturned, at least in the north of Europe, had it not been for the opposition of the emperor Charles V., who was also king of Spain. On

the death of Frederic, his brother John succeeded to the electorate of Saxony, by whose order Luther and Melancthon drew up a body of laws relating to the form of ecclesiastical government, the mode of public worship, &c., which was proclaimed by heralds throughout the Saxon dominions; this example was immediately followed by all the princes and states of Germany who had renounced the papal supremacy. In a diet held at Spires, in 1529, the edict of Worms was confirmed; upon which a solemn *protest* was entered against this decree by the elector of Saxony and other reformers; from which circumstance they obtained the name of PROTESTANTS,—an appelation subsequently applied to all who dissented from the doctrines of the Romish church. In the same year the elector of Saxony ordered Luther and other eminent divines to commit the chief article of their religion to writing, which they did; and, farther to elucidate them, Melancthon drew up the celebrated "Confession of Augsburg," which, being subscribed by the princes who protested, was delivered to the emperor in the diet assembled in that city, in 1530. From this time to the death of Luther, in 1546, various negotiations were employed and schemes proposed, under pretence of settling religious disputes.

While these transactions occupied the public attention in Germany, the principles of the reformers were making a rapid progress in most other countries of Europe: in some they were encouraged by the governing powers, while in others they were discountenanced, and their advocates subjected to cruel persecutions.

The Turks were now menacing Hungary, and Charles V. thought it prudent to forget his differences with the protestant princes and their subjects, for the sake of engaging them to assist him against the general enemy; but on the approach of the emperor at the head of 100,000 men, although the army of Solyman was at least double that number, the latter retired; and Charles returned to Spain, and engaged in an expedition to Tunis, against the famous corsair Barbarossa, whom he deposed from his assumed sovereignty.

A long and obstinate war had been carried on between the rival sovereigns of Germany and France; and the former, at the head of 50,000 men, invaded the southern provinces, while two other armies were ordered to enter Picardy and Champaigne. Francis laid waste the country, and fortified his towns; so that after the lapse of a few months, disease and famine so reduced the army of the emperor, that he was glad to retreat, and a truce was effected at Nice, under the mediation of the pope, A.D. 1538. Charles had also to quell a serious insurrection in Ghent, and endeavoured in vain to arrange the religious affairs of Germany at the diet of Ratisbon. The progress of the Turks, who had become masters of nearly the whole of Hungary, and his desire to embark in an expedition against Algiers, induced him to make concessions to the protestants, from whom he expected assistance. The conquest of Algiers was a favourite object of Charles; and in spite of the remonstrances of Doria, the famous Genoese admiral, he set sail in the most unfavourable season of the year, and landed in Africa; the result of which was, that the greatest part of the armament was destroyed by tempests: A.D. 1541.

The desire of Charles V. to humble the protestant princes, and to extend his own power, continued to manifest itself in every act. At length, being wholly free from domestic wars, he entered France; but the gallant defence of the duke of Guise compelled him to raise the seige of Metz, with the loss of 30,000 men. In the following year he had some success in the Low Countries; but the Austrians were unfortunate in Hungary. In Germany the religious peace was finally concluded, by what is called the "recess of Augsburg." It was during the progress of this treaty that Charles V., to the great astonishment of all Europe, resigned the imperial and Spanish crowns, and retired to spend the remainder of his life at the

monastery of St. Just, in Spain, where he died, three years after, aged 58. A. D. 1566.

Charles was succeeded by his son Philip, and no monarch ever ascended a throne under greater advantages. The Spanish arms were everywhere successful, and the rival nations appearing unanimous in their desire for repose after a series of devastating wars, peace was re-established between France and Spain, which included in it, as allies on the one side or the other, nearly all the other states of Europe.

At this time Elizabeth filled the throne of England, and Protestantism had there not merely gained the ascendency, but it was established as the religion of the state. In France also the reformed religion was making considerable progress; but its members, who in that country were called Huguenots, met with the fiercest opposition, from the courts of France and Spain, who joined in a "holy league," and a rancorous civil war raged for several years in many of the French provinces. The duke of Anjou commanded the Catholics; the Protestants were led by Coligni and the prince of Condé. At length a hollow truce was made the prelude to one of the most atrocious acts that stain the page of history—the savage and indiscriminate massacre of the Huguenots throughout France, on the eve of St. Bartholomew (Aug. 24, 1572). The account of this diabolical deed, by which 60,000 persons met with a treacherous death, was received in Rome and Spain with ecstacy; and public thanksgivings were offered up in their churches for an event, which, it was erroneously supposed, would go far towards the extirpation of a most extensive and formidable heresy.

About this period a serious insurrection of the Moors in Spain broke out and a most sanguinary war ensued, which raged with great violence in the southern provinces; but the insurgents were at length quelled, and public tranquillity restored. It was not long, however, before the revolt of the Dutch took place, which ended in their final emancipation from the Spanish yoke, in 1572.

But of all the preparations that were made for war and conquest, none equalled that of Philip's "invincible armada," which he fondly hoped would conquer England, and thus destroy the great stay of Protestantism. But this immense armament, consisting of one hundred and thirty ships, and nearly 30,000 men, after being partly dispersed, and losing several vessels during a violent storm, was most signally defeated by the English; and Philip had the mortification to hear that his naval force was nearly annihilated. The particulars of this event, so glorious to England and so disastrous to Spain, will be found in another part of this work; and we shall here merely observe, that it greatly tended to advance the Protestant cause throughout Europe, and effectually destroyed the decisive influence that Spain had acquired over her neighbours: indeed, from the fatal day which saw the proud armada shipwrecked, (1588), the energies of that once powerful country have been gradually declining, and its inhabitants seem to have sunk into a state of lethargic indolence.

It is worthy of remark that, in all the states of Europe, towards the latter end of this century, a decided tendency towards the concentration of power in the hands of few individuals was fully perceptible. The republics became more aristocratical, the monarchies more unlimited, and the despotic governments less cautious. The system pursued by the domineering court of Philip served more or less as an example to his contemporary sovereigns; while the recent and rapid increase in the quantity of the precious metals, and the progress of the industrious arts, by producing a multitude of new desires, rendered the court more avaricious and the nobles more dependent.

CHAPTER XIV.

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, TO THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA.

The seventeenth century, at its commencement, found Spain drained of its treasure, and destitute of eminent men. The colonization of America, the war in the Low Countries, and the incessant enterprizes of Philip II. had produced a pernicious effect on the population; and his successor, Philip III., banished two hundred thousand Moors, who constituted the most industrious portion of the remaining inhabitants.

Portugal was now under the power of Spain; and saw, as the consequence of her subjection, the greater part of the discoveries and conquests of her better days fall into the hands of strangers. The Dutch, who were forbidden, as rebels against the authority of Philip, to purchase in Lisbon the commodities of the East Indies, went to the latter country in seach of them, where they found an administration which had been rendered feeble by the influence of the climate, by luxurious and effeminate habits, and by spiritual and temporal tyranny, and while Philip III., after a seige of three years, which cost him from eighty to a hundred thousand men, got possession of Ostend, the Dutch took the isles of Molucca from his Portuguese subjects. In fact, of all the foreign possessions of the Portuguese, Goa, in the East Indies, and Brazil, in America, alone remained, and had our countryman, Sir Walter Raleigh, been adequately supported, the Spanish power in America would probably have been overthrown. Italy endured the yoke with impatience, and even Rome wished to see them humbled. Venice both feared and hated them; and to the dukes of Mantau and Savoy, the overbearing power, and the lofty tone of the cabinet of Madrid were insupportable.

The good and great Henry IV., king of France, whose excellent qualities were not thoroughly appreciated in his own age, was assassinated, and his kingdom again became the prey of factions: A. D. 1610. His widow, Marie de Medicis, sacrificed the welfare of the state to her personal inclinations; and her son, Louis XIII., who was a child at the time of his father's death, never became a man of independent character. It has been well remarked, that "the power of a state depends not so much on the numerical amount of its forces, as on the intelligence which animates their movements;" and certain it is, that France, which in the latter part of the reign of Henry IV. seemed likely to produce an universal revolution in the condition of Europe, had lost much of its political importance.

Free nations are never more powerful than when they are obliged to depend exclusively upon their own resources for defence, and when the magnitude of the dangers which menace them compels the developement of their moral energy. This was instanced in the case of Holland. In the midst of its contests for freedom, the republic erected a mighty empire in the East; and its navy rode triumphant on the seas. Its recognition as an independent state was soon after the necessary consequence.

The death of Henry IV., of France, was not merely a disastrous event as regarded the prosperity of that kingdom, but one which had a powerful influence on the hopes or fears of the other principal monarchies of Europe, and by none more than by the house of Austria. Rodolph II. was succeeded in the empire by his brother, the archduke Mathias, a man of great activity and an insatiable thirst for dominion. Though originally favourable to the Protestants, he now evinced a disposition to oppose them, and being supported by Ferdinand, duke of Styria, and the court of Spain, the Protestants took the alarm, and had recourse to arms, which may be considered as the origin of the celebrated "thirty years' war"

On the death of Mathias, Ferdinand, who had succeeded him as king of Bohemia and Hungary, was raised to the imperial throne. The Bohemian Protestants, dreading his bigotry, chose Frederic V., the elector palatine, for their sovereign. He was supported by all the Protestant princes of the Germanic body, while Ferdinand was aided by the king of Spain and the Catholic princes of the empire. Their forces proved overwhelming; Frederic, defeated and helpless, abandoned the contest in despair, and forfeited both the crown and his electorate. The emperor Ferdinand, strengthened by victory, and by the acquisition of treasure, now turned the arms of his experienced generals, Wallenstein, Tilly, and Spinola, against the Protestants, who had formed a league with Christian IV., king of Denmark, at its head, for the restoration of the palatinate (A. D. 1625), but the Imperialists were victorious, and the Protestants were compelled to sue for peace. They subsequently formed a secret alliance with Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden; A. D. 1629.

The father of Gustavus had left him a well-confirmed authority, though without treasure; the nobles who might have endangered his power had been humbled in the preceding revolutions, and there was nothing to fear from Russia, Poland, or Denmark. He was zealously anxious for the success of the Protestant cause; he wished also to check the ambitious designs of the emperor; and Germany appeared, in fact, to be the country in which he might seek for power with the greatest prospect of success. His talents, both military and civil, were of the highest order. Together with the lofty character of his genius, which manifested itself in the greatness of his plans, he combined the power of attention to minute details in the organization of his army, and a calm and penetrating insight into circumstances of the greatest intricacy. His habits were of the most simple kind; and though the boldness of his enterprises astonished the world, he was personally mild, beneficent, susceptible of the warmest friendship, eloquent, popular, and full of reliance on Providence. Richelieu, the minister of France, desirous of curbing the power of the house of Austria, subsidized Gustavus; and England furnished him with 6,000 troops, headed by the marquis of Hamilton. The magnanimous king of Sweden, by his sudden and unexpected appearance in the empire, by his irresistible progress, and finally by the victory of Leipsic, where he was opposed to the Imperialist army under Tilly, revived the confidence of the Protestant princes in their own power. He quickly made himself master of the whole country from the Elbe to the Rhine; but having been repulsed with considerable loss, in a furious attack on the intrenchments of the Imperialists at Nuremberg, and hearing that their general, Wallenstein, had soon after removed his camp to Lutzen, he proceeded thither to give him battle. The Imperial army greatly outnumbered the Swedes and their allies, and from daybreak till night the conflict was sustained with unabated vigour; but though the victory was nobly gained by the Swedes, their gallant king had fallen in the middle of the fight, covered with renown, and sincerely deplored by his brave and faithful soldiers; A. D. 1642. Both the king of Sweden and the court of France had been alarmed at the union of the whole power of Germany, in the hands of a ruler who assumed the tone of a universal sovereign; and the efficacy of a good military system, directed by the energetic genius of a single leader, was never more eminently displayed than on this occasion.

The war was still continued with various success; but the weight of it fell on the Swedes, the German princes having, after the fatal battle of Nordlingen, in 1634, deserted them. In the following year, however, the troops of France simultaneously attacked the Austrian monarchy at every accessible point, in order to prevent the forces of the latter from acting with decisive effect in any quarter. In 1637 the emperor Ferdi

nand died, and was succeeded by his son, Ferdinand III., who pursued the policy of his father; but though there was considerable disunion among the confederates, the great events of the war were generally in their favour. It would be inconsistent, however, with the sketchy outline we are penning, to enter into further details of this memorable war, and, perhaps, limited as our space is, we may have been already too diffuse. We will, therefore, pass at once to the celebrated *Peace of Westphalia*, which was signed at Munster on the 24th Oct., 1648. It was concluded under the mediation of the pope and the Venetians, between the emperor Ferdinand III., Philip III., king of Spain, and the princes of the empire who belonged to their party, on one side, and Louis XIV., Christina, queen of Sweden, the states-general of the United Provinces, and those princes of the empire, mostly Protestants, who were in alliance with the French and Swedes, on the other. By this celebrated treaty all differences were arranged between the belligerents, except France and Spain, who continued in hostilities for eleven years afterwards; but it restored tranquillity to northern Europe and Germany, and became a fundamental law of the empire, while Holland and Switzerland acquired a simultaneous recognition and guarantee.

CHAPTER XV.

FROM THE CIVIL WAR IN ENGLAND, TO THE PEACE OF RYSWICK.

At this period England was convulsed by civil war. During the prosperous age of Elizabeth, the commons had greatly increased in opulence, and, without regard to the resources of her successors, she had alienated many of the crown estates; James was prodigal towards his favourites, and Charles fell into difficulties in consequence of the disordered state of his financial affairs. He was magnanimous, amiable, and learned, but deficient in steadfast exertion, and in the dignity and vigour necessary to the situation in which he stood. His ideas of the royal prerogative were extravagant; but he often showed a timidity and irresolution on the appearance of opposition from his Parliament, which emboldened them to carry their opposition to the most unwarrantable lengths. In order to raise supplies without the authority of Parliament, the king exacted the customs and levied an arbitrary tax on ships; many feudal privileges and ancient abuses were exercised with increased severity; contributions and loans, called voluntary, were exacted by force; the forms of law were disregarded by the court of star-chamber; Englishmen were subjected to long imprisonments and exorbitant fines, and their rights treated with contempt. From the discussions to which these grievances gave rise, arose others relating to the nature and origin of political constitutions. The violence of parties daily increased; but as the king conceded, the Parliament grew more arrogant in their demands, and the hour was rapidly approaching when it was evident anarchy would trample upon the ruins of monarchy. At length a fierce civil war arose; religion was made a political stalking-horse, and gross hypocrisy overspread the land. Enthusiasts, equally inaccessible to reason or revelation, to a sense of propriety or any moral restraint, exercised the most irresistible influence on the course of events. The high church sunk into misery; the ancient nobility were basely degraded; the whole constitution fell into ruins; a "solemn mockery," miscalled the king's trial, took place, and Charles finally perished by the axe of the executioner, A. D. 1649. His death was soon followed by the usurpation of Cromwell, an incorrigible tyrant, detested at home and feared abroad, but who had not long left the scene of his

restless ambition, before the nation, weary of tyranny and hypocrisy, restored the son of their murdered sovereign to the throne; A. D. 1660.

From the peace of Westphalia until the death of Ferdinand III., in 1657, Germany remained undisturbed, when considerable ferment prevailed in the Diet, respecting the election of his successor. The choice of the electors, however, having fallen on his son Leopold, he immediately contracted an alliance with Poland and Denmark, against Sweden, and a numerous army of Austrians entered Pomerania, but failing in their object, peace was quickly restored. He next turned his arms against the Turks, who had invaded Transylvania, and gave them a signal overthrow. In this situation of affairs the youthful and ambitious Louis XIV., king of France, disturbed the peace of the empire by an attack upon the Netherlands, which he claimed in right of his queen, sister of Philip IV., the late king of Spain. In a secret treaty, Louis and Leopold had divided the Spanish monarchy; to the former was given the Netherlands, and to the latter Spain, after the demise of Charles II., the reigning monarch. Having prepared ample means, the king and Turenne entered Flanders, and immediately reduced Charleroi, Tournay, Douay, and Lille. Such rapid success alarmed the other European powers, who feared that another campaign would make him master of the Low Countries, and a triple alliance was formed between England, Holland, and Sweden, with a view of setting bounds to his ambition, and of compelling Spain to accede to certain prescribed conditions. A treaty was, accordingly, negotiated at Aix-la-Chapelle, by which Louis was allowed to retain the towns he had taken; and these he secured by entrusting their fortifications to the celebrated Vauban, and by garrisoning them with his best troops; A. D. 1668.

Louis now saw that his designs on the Netherlands could not be carried into effect without the co-operation of England; but believing that the profligate court of Charles II. was open to corruption, he easily succeeded, through the medium of Charles's sister, Henrietta, the duchess of Orleans, in prevailing on the prodigal king of England to conclude a secret treaty with him, in which it was agreed that Charles should receive a large pension from Louis, and aid him in subduing the United Provinces The cabinet of Versailles having also succeeded in detaching Sweden from the triple alliance, both monarchs, under the most frivolous pretences, declared war against the States, A. D. 1672. Without the shadow of a pretext, Louis seized the duchy of Lorraine, and Charles made a base and unsuccessful attempt to capture the Dutch Smyrna fleet, even while the treaty between the two countries existed. The power that was thus confederated against Holland, it was impossible to withstand. The combined fleets of France and England amounted to more than 120 sail, and the French army on the frontiers consisted of 120,000 men. The latter, in the first instance, bore down all opposition, but on the command of the Dutch army being given to the young prince of Orange, William III., the spirits and energy of the nation revived, and both the government and the people were united in their determination, rather than submit to disgraceful terms, to abandon their country, and emigrate in a body to their colonies in the East Indies. Meanwhile their fleets under Van Tromp and De Ruyter engaged the combined French and English fleets under Prince Rupert, in three hard-fought but indecisive actions; the emperor and the elector of Brandenburg joined the Dutch cause; and Charles II., distressed for want of money, and alarmed by the discontent of his own subjects, first concluded a separate peace with Holland, and then offered his mediation towards bringing about a reconciliation of the other contending parties.

Louis at the head of one of his armies conquered Franche-Compté in the next campaign; while Turenne was successful on the side of Ger-

many; but disgraced his trophies by the devastation and ruin of the Palatinate. In 1675, he was killed by a cannon-ball; and the French army was forced to recross the Rhine. They were successful, however, in the ensuing campaign; and their fleet defeated De Ruyter, after a series of obstinate engagements off Sicily, in one of which he was slain. In 1677, another campaign was opened, which proved still more favourable to the French. Valenciennes, Cambray, and St. Omer were taken; marshal De-Luxembourg defeated the prince of Orange, and several important advantages were gained by the French. At length the Dutch became anxious for peace, and signed the treaty of Mineguen, in 1678.

Louis employed this interval of peace in strengthening his frontiers, and in making preparations for fresh conquests. He then treacherously made himself master of Strasburg, and some other places in Flanders. By these aggressions the flames of war were nearly rekindled; but the treaty of Ratisbon prevented the continuance of hostilities, and left the French in possession of Luxembourg, Strasburg, and the fort of Khel.

At this time (1683) the imperial arms were occupied in opposing the Turks, who, having invaded Hungary, and marched towards Vienna, that city was on the point of being carried by assault, when the celebrated John Sobieski, king of Poland, came to its relief at the head of a numerous army. This revived the confidence of the besieged, and their assailants were repulsed; while the main body, which had been led by the grand vizier to meet the Poles, were thrown into disorder at the first charge of the Polish cavalry, and fled in the utmost confusion; leaving in possession of the victors their artillery, baggage, treasures, and even the consecrated banner of the prophet. During the siege of Vienna, Louis had suspended his operations, declaring that he would not attack a Christian power while Europe was menaced by infidels. He was now at the height of his power; and no sooner had the valour of Sobieski overwhelmed the Ottoman force, then he recommenced his war of aggrandizement. He had just before humbled the pirate states of Africa, trampled on the independence of Genoa, concluded an advantageous peace with Spain, and rendered himself obnoxious to the papal court by insulting the dignity of the pope. But while his ambition was alarming the fears and rousing the indignation of Europe, he committed an error which, in a political point of view, the most intolerant bigotry could scarcely be blind enough to excuse. Henry IV. had wisely granted religious freedom to the French protestants, and the edict of Nantes which secured it to them was designed to be perpetual. But after vainly endeavouring to control their consciences or reward their apostacy, Louis formally revoked the edict of Nantes, and treated his protestant subjects with all the injustice and cruelty that blind fanaticism could dictate, or brutality execute. By this insensate act he deprived his country of half a million of inhabitants, who transferred to other lands their wealth, their industry, and their commercial intelligence.

The Turkish war having been terminated, a league was formed at Augsburg, between the princes of Germany, to resist the further encroachments of the French king. To this league Spain, Holland, Sweden, and Denmark, acceded; and Louis having undertaken to restore James II. who had lately been dethroned by William, prince of Orange, England joined the alliance.

We must here briefly allude to the revolution which had placed the prince of Orange on the throne of England. James II. brother of the facetious but unprincipled Charles II. was a zealous proselyte of the Roman Catholic faith, and connected with the order of the Jesuits. One part of the nation was enthusiastically attached to freedom, and another was chiefly inspired by the hatred of the papal ceremonies; but all agreed that the king had no just or constitutional power to dictate to the

nation in matters of religion. James had offended many of the nobles, and they, instead of succumbing to the man they despised, addressed themselves to the stadtholder, who was his nephew and successor, and the presumptive heir to the throne. At this juncture the queen of England bore a son; an event which produced different effects on the hopes of the catholics and protestants. The stadtholder, immovable in all contingences, was confirmed in his resolution of rescuing England from the tyranny by which it was now oppressed; but he kept his own secret, and preserved his usual character of tranquillity, reserve, and impenetrability. Many of the English nobility repaired to the Hague, where William lamented their situation; and, with great secrecy, fitted out an armament that was to effect the deliverance of the English nation from popery and despotism. Though the king of France had sent James information of the proceedings of the prince of Orange, the infatuated king could not be persuaded of his danger until the expedition was on the point of sailing. At length the stadtholder landed in Torbay; and the unfortunate monarch, finding the situation of his affairs desperate, hastily quitted the English shores, and sought an asylum in France. A convention was then summoned, the throne declared vacant, and the prince and princess of Orange, as "King William III. and Queen Mary," were proclaimed king and queen of England. This was followed by the passing of the "Bill of Rights" and the "Act of Settlement," by which the future liberties of the people were secured.

At the head of the league of Augsburg was the Emperor Leopold; but Louis, not daunted by the number of the confederates, assembled two large armies in Flanders; sent another to oppose the Spaniards in Catalonia; while a fourth was employed as a barrier on the German frontier, and ravaged the palatinate with fire and sword; driving the wretched victims of his barbarous policy from their burning houses by thousands, to perish with cold and hunger on the frozen ground. In the next campaign his troops archieved several important victories, and the French fleet defeated the combined fleets of England and Holland off Beachyhead, A.D. 1690. Thus the war continued for the three following years, exhausting the resources of every party engaged in it, without any important change taking place, or any decisive advantage being gained by either that was likely to produce a cessation of hostilities. With all the military glory that France had acquired, her conquests were unproductive of any solid advantage; her finances were in a sinking state; her agriculture and commerce were languishing; and the country was threatened with the horrors of famine, arising from a failure of the crops and the scarcity of hands to cultivate the soil. All parties, indeed, were now grown weary of a war in which nothing permanent was effected, and in which the blood and treasure of the combatants continued to be profusely and useless expended. Accordingly, in 1697, negotiations were commenced, under the mediation of the youthful Charles XII., king of Sweden, and a treaty concluded at Byswick, by which Louis made great concessions, restoring to Spain the principal places he had wrested from her; but the renunciation of the Spanish succession, which it had been the main object of the war to enforce, was not even alluded to in the treaty.

CHAPTER XVI.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, TO THE PEACE OF UTRECHT.

THE declining health of Charles II., king of Spain, who had no children, engaged the attention of the European powers, and kept on the alert those princes who were claimants of the crown. The candidates

were Louis XIV., the Emperor Leopold, and the elector of Bavaria; and it was manifestly to the interest of those who wished to preserve the balance of power in Europe that the choice should fall on the latter; but he was unable to contend with his rivals. A secret treaty of partition was therefore signed by France, England, and Holland, by which it was agreed that Spain, America, and the Netherlands, should be given to the electoral prince of Bavaria; Naples, Sicily, and the Italian states, to the dauphin, and the duchy of Milan to the emperor's second son, the archduke Charles. This treaty coming to the knowledge of the king of Spain, he was naturally indignant that his possessions should thus be disposed of during his life; and he immediately made a will in favour of the electoral prince. This well suited the views of England and Holland; but the intention was scarcely made known, when the favoured prince died suddenly, not without suspicion of having been poisoned. The prince's death revived the apprehensions of England and Holland, and they entered into a new treaty of partition. But the king of Spain bequeathed the whole of his dominions to the duke of Anjou, second son of the dauphin, who was universally acknowledged by the nation after the death of Charles, who died in 1701; and the young king was crowned under the title of Philip V.

The emperor Leopold being determined to support the claims of his son, war immediately commenced, and an army was sent into Italy, where he met with great success. Prince Eugene having expelled the French from the Milanese, a grand alliance was formed between Germany, England, and Holland. The avowed objects of this alliance were "to procure satisfaction to his imperial majesty in the case of the Spanish succession; obtain security to the English and Dutch for their dominions and commerce; prevent the union of the monarchies of France and Spain; and hinder the French from possessing the Spanish dominions in America."

James II., the exiled king of England, died at St. Germain's in France, on the 7th of September, 1701; and was succeeded in his nominal titles by his son, James III., better known by the appellation of the *Pretender*. With more magnanimity than prudence, Louis XIV. recognised his right to the throne his father had abdicated, which could not be considered in any other light than that of an insult to William and the English nation; and the parliament strained every nerve to avenge the indignity offered to the monarch of their choice; but before the actual commencement of hostilities, William met with his death, occasioned by a fall from his horse, A.D. 1702.

Anne, second daughter of James II., and wife of George, prince of Denmark, immediately ascended the vacant throne; and, declaring her resolution to adhere to the grand alliance, war was declared by the three powers against France, on the same day, at London, the Hague, and Vienna. Her reign proved a series of battles and of triumphs. Being resolved to pursue the plans of her predecessor, she entrusted the command of the army to the earl of Marlborough, who obtained considerable successes in Flanders; while the combined English and Dutch fleets captured the galleons, laden with the treasures of Spanish America, which were lying in Vigo bay, under the protection of a French fleet. Meanwhile, the French had the advantage in Italy and Alsace; but in Flanders the genius of Marlborough (now raised to a dukedom) continued to be an overmatch for the generals opposed to him. Having secured his conquests in that country, he resolved to march into Germany, to the aid of the emperor, who had to contend with the Hungarian insurgents as well as the French and Bavarians. He accordingly crossed the Rhine, and meeting prince Eugene at Mondlesheim, a junction was agreed on and effected with the Imperialists under the duke of Baden; and, thus

united, they advanced to the Danube. The rival armies each amounted to about 60,000 men. The French and Bavarians were posted on a hill near the village of Blenheim, on the Danube; but though their position was well chosen, their line was weakened by detachments, which Marlborough perceiving, he charged through, and a signal victory was the result. The French commander, Tallard, was made prisoner, and 30,000 of the French and Bavarian troops were killed, wounded, and taken; while the loss of the allies amounted to 5,000 killed, and 7,000 wounded: A.D. 1704. By this brilliant victory the emperor was liberated from all danger; the Hungarian insurgents were dispersed; and the discomfited army of France hastily sought shelter within their own frontiers. In Spain and Italy the advantage was on the side of the French; but the victory of Blenheim not only compensated for other failures, but it greatly raised the English character for military prowess, and animated the courage of the allies.

Among other great exploits of the war was the capture of Gibraltar by Admiral Sir George Rooke and the prince of Hesse. This fortress, which had hitherto been deemed impregnable, has ever since continued in possession of the English, who have defeated every attempt made by the Spaniards for its recovery.

In the following year (1705), the emperor Leopold died, and was succeeded by his son Joseph. In Italy the French obtained some considerable advantages; while in Spain nearly all Valencia and the province of Catalonia submitted to Charles III. The hopes and fears of the belligerants were thus kept alive by the various successes and defeats they experienced. Louis appeared to act with even more than his usual ardour: he sent an army into Germany, who drove the Imperialists before them; while his Italian army besieged Turin, and Marshal Villeroy was ordered to act on the offensive in Flanders. This general, with a superior force, gave battle to Marlborough at Ramillies, and was defeated, with a loss of 7000 killed, 6000 prisoners, and a vast quantity of artillery and ammunition. All Brabant, and nearly all Spanish Flanders, submitted to the conquerors. The allies, under Prince Eugene, were also successful in Italy; while, in Spain, Philip was forced for a time to abandon his capital to the united forces of the English and Portuguese. Louis was so disheartened by these reverses that he proposed peace on very advantageous terms; but the allies, instigated by the duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene, rejected it, although the objects of the grand alliance might at that time have been gained without the further effusion of blood. Thus refused, Louis once more exerted all his energies. His troops having been compelled to evacuate Italy, he sent an additional force into Spain, where the duke of Berwick (a natural son of James II.) gained a brilliant and decisive victory at Almanza over the confederates, who were commanded by the earl of Galway and the marquis de las Minas; while the duke of Orleans reduced Valencia, and the cities of Lerida and Saragossa. The victory of Almanza restored the Bourbon cause in Spain; and Marshal Villars, at the head of the French army in Germany, laid the duchy of Wirtemberg under contribution

The general result of the war hitherto had miserably disappointed the English; Marlborough felt that a more brilliant campaign was necessary to render him and his party popular. He therefore crossed the Scheldt, and came up with the French army, under Vendome, at Oudenarde. They were strongly posted; but the British cavalry broke through the enemy's lines at the first charge; and though the approach of night favoured the retreat of the French, they were put to a total rout, and 9000 prisoners fell into the hands of the English. Shortly after, Lisle was forced to surrender; and Ghent and Bruges, which had been taken by Vendome, were retaken. About the same time the islands of Sardinia and Minorca surrendered to the English fleet, and the pope was compelled to acknowledge the archduke Charles as the lawful king of Spain: A. D. 1708.

The treasury of Louis being greatly exhausted, and his councils distracted, he again expressed his willingness to make every reasonable concession for the attainment of peace, offering even to abandon the whole of the Spanish monarchy to the archduke; but his proffers being rejected, except on terms incompatible with national safety or personal honour, the French king, trusting to the affection and patriotism of his people, called upon them to rise in defence of the monarchy, and in support of their humble and aged king. His appeal was patriotically responded to. Every nerve was strained to raise a large army, and the salvation of France was confided to Marshal Villars. The allied army was formed on the plains of Lisle; the French covered Douay and Arras. Eugene and Marlborough invested Mons. Villars encamped within a league of it, at Malplaquet. Elated with past success, the confederates attacked him in his intrenchments: the contest was obstinate and bloody: and though the allies remained masters of the field, their loss amounted to about 15,000 men; while that of the French, who retreated, was not less than 10,000, (Sept. 11. 1709). Louis again sued for peace; and conferences were opened at Gertruydenburg early in the following spring: but the allies still insisting upon the same conditions, the French monarch again rejected them with firmness. The war continued, and with it the successes of the allies in Flanders and in Spain, where the archduke again obtained possession of Madrid. But the nobility remaining faithful to Philip, and fresh succours arriving from France, the duke of Vendome compelled the allies to retire towards Catalonia, whither they marched in two bodies. The English general, Stanhope, who commanded the rear division, was surrounded at Brighuega, and forced to surrender, with 5000 men; and though the principal division, led by Staremberg, compelled Vendome to retreat, and continued their march in safety, they were unable to check the victorious progress of Philip's arms.

The expenses of a war so wholly unproductive to England had by this time exhausted the patience of the nation; and a change had taken place in the British cabinet that was unfavourable to Marlborough and his designs Through the death of the emperor Joseph, which had just occurred, the archduke Charles succeeded to the imperial dignity, thus giving a new turn to the politics of the sovereigns of Europe, who were in alliance to prevent the union of the Spanish and German crowns: a great obstacle to the restoration of peace was therefore removed. Hostilities however continued, but with so little energy, that no event of importance occurred during the whole campaign. At length the English and French plenipotentiaries concurring in the same desire for peace, preliminaries were signed between England and France, at London, Dec. 1712. The following year a congress was held at Utrecht for the general pacification of Europe; and a definite treaty of peace was signed on the 31st of March, 1713, by the plenipotentiaries of all the belligerant powers, except those of the emperor and the king of Spain. It was stipulated that Philip should renounce all title to the crown of France, and the duke of Berri and Orleans to that of Spain; that if Philip should die without male issue, the duke of Savoy should succeed to the throne of Spain; that the Spanish Netherlands, Naples, Milan, and the Spanish territories on the Tuscan coast should be secured to Austria; that the Rhine should be the boundary between France and Germany; and that England was to retain Gibraltar and Minorca. In the following year the emperor signed the treaty of Rastadt, the conditions of which were less favourable to him than those offered at Utrecht; and Philip V. acceding to it some time after, Europe once more enjoyed tranquillity. Shortly after having thus extricated himself from all his difficulties, the long and eventful reign of Louis XIV. was terminated by his death, and his great grandson, Louis XV. being a minor, the duke of Orleans was made regent of France.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE AGE OF CHARLES XII. OF SWEDEN, AND PETER THE GREAT OF RUSSIA.

Though we have confined our attention to the wars which occupied the south and west of Europe at the latter end of the 17th century, we must not overlook the events that took place in the north and east, through the rivalry and ambition of two of the most extraordinary characters that ever wielded the weapons of war, or controlled the fate of empires: these men were Charles XII., of Sweden, and Peter the Great, of Russia.

It is here necessary to retrace our steps for a few years. In 1661 the people of Denmark, disgusted with the tyranny of their nobles, solemnly surrendered their liberties to the king; and Frederic, almost without any effort of his own, became an absolute monarch. His successor, Christian V., made war on Charles XI., of Sweden, who defended himself with great ability, and, dying in 1697, left his crown to his son, the valiant and enterprising Charles XII.

During the reign of Alexis, Russia began to emerge from the barbarism into which it had been plunged by the Mongolian invasion and the civil wars occasioned by a long course of tyranny on the part of its rulers. His son Theodore pursued an enlightened policy, reforming the laws encouraging the arts, and introducing the manners and customs of more civilized nations. At his death he bequeathed the crown to his younger brother, Peter, in preference to his imbecile brother Ivan, who was several years his senior. Through the intrigues of their ambitious sister Sophia, a rebellion broke out; and owing to the incapacity of one brother and the youth of the other, she continued to exercise the whole sovereign power. Being accused, however, of plotting the destruction of her youngest brother, she was immediately arrested and imprisoned; and Ivan having retired into private life, Peter became sole and undisputed master of the Russian empire, which was destined through his efforts, to acquire eventually an eminent rank among the leading powers of Europe.

Endowed with an ardent thirst for knowledge, gifted with the most persevering courage, and animated by the hope of civilizing his nation, Peter I., deservedly surnamed the Great, exhibited to the world the unusual spectacle of a sovereign descending awhile from the throne for the purpose of rendering himself more worthy of the crown. Having regulated the internal affairs of Russia, Peter left Moscow, and visited France, Holland, and England *incognito;* investigating their laws, studying their arts, sciences, and manufactures, and everywhere engaging the most skilful artists and mechanics to follow him into Russia. But his desires did not end there, he wished also to become a conqueror. He accordingly, in 1700, entered into an alliance with Poland and Denmark, for the purpose of stripping the youthful Charles XII. of the whole, or of a part of his dominions. Nothing dismayed, the heroic Swede entered into an alliance with Holland and England, laid siege to Copenhagen and compelled the Danish government to sue for peace. The Russians had in the meantime besieged Narva with 80,000 men. But Charles having thus crushed one of his enemies, in the short space of three weeks, immediately marched to the relief of Narva, where, with only 10,000 men he forced the Russian entrenchments, killed 18,000 and took 30,000 prisoners, with all their artillery, baggage, and ammunition. Peter being prepared for reverses, coolly observed, "I knew that the Swedes would beat us, but they will teach us to become conquerors in our turn."

Having wintered at Narva, in the following year Charles defeated the Poles and Saxons on the Duna, and overran Livonia, Courland, and Lithuania. Elated with his successes, he formed the project of dethroning

Augustus, king of Poland. Combining policy with the terror of his arms, he entered Warsaw, and, through the intrigues of the primate of Poland, he obtained the deposition of Augustus, and the election of his friend, the young palatine Stanislaus Leczinski, A.D. 1704. Though Peter had been unable to afford his ally Augustus much assistance, he had not been inactive. Narva, so recently the scene of his discomfiture, he took by storm, and sent an army of 60,000 men into Poland. The Swedish king, however, drove them out of the country, and, at the head of a noble and victorious army, he marched onward with the avowed intention of dethroning his most formidable enemy, the czar of Russia. Peter endeavoured to avert the storm by sending proposals of peace, which being haughtily rejected, he retreated beyond the Dnieper, and sought to impede the progress of the Swedes towards Moscow, by breaking up the roads, and laying waste the surrounding country. Charles, after having endured great privations, and being urged by Mazeppa, hetman or chief of the Cossacks, who offered to join him with 30,000 men and supply him with provisions, penetrated into the Ukraine. He reached the place of rendezvous, but the vigilance of Peter had rendered the designs of the hetman abortive, and he now appeared rather as a fugitive, attended with a few hundred followers than as a potent ally.

The Swedish army had still greater disappointments to meet with. No supplies were provided, and General Lewenhaupt, who had been ordered to join the king with 15,000 men from Livonia, had been forced into three engagements with the Russians, and his army was reduced to 4000. Braving these misfortunes, Charles continued the campaign, though in the depth of winter. In the midst of a wild and barren country, with an army almost destitute of food and clothing, and perishing with cold, he madly resolved to proceed. At length he laid siege to Pultowa, a fortified city on the frontiers of the Ukraine, which was vigorously defended. His army was now reduced to 30,000 men, and he was suffering from a wound which he had received while viewing the works. The czar, at the head of 70,000 men, advanced to the relief of Pultowa, and Charles, carried in a litter, set out with the main body of his army to give him battle. At first the impetuosity of the Swedes made the Russians give way, but Charles had no cannon and the czar's artillery made dreadful havoc in the Swedish lines. Notwithstanding the desperate valour of the troops, the irretrievable ruin of the Swedes was soon effected; 8000 were killed, 6000 taken prisoners, and 12,000 fugitives were forced to surrender on the banks of the Dneiper from want of boats to cross the river. The Swedish army was thus wholly destroyed. Charles, and about three hundred men, escaped with much difficulty to Bender, a Turkish town in Bessarabia, where he was hospitably received, and where he remained inactive during several years, buoyed up with the hope that the Ottoman Porte would espouse his cause, and declare against the czar of Russia. In one fatal day Charles had lost the fruits of nine years' victories, and the shattered remnant of that army of veterans, before whom the bravest troops of other countries quailed, were transported by the victorious czar to colonize the wild and inhospitable deserts of Siberia.

But the inflexible king of Sweden had not even yet abandoned all hope of humbling the power of his hated rival. At length, in 1711, war was declared against Russia by the Porte, and the vizier Baltagi Mehemet advanced towards the Danube at the head of 200,000 men. By this immense force the Russian army on the banks of the Pruth was closely surrounded and reduced to a state of starvation. At this critical juncture, the czarina Catharine, who accompanied her husband, sent a private message to the vizier and procured a cessation of hostilities preparatory to opening negotiations, which were speedily followed by a treaty of peace. Charles, who had calculated on the total destruction of the czar, felt highly in-

censed at this disappointment of his most ardent hopes, and eventually procured the dismissal of the vizier. His successor, however, still less favourable to the views of the royal warrior, persuaded the sultan, Achmet III., to signify his wish that Charles should leave the Ottoman empire. But he resolved to remain, and the Porte had recourse to compulsory measures. His house was invested by Turkish troops, and after a fierce defence on the part of himself and his few attendants, he was taken and conveyed as a prisoner to Adrianople.

The enemies of Sweden were, in the mean time, prosecuting their successful career. Stanislaus, whom Charles had placed on the throne of Poland, had been compelled to yield it to Augustus, and the Swedish frontiers were threatened on every side. General Steinbock, after having gained a brilliant victory over the Danes and Saxons at Gadebusch, and burnt Altona, was besieged in Tonningen, and forced to surrender with the whole of his army. Roused at this intelligence, the king of Sweden left Turkey, and after traversing Germany without any attendant, arrived safely at Stralsund, the capital of Swedish Pomerania.

At the opening of the next campaign, [A.D. 1715] Stralsund was besieged by the Prussians, Danes and Saxons, and though obstinately defended by the king, was forced to capitulate, while he narrowly escaped in a small vessel to his native shores. All Europe now considered that his last effort had been made, when it was suddenly announced that he had invaded Norway. He had found in his new minister, Baron de Goertz, a man who encouraged his most extravagant projects, and who was as bold in the cabinet as his master was undaunted in the field. Taking advantage of a coolness that existed between Russia and the other enemies of Sweden, Goertz proposed that Peter and Charles should unite in strict amity, and dictate the law to Europe. A part of this daring plan was the restoration of the Stuarts to the throne of England. But while the negotiations were in progress, Charles invaded Norway a second time, and laid siege to Frederickshall, but while there a cannon-ball terminated his eventful life, and his sister Ulrica ascended the throne, A.D. 1718.

By the peace which Peter signed with Sweden, he obtained the valuable provinces of Carelia, Ingrain, Esthovia, and Livonia. On this glorious occasion he exchanged the title of czar for that of emperor and autocrat of all the Russias, which was recognized by every European power. One year after (A.D. 1725) this truly extraordinary man died, in the 53d year of his age, and the 43d of a glorious and useful reign. Peter the Great must be considered as the real founder of the power of the Russian empire, but while history records of him many noble, humane, and generous actions, he is not exempt from the charge of gross barbarity, particularly in his early years. He must not, however, be judged according to the standard of civilized society, but as an absolute monarch, bent on the exaltation of a people whose manners were rude and barbarous.

Catharine I. who had been crowned empress the preceding year, took quiet possession of the throne, and faithfully pursued the plans of her illustrious husband for the improvement of Russia; obtaining the love of her subjects by the mildness of her rule and the truly patriotic zeal she evinced for their welfare. She died in the second year of her reign, and left the crown to Peter II., son of the unfortunate Alexis, and the regency to prince Menzicoff, who was afterwards disgraced and banished to Siberia. After a short and peaceable reign Peter II. died, and with him ended the male line of the family of Romanof A.D. 1730.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE AFFAIRS OF EUROPE, FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE HANOVERIAN SUCCESSION IN ENGLAND, TO THE YEAR 1740.

Arrived at a period of comparative repose, we may now take a retrospective glance at the affairs of Great Britain. In 1707, Scotland and England had been united under this appellation, and the act of union introduced equal rights, liberties, commercial arrangements, and a parliament common to both nations. During the life of William III. the protestant succession had been decided by act of parliament, in favour of the countess palatine Sophia, duchess of Hanover, wife of the first electoral sovereign of that territory and mother of George I. This princess died a short time before queen Anne, and George I., upon that event, took the oath of succession, by which he engaged to observe and maintain the laws and liberties of Britain, not to engage that kingdom even in defensive wars on account of his electorate, and to employ no other than British ministers and privy counsellors in the administration of government.

As George I. in a great measure owed his succession to the crown to the Whig party, he openly avowed himself their friend and patron, and they were no sooner in office than they used their power to crush their political adversaries the Tories. One of the first acts of his reign was the impeachment of the duke of Ormond, and the lords Oxford and Bolingbroke. Oxford was committed to the Tower, but Bolingbroke and Ormond made their escape to the continent. The evident partiality of the monarch for the Whigs, and their vindictive proceedings, gave great umbrage to many persons, and roused the anger of all who were favourable to the Stuart dynasty. These feelings more especially prevailed in the Highlands of Scotland, and a plan was formed for a general insurrection in favour of the Pretender, whom they proclaimed under the title of James III. By the authority of the prince the earl of Mar had raised his standard, and the clans quickly crowded to it, so that he was soon at the head of 9,000 men, including several noblemen and other persons of distinction. But their plans were prematurely formed, and their want of unanimity in conducting the necessary operations proved fatal to the cause in which they were embarked. They were attacked and completely routed by the royal forces at Preston Pans, A.D. 1716. The Pretender and the earl of Mar effected their escape, but most of the insurgent chiefs and officers were doomed to suffer death as traitors. The rebellion being thus suppressed, an act was passed for making parliaments septennial, instead of triennial.

We now return to the affairs of Spain and other continental states. We have seen that the death of the emperor and the accession of the archduke Charles to the imperial throne, left Philip V. undisputed master of Spain and of its colonies. His first queen being dead, he married Elizabeth Farnese, heiress of Parma, Tuscany, and Placentia, a woman of masculine spirit, who, having a powerful influence over the mind of her husband, and being herself directed by the daring cardinal Alberoni, his prime minister, indulged in the prospect of recovering those possessions which had been wrested from Spain, and confirmed by the peace of Utrecht. The schemes of Alberoni, in fact, went much farther; by the aid of Charles XII. of Sweden, and Peter I. of Russia, he designed to change the political condition of Europe; he desired to restore the Stuarts to the throne of England, to deprive the duke of Orleans of the regency of France, and to prevent the interference of the emperor by engaging the Turks to assail his dominions. These ambitious projects were defeated by what was termed the "quadruple alliance" (A.D. 1716) between Austria, France,

England and Holland. The court of Spain for a time resisted this powerful confederacy, but its disasters both by land and sea, compelled Philip to accede to the terms which were offered him, and Alberoni was dismissed, A.D. 1720. A private treaty was afterwards concluded between the king of Spain and the emperor, and another, for the express purpose of counteracting it, was concluded between England, France, Holland, Prussia, Denmark and Sweden. This led to a short war between England and Spain: the English sent a fleet to the West Indies to block up the galleons in Porto-Bello, and the Spaniards made an unsuccessful attack upon Gibraltar. Neither party having gained by the rupture, the mediation of France was accepted, and a treaty was concluded at Seville, by which all the conditions of the quadruple alliance were ratified and confirmed. One of its articles providing that Don Carlos, son of the queen of Spain, should succeed to Parma and Placentia, the Spanish troops now took formal possession of those territories. It was also agreed that the "pragmatic sanction," or law by which the emperor secured the succession of the Austrian dominions to his female heirs, in failure of male issue, should be guaranteed by the contracting powers.

George I., king of England, died in 1727, but his death made no change in the politics of the cabinet, Sir Robert Walpole continuing at the head of affairs after the accession of George II. Some few years previous to the death of his father, the nation had experienced much loss and confusion by the failure of the "South-Sea scheme," a commercial speculation on so extensive a scale that it had well-nigh produced a national bankruptcy. It was a close imitation of the celebrated "Mississippi scheme," which had a short time before involved in ruin thousands of our Gallic neighbours.

The pacific disposition of Cardinal Fleury, prime minister of France, and the no less pacific views of Walpole, for nearly twenty years secured the happiness and peace of both countries. But the pugnacious spirit of the people, and the remembrance of old grievances on both sides, led to new altercations with the Spaniards, which were greatly aggravated by their attacking the English employed in cutting logwood in the bay of Campeachy. A war was the consequence, and France became the ally of Spain, A.D. 1739. A small force being sent to the West Indies, under Admiral Vernon, the important city of Porto-Bello was captured, which success induced the English to send out other armaments upon a larger scale. One of these, under Commodore Anson, sailed to the South Seas, and after encountering severe storms, by which his force was much diminished, he ravaged the coasts of Chili and Peru, and eventually captured the rich galleon annually bound from Acapulco to Manilla. The other expedition was directed against Carthagena, but it proved most disastrous, owing to the mismanagement and disputes of the commanders, and to the unhealthiness of the climate, not less than 15,000 troops having fallen victims to disease.

CHAPTER XIX.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF THE EMPRESS THERESA, OF AUSTRIA, TO THE PEACE OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE.

We now return to the state of affairs in northern Europe. On the death of the emperor, Charles VI., his daughter, Maria Theresa, by virtue of the pragmatic sanction, took possession of his hereditary dominions, but she found she was not likely to retain peaceable possession of them. The kings of Poland, France and Spain, exhibited their respective claims to the whole Austrian succession, and Frederic the Great, king of Prussia

who had just ascended his throne, looking only to the aggrandizement of his dominions, joined her enemies in the hope of obtaining a share of the spoil. At the head of a well-appointed army he entered Silesia, took Breslau, its capital, and soon conquered the province, and in order to retain his acquisition he offered to support Maria Theresa against all her enemies, A.D. 1741. This proposal was steadily and indignantly rejected by the princess, though she was well aware that the French and Bavarians were on the point of invading her territories, for the express purpose of elevating Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, to the imperial dignity. Under the command of the prince, assisted by the marshals Belleisle and Broglio, the united armies entered Upper Austria, took Lintz and menaced Vienna. Maria Theresa being compelled to abandon her capital, fled to Hungary, and having convened the states, she appeared before the assembly with her infant son in her arms, and made such an eloquent appeal that the nobles with one accord swore to defend her cause till death. "Moriamur pro REGE nostro Maria Theresa." Nor were these mere idle words; her patriotic subjects rushed to arms, and, to the astonishment of her enemies a large Hungarian army, under the command of Prince Charles of Lorraine, marched to the relief of Vienna, and the elector was obliged to raise the siege. A subsidy was at the same time voted to her by the British parliament, and the war assumed a more favourable aspect. The Austrians took Munich, after defeating the Bavarians at Meniberg, and the prince of Lorraine expelled the Prussians and Saxons from Moravia. The elector, however, had the gratification, on retiring into Bohemia, to take the city of Prague, and having been crowned king of Bohemia, he proceeded to Frankfort where he was chosen emperor under the name of Charles VII., A.D. 1742.

The king of Prussia having obtained a brilliant victory over the Austrians at Czarslau, took immediate advantage of his position, and signed a separate treaty with the queen of Hungary, who ceded to him Lower Silesia and Glatz, on condition of his remaining neutral during her contest with the other powers. The conduct of Frederic gave just cause of offence to the court of France, for, thus deprived of its most powerful ally, the French army must have been inevitably ruined but for the superior abilities of Marshal Belleisle, who effected one of the most masterly retreats through an enemy's country that has been recorded in the annals of modern warfare. Louis XV. now made offers of peace on the most equitable terms, but the queen, elated with success, haughtily rejected them. In consequence of a victory gained by Prince Charles of Lorraine, she had also soon the gratification of recovering the imperial dominions from her rival Charles VII., who took refuge in Frankfort, and there lived in comparative indigence and obscurity.

England had now become a principal in the war, and the united British, Hanoverian and Austrian forces marched from Flanders towards Germany. The king of England had arrived in the allied camp, and the French commander, Marshal de Noailles, having cut off their supplies, the destruction of the British and Austrian army was anticipated, either by being cut to pieces if they attempted a retreat, or by their surrender. They commenced their retreat, and, fortunately for them, the good generalship of Noailles, who had taken possession of Dettingen in their front, was counteracted by the rashness of his nephew, the count de Grammont, who advanced into a small plain to give the allies battle; but the impetuosity of the French troops was met by the resolute and steady courage of the allies, which obtained for them the victory of Dettingen. The marshal retreated, but the allies, owing to the irresolution of George II., obtained no farther advantage.

The haughty and ambitious conduct of the empress, who avowed her intention of keeping Bavaria, gave great offence to several of the German

princes, and France, Prussia, and the elector palatine, united to check the growing power of Austria. The French arms were victorious in Flanders; the king of Prussia, who had invaded Bohemia, was defeated with great loss, and forced to make a precipitate retreat into Silesia, A.D. 1744. Not long after this the death of the elector of Bavaria removed all reasonable grounds for the continuance of hostilities, his son having renounced all claims to the imperial throne, while Maria Theresa agreed to put him in possession of his hereditary dominions.

During the campaign of 1745 the Imperialists lost Parma, Placentia and Milan. In Flanders a large French army, under Marshal Saxe, invested Tournay, while the allies, under the duke of Cumberland, though greatly inferior in numbers, marched to its relief. The king of France and the dauphin were in the French camp, and their troops were strongly posted behind the village of Fontenoy. The British infantry displayed the most undaunted valour, carrying everything before them; but they were ill supported by their German and Dutch allies, whose indecision or want of courage lost the day. The capture of Tournay, Ghent, Ostend, and Oudenarde by the French, was the immediate consequence of this important victory.

In England the fatal battle of Fontenoy disappointed the expectations of the people, and produced great irritation in the public mind, while it at the same time revived the hopes of the Jacobites, who thought it a fortunate time to attempt the restoration of the Stuart family. Charles Edward, the young Pretender, accordingly landed in Scotland, where his manly person and engaging manners won the hearts of the Highlanders, who were everywhere ready to give him a hearty welcome and join his standard. Thus supported by the Highland chiefs and their clans, he took possession of Dunkeld, Perth, Dundee, and Edinburgh. Having proclaimed his father, he marched against Sir John Cope, the royal commander, over whom he obtained a victory at Preston Pans. After receiving some reinforcements he crossed the English border, took Carlisle and Lancaster, and marched boldly on to Derby. But being disappointed in his hopes of powerful assistance from the English Jacobites, he took the advice of the majority of his officers and retraced his steps. On his return to Scotland his forces were considerably augmented, and, receiving a supply of money from Spain, he prepared to renew the contest with spirit. But though he was at first successful, by taking the town of Stirling, and defeating the troops sent against him at Falkirk, the approach of a larger army, commanded by the duke of Cumberland, soon compelled the prince to retreat to the north. On reaching Culloden Moor, near Inverness, he resolved to make a stand. As usual, the Highlanders made a furious onset, but their desperate charge was received by a close and galling fire of musketry and artillery, which in a very short time proved decisive. Giving up all for lost, Charles Edward desired his partizans to disperse, and became himself a wretched and proscribed fugitive, in the hourly dread of falling into the hands of his merciless pursuers, who, after their victory, with fiendlike barbarity, laid waste the country with fire and sword. After wandering in the Highlands for several months, and receiving numerous proofs of the fidelity of his unfortunate adherents, whom the reward of £30,000 for his capture did not tempt to betray him, he escaped to France, A.D. 1746.

In the mean time the French troops under Marshal Saxe were overrunning the Netherlands; Brussels, Antwerp, and Namur were captured; and the sanguinary battle of Roucoux ended the campaign. In Italy, the arms of France and her allies were not equally successful; and after a series of battles in Germany and the Low Countries, in which the fortune of war was pretty equally balanced, conferences were opened at Aix-la-Chapelle, and preliminaries of peace signed: A. D. 1748. The basis of this treaty was the

restitution of all places taken during the war, and a mutual release of prisoners. Frederic of Prussia was guranteed in the possession of Silesia and Glatz; the Hanoverian succession to the English throne was recognised and the cause of the Pretender abandoned.

We brought our notice of Russia down to the death of Peter II., in 1730. When that occurred, a council of the nobles placed on the throne Anne Iwannowa, daughter of Ivan, Peter's eldest brother, who soon broke through the restrictions imposed upon her at her accession. She restored to Persia the provinces that had been conquered by Peter the Great; and terminated a glorious war against Turkey, in conjuction with Austria, by surrendering every place taken during the contest. A.D. 1735. She is accused of being attached to male favourites, the principal of whom was a man of obscure birth, named John Biren, who was elected duke of Courland, and who governed the empire with all the despotism of an autocrat. Previously to her death, Anne had bequeathed the throne to the infant Ivan, and appointed Biren regent; but the latter enjoyed his high dignity only twenty-two days, when he was arrested and sent into exile in Siberia. Russia has ever been noted for cabals, intrigues, and revolutions. The soldiery had been induced to espouse the cause of Elizabeth, daughter of Peter the great. Anne was arrested and imprisoned; the infant emperor was confined in the fortress of Schusselburg; and Elizabeth was immediately proclaimed empress of all the Russias. This princess concluded an advantageous peace with Sweden; and lent her powerful assistance to Maria Theresa, in her war with the king of Prussia, for whom Elizabeth felt a violent personal enmity.

CHAPTER XX.

PROGRESS OF EVENTS DURING THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR IN EUROPE, AMERICA, AND THE EAST INDIES.

DURING the period we have been describing, in which the west and the north of Europe resounded with the cries of distress or the shouts of victory, the throne of Hindostan was filled by Mahmoud Shah, a voluptuous prince; who, in order to avoid becoming the object of personal hatred, confided all public business to the nobles and his ministers: these officers offended or neglected the subahdar of the Deccan, who invited Nadir Shah to invade the East Indies. In 1738 the Persian warrior marched into that country at the head of an army inured to war and greedy of plunder, and defeated with ease the innumerable but disorderly troops of the mogul. The crown and sceptre of Mahmoud lay at the feet of his conqueror. Delhi, his capital, was taken; every individual whoseappearance rendered it probable that he was acquainted with concealed treasures, was subjected to the most horrid tortures; and it is asserted that 100,000 persons were massacred in one day! He plundered the country of upwards of thirty millions sterling, and extended the bounds of his empire to the banks of the Indus. After committing the most revolting acts of cruelty, he was assassinated by his own officers, who placed his nephew, Adil Shah, on the vacant throne; A. D. 1747. We will now take a view of European interests in that distant region.

Among other stipulations in the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, it was agreed that the English settlement of Madras, which during the war of the succession had been taken from the English by the French, should be restored. Dupleix, the French governor of Pondicherry, had long sought an opportunity for adding to the dominions of his countrymen in India; and the continual disputes of the native princes favoured his schemes, inasmuch as the interference of the French was generally solicited by one of the parties, who remunerated their European allies by fresh concessions

of territory on every such occasion. This naturally roused the jealousy of their English rivals, who adopted a similar line of policy; so that whenever there was a rupture between the native princes, they each found allies in the European settlers. A fierce contention arose for the nabobship of the Carnatic. The French supported the claims of Chunda Sahib; the English being applied to by Mohammed Ali, son of the late nabob of Arcot, espoused his cause: A. D. 1751. It was at this time that Mr. Clive (afterwards lord Clive) appeared in the capacity of a military leader. He had been originally in the civil service of the East India Company; but he now exchanged the pen for the sword, and soon proved himself more than a match for all the talents which were brought into play against him. With a small force he took Arcot; and he afterwards successfully defended it against Chundah Sahib, who besieged it with a numerous army. Many brilliant victories followed on the side of the English and their allies. The Rajah of Tanjore, and other independent chiefs joined them. The French lost most of their acquisitions: Mohammed Ali's claim was acknowledged; and a treaty was entered into between the French and English, that neither party should in future interfere with the affairs of the native princes. Time proved how useless was such a stipulation.

The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was not of long duration. France and England were still at war in the East indies, and their differences in respect to the boundaries of their respective colonies in North America still remained for adjustment. Another war in Europe was the inevitable consequence; and from the term of its duration it obtained the name of "the seven years' war." England united with Prussia; and an alliance between the emperor, France, Russia, Sweden, and Saxony, was immediately concluded: A. D. 1756. The commencement of the campaign had a discouraging aspect for the king of Prussia; the Russians were advancing through Lithuania, a Swedish army occupied his attention in Pomerania, and the united forces of the French and Imperialists were advancing through Germany. With his characteristic boldness, Frederic anticipated the attack of his numerous foes, and invaded both Saxony and Bohemia; making himself master of Dresden, routing the Austrians at Lowesitz, and compelling 17,000 Saxons to lay down their ams at Parma.

In the ensuing campaign the marshal d'Estrees crossed the Rhine, with 80,000 men, to invade Hanover. The Hanoverians and Hessians, under the command of the duke of Cumberland, were driven out, and the French became masters of the electorate. Unawed by the formidable preparations of his enemies, Frederic again assumed the offensive, and penetrated into Bohemia; but a victory obtained at Kolin, by the Austrian general Daun, compelled him to retreat hastily into his dominions, which were now threatened in every direction. The French had rapidly advanced upon Magdeburg; the victorious Russians threatened the north of Silesia, while the Austrians had attacked the south and even penetrated to Berlin, where they levied heavy contributions; and the prince of Brunswick Bevern had delivered up Breslau. In this emergency, Frederic could scarcely expect to acquire any further fame; but, with his accustomed energy, he hastened to Dresden, assembled an army, and with half the number of his French and German opponents, gave them battle at the village of Rosbach, and obtained over them a most brilliant victory. His loss amounted to only five hundred men, while that of the enemy was nine thousand, in killed, wounded, and prisoners. In four weeks after he obtained the far more important victory of Lissa, and recovered Breslau.

During the campaign of 1758, the Prussian monarch recovered Schweidnitz, and invested Olmutz. In the meantime Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick crossed the Rhine, defeated the French at Crevelt, and penetrated to the very gates of Louvain in Brabant. No commander, perhaps ever endured the vicissitudes of fortune in more rapid succession than did Fred

eric in this campaign; but though he was several times in the most imminent peril, he at length compelled his formidable rival, Marshal Daun, to raise the sieges of Dresden and Leipsic, and to retire into Bohemia, while Frederic himself entered the former city in triumph.

It is in crises like these that the destiny of states is seen to depend less upon the extent of their power, than upon the qualification of certain eminent individuals, who possess the talent of employing and increasing their resources, and of animating national energies. This was in an especial degree the case of Frederic the Great. He was engaged with the powerful and well-disciplined armies of Austria; with the French, whose tactics and impetuosity were undisputed; with the immovable perseverance of the Russians; with the veterans of Sweden, and with the admirably organized forces of the empire. In numerical strength they far more than trebled the Prussians; yet he not only kept them constantly on the alert, but frustrated their combined attacks, and often defeated them with great loss.

At the opening of the next campaign (1759) the fortune of war was on the side of the Prussians. They destroyed the Russian magazines in Poland, levied contributions in Bohemia, and kept the Imperialists in check. Prince Ferdinand, in order to protect Hanover, found it necessary to give the French battle at Minden, where success crowned his efforts, and had it not been for the unaccountable conduct of Lord George Sackville, who commanded the cavalry, and disobeyed or misunderstood the order to charge the discomfited French, a victory as glorious and complete as that of Blenheim would in all probability, have been the result. A decided reverse soon succeeded; the combined Austrian and Russian army of 80,000 men attacked the Prussians at Cunersdorf, and after a most sanguinary conflict the latter was defeated. Frederic soon retrieved this disaster, and the war continued to proceed with dubious advantage; but the English grew tired of this interminable kind of warfare, and turned their attention from the actions of their intrepid ally to matters affecting their colonial interests in the East and West Indies, and in America.

The bold and skilful operations of Clive in the East Indies attracted great notice. Having reinstated the nabob of Arcot, his next great exploit was the recapture of Calcutta, which had been taken by the nabob of Bengal. This was followed by the unexampled victory of Plassy, and the final establshment of the British in northern India. In America, Admiral Bocaswen burned the enemy's ships in the harbour of Louisburg, and compelled the town to surrender; the island of St. John and Cape Breton was taken by General Amherst; and Brigadier Forbes captured fort Du Quesne, while the French settlements on the African coast were reduced. The island of Gaudaloupe, in the West Indies, was also taken by the English. Crown Point and Ticonderoga were conquered by General Amherst, and Sir William Johnson gained possession of the important fortress of Niagara. The French, thus attacked on every side, were unable to withstand the power and enthusiasm of their enemies: and General Wolfe, who was to have been assisted in his attack on Quebec by Amherst, finding that the latter general was unable to form a junction with him, resolved to attempt the arduous and hazardous enterprise alone. With this view he landed his troops at night under the heights of Abraham, and led them up the steep and precipitous ascent; so that when the morning dawned, the French commander, the Marquis de Montcalm, to his astonishment, saw the English occupying a position which had before been deemed inaccessible. To save the city a battle was now inevitable; both generals prepared with ardour for the conflict. Just as the scale of victory was beginning to turn in favour of the British, the heroic Wolfe fell, mortally wounded. With redoubled energy his gallant troops fought on, till at length the French fled in disorder; and, when the intelligence wa

brought to the dying hero, he raised his head, and with his last breath, faintly uttered, "I die happy;" nor was the death of Montcalm less noble or soldierlike. He had been mortally wounded; and he was no sooner apprised of his danger than he exclaimed, "so much the better: I shall not live to witness the surrender of Quebec." The complete subjugation of the Canadas quickly followed. And, amidst the exploits of his army and navy, George II. expired suddenly at Kensington, in the 34th year of his reign, and was succeeded by his grandson, George III., A. D. 1760.

On the European continent the last campaigns were carried on with less spirit than before; both sides were exhausted by their previous efforts, and the party which was desirous of peace endeavoured to avert such occurrences as might revive the hopes of the enemy. A family compact was now concluded between the courts of Versailles and Madrid; and seeing no chance of gaining any colonial advantages over Britian while its navy rode triumphant on the ocean, they resolved to try their united strength in attempting the subjugation of its ancient ally, Portugal. That country was defended more by its natural advantages than by its military force; the progress of the Spaniards being retarded by the miserable condition of the roads, and by the neglect of all provision for their sustenance. An English force of 8000 men, together with a large supply of arms and ammunition, was sent to assist the Portuguese, and though several towns at first fell into the hands of the Spaniards, the British and native troops displayed a decided superiority throughout the campaign, and compelled them to evacuate the kingdom with considerable loss. In Germany, Prince Ferdinand and the marquis of Granby not only protected Hanover, but recovered the greater part of Hesse. At the same time Frederic experienced an unexpected stroke of good fortune. The empress Elizabeth of Russia died, and Peter III., who had long admired the heroic king, and who had never forgotten that the influence of Frederic had especially contributed to the foundation of his hopes and greatness, had no sooner ascended the throne than he made peace with him, and restored all the conquests of the Russians. From that time the king was not only enabled to concentrate his whole force against the Austrians, but was supported by Peter, who concluded an alliance with him, and despatched to his aid a corps of 20,000 men. The reign of Peter III., was, however, of very brief duration; and Catharine II., although she confirmed the peace, recalled the auxiliary Russians from the Prussian army.

Meanwhile the English were extending their conquests in the West Indies. They took Havannah and Manilla from the Spaniards, with Martinique, St. Lucie, Grenada, and St. Vincent, from the French. Tired of a war which threatened the whole of their colonies with ruin, the cabinets of France and Spain were glad to find that the British minister was equally anxious to bring the war to a close. Peace, which was now the universal object of desire to all parties, was concluded at Versailles, on the 10th of February, 1763, between Great Britain, France, and Spain, and five days later, at Hubertsburg in Saxony, between Austria and Prussia. This memorable contest, which had required such an extraordinary expenditure of blood and treasure—a war in which the half of Europe had been in arms against England and Prussia—was concluded with scarcely any alteration in the territorial arrangements of Germany, and without producing any great or lasting benefit to either of the belligerants, so far, at least as their interests in Europe were concerned. But in the East and West Indies, as well as in America, it had added greatly to the colonial possessions of Great Britian.

CHAPTER XXI.

FROM THE CONCLUSION OF THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR TO THE FINAL PARTITION OF POLAND.

THE "seven years' war," the principal features of which we have given, left most of the contending powers in a state of great exhaustion; but none had been more affected by it than France. While that country, however, was declining, Russia, under the Empress Catharine II., was rapidly acquiring a preponderating influence among the nations of Europe; and no opportunity of adding to her already extensive territories were ever neglected. On the death of Augustus III., king of Poland, the diet assembled at Warsaw to choose a successor. Catharine espoused the cause of Stanislaus Poniatowsky; and as the discussions were not conducted with the temper which ought to characterize deliberative assemblies, the prudent empress, as a friend and neighbour, sent a body of troops thither to keep the peace. This had the desired effect, and Stanislaus ascended the throne. But Poland had long been agitated by disputes, both religious and political, and the new sovereign was unable to control the elements of discord by which he was surrounded. The animosity which existed between the Catholics and the Dissidents, as the dissenting sects were called, had risen to a height incompatible with the safety of the kingdom. The Dissidents, who had been much oppressed by the Catholics, claimed an equality of rights, which being refused, they appealed to foreign powers for protection; those of the Greek church to the empress of Russia, and the Lutherans to the kings of Prussia and Denmark. A civil war now arose in all its horrors, and its miseries were greatly aggravated by the insolence and brutality of the Russian troops which Catharine had sent to the aid of the Dissidents. The Catholic nobles formed a confederacy for the maintenance of their privileges and their religion; but it was useless to contend against the overwhelming forces brought against them. Cracow, where they for a long time held out against famine and pestilence, was at length taken by storm, and the unhappy fugitives were pursued beyond the Turkish frontiers.

The protection which the confederates received in Turkey, and mutual complaints concerning the incursions of the wandering hordes of Tartars and Cossacks, had, some years before, furnished a pretence for war between the Porte and the Russians. It was impossible that Mustapha III. could any longer contemplate with indifference the transactions which took place in Poland; not only was the security of his northern provinces endangered, but he felt justly indignant at the violation of his dominions. He accordingly remonstrated with the empress; and she speciously replied, that having been requested to send a few troops to the assistauce of her unhappy neighbour, in order to quell some internal commotions, she could not refuse. But a body of Russians having afterwards burned the Turkish town of Balta, and put all its inhabitants to death, war was declared, and the European and Asiatic dominions of the Porte summoned to arms. While all the officers who were to compose the suite of the grand vizier were preparing at Constantinople for their departure, the multifarious hordes of militia assembled themselves out of Asia, and covered the Bosphorus and Hellespont with numerous transports. On the other hand, the different nations composing the extensive empire of the autocrat of all the Russias, most of whom were but a few degrees removed from barbarism, put themselves in motion, and a body of troops, selected from among the corps dispersed over Poland, was assembled on the side of the Ukraine. The capitation tax of the Russian empire was raised, and a war contribution of 20 per cent. levied on all salaries. Large armies on both

sides advanced against the Danube; and in the spring of 1769 the Turkish standard was displayed on the frontiers of Russia, where the Ottoman troops committed frightful ravages, and drove the enemy across the Dneister; they, however, suffered a severe defeat at Choczim, and a more decisive blow was soon after struck by the Russians, who twice defeated the Turkish fleet, and at length burnt fifteen of their ships of the line in the bay of Chesmé. Meantime, the Russian land forces were equally successful; the grand Ottoman army was totally overthrown near the Pruth, and the capture of Bender, Ismail, and other places, quickly followed.

Greece, long accustomed to subjection, was but ill-provided with troops, and the inhabitants pursued their own affairs unmolested; but when they received intelligence of the enterprise of the Russians—a Christian people of the Greek church—to deliver the Greeks from the yoke of the barbarians, the love of liberty was rekindled in many of their hearts. All Laconia, the plains of Argos, Arcadia, and a part of Achaia, rose in insurrection, and spared none of their former rulers. The Turks, in the meantime, crossed the isthmus in order to relieve Patra, and the pasha of Bosnia, with 30,000 men, advanced with little resistance into the ancient Messene; at Modon the Greeks were defeated with great loss, and it was evident that their hope of regaining their freedom was a delusive one. At the end of the campaign the plague broke out at Yassy, and spread to Moscow, where it carried off 90,000 persons, at the rate of nearly 1000 victims daily.

The Crimea was seized by the Russians, and the grand vizier was forced to retreat into Hæmus; the Janizaries rose, put their aga to death, and set fire to their camp. The Porte in the meantime was delivered from Ali Bey, the Egyptian pasha, who fell in battle against his brother-in-law, Mohammed. Europe had taken a more lively interest in his adventures, because he appeared to be elevated above national prejudices; but his fault consisted in his manifesting his contempt for those errors too early, and in too decided a manner. The Russians at length crossed the Danube, and the Janizaries gave way. They were twice compelled to abandon the siege of Silistria, and they lost a great part of their artillery near Varna. But a reverse of fortune was nigh; for not long after, Hassan Pasha, a man of great courage and intelligence, by birth a Persian, and who was high in the favour of the sultan, swore that not a Russian should pass the autumnal equinox on the Turkish side of the Danube—and he faithfully kept his word.

Mustapha III. died in 1774, and was succeeded by his brother, Abd-ul-Hamed. But neither the sultan nor his people appeared inclined to prosecute the war. About the same time, Pugatcheff, the Cossack, at the head of many warlike hordes, broke into open rebellion; and this convinced Catharine that peace was not less desirable for Russia than for the Porte. A treaty was accordingly entered into, by which the latter ceded a considerable portion of territory to the empress, together with a right to the free navigation of the Black Sea.

We now return to notice the melancholy fate of Poland. An attempt on the personal liberty of Stanislaus having been made by the turbulent and bigoted nobles, it served as a pretext for the empress of Russia first to send an army into the country, and afterwards, in conjunction with Prussia and Austria, to plan its dismemberment. Each party to the compact had some old pretended claims to urge in behalf of the robbery, and as the other nations of Europe were not in a condition to wage war against the powerful trio, their mediatorial interference would have been ineffectual. A Diet was called to give a colour to the transaction, and a majority of votes being secured, the armies of the spoilers severally took possession of the districts which had been previously parcelled out; and little else remained of Poland—independent Poland—but its language and its name; A. D. 1773.

CHAPTER XXII.

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE AMERICAN WAR, TO THE RECOGNITION OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE UNITED STATES.

To describe, with chronological order, even a limited portion of the momentous events of the period to which we are now approaching, would be impossible in an outline sketch of general history. We shall therefore content ourselves with merely alluding to some of the leading features which present themselves, and then enter upon our series of separate histories.

The first great event, then, which in this place demands our attention, is the American war. Our notice of it, as a matter of course, will be most brief and cursory. Among the earliest settlers in North America, were many who emigrated from Great Britain on account of civil or religious persecution—men, who, being of republican principles, and jealous of the smallest encroachments of their rights, naturally instilled those principles into the minds of their children, and thus laid the foundation of that spirit of resistance to arbitrary acts of power, which kindled the flames of war between the mother country and the colonies, and ended in the establishment of a powerful republic. The constitution of the American colonies bore the original impress of liberty. Under the protection of Great Britain, North America stood in fear of no foreign enemy, and the consciousness of her native strength was already too great to permit her to feel much apprehension even of her mother country. Religion was everywhere free from restraint, agriculture was held in honour, and peace and order were protected against the attempts of parties, and wild and lawless men. The people, like the country they inhabited, appeared to be in the full vigour of youth; ardent, independent, and capable of astonishing exertions when aroused by the stimulus of the passions.

In 1765 a stamp-duty on various articles was imposed by the British parliament on the colonists, but on their remonstrating, the act was soon after repealed. Subsequently a duty was laid on tea; this was resisted, and at Boston the tea was thrown into the sea. Coercive measures were then tried, and in 1775 a civil war began. In the following year the Americans issued their Declaration of Independence. Many battles were fought, but nothing very decisive took place till the year 1777, when Gen. Burgoyne, the British commander, was surrounded at Saratoga, and compelled to surrender, with about 4000 men.

With a blind infatuation, little dreaming of the danger of espousing principles professedly republican, and with no other view, indeed, than that of humbling a powerful neighbour, France now entered the lists as the ally of the Americans, and Spain no less blindly followed the example. But England had augmented the number of her troops, and placed them under the command of lords Cornwallis and Rawdon, who harassed the Americans, under Washington, while Admiral Rodney displayed his superiority in a naval engagement with the Spaniards. But it was not merely the hostility of the French and Spaniards that the English had to cope with; the jealousy of the continental powers displayed itself by their entering into an armed neutrality, the avowed object of which was to resist the right of search which England's long-established naval superiority had taught her to exercise as a right over the vessels of other nations. Holland was now added to the list of enemies, the faithless conduct of that state having induced the British government to declare war against it, and many of the Dutch possessions in South America and the West Indies were taken from them. Meantime the war in America, as well as on its coasts, was carried on with increased vigour, the French

Austrians were signally defeated at Jemappe; and this was quickly followed by the reduction of Brussels, Leige, Namur, and of the whole of the Netherlands, which were declared free and independent states.

In December, 1793, the royal captive was led to the bar of the Convention, where, after undergoing a long and insulting examination, he was unanimously declared guilty of conspiring against the national liberty, and sentenced to die by the guillotine. He conducted himself with dignity, and heard the decision of his fate with firmness and resignation. Thus perished, in the 39th year of his age and the 19th of his reign, Louis XVI., the amiable and unfortunate descendant of a long line of kings. Soon after this judicial murder, a decree of the national Convention promised assistance to every nation desirous of throwing off the yoke of its rulers. This was naturally regarded as a virtual declaration of war against all the kings of Europe; and England, Holland, and Spain were now added to the list of its enemies. The war for a time assumed a new feature; a British army, commanded by the duke of York, reduced Valenciennes, and attacked Dunkirk, and the French lost their conquests as rapidly as they had acquired them. But before the close of the year 1793, the fortune of war was again in their favour; the duke of York was obliged to raise the siege of Dunkirk, with great loss; while the Austrians were driven within their own frontiers.

The horrors of civil war now raged in France with unmitigated fury. The ferocious Robespierre was at the head of the fiercest Jacobins; and Paris daily witnessed the execution of the most respectable of its citizens. Nearly all, indeed, who were remarkable either for rank, property, or talents, were the victims of the reign of terror; and among the number who fell by the axe of the guillotine was the unfortunate queen, Marie Antoinette, who had been for some time immured within the dungeon of the Conciergerie. The royalists in La Vendeé dared to oppose the revolutionary decrees; but the cities which resisted the regicide authorities, particularly Lyons and Nantes, were visited with the most horrid persecutions. Hundreds of victims were daily shot or guillotined, and the whole country was laid waste with demoniac vengeance. In the meantime extraordinary measures were taken by the convention to increase the armies by levies *en masse;* and private property was arbitrarily seized to support them. The English took possession of Toulon, but were soon forced to abandon it to the troops of the convention. It is worthy of remark, that on this occasion the talents of Napoleon Buonaparte were first signally distinguished; this young officer having the command of the artillery of the besiegers. The war in the Netherlands was carried on with vigour, victory and defeat alternately changing the position of the allied armies.

The progress of the French revolution was naturally watched with feelings of intense interest by the people of England, but with sentiments very opposite in their nature; and it required all the talents and vigour of those who were at the helm of state to uphold the ancient institutions, and direct the national councils with safety.

During the year 1794 the French armies were pretty generally successful. But while they spread terror abroad, the French nation groaned under the sanguinary despotism of Robespierre and his ruthless associates. The time had at length, however, arrived when this monster was to pay the forfeit of his own wretched life for the outrages he had committed, and the unparalleled misery he had caused. Being publicly accused of treason and tyranny by Tallien, he was arrested, and executed the following day, along with twenty-two of his principal accomplices, amidst the merited maledictions of the spectators. In a few days, above seventy members of the commune also shared a similar fate.

CHAPTER XXIV.

FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FRENCH DIRECTORY, TO THE PEACE OF AMIENS.

A great naval victory over the French was achieved by lord Howe on the 1st of June, and several West India islands were taken from them. The French troops were uniformly successful in Holland; the stadtholder was compelled to seek an asylum in England; and the country, under the new name of the Batavian republic, was incorporated with France. Soon after this, France received a new constitution, which placed the executive power in the hands of five directors and the legislative council of elders, and a council of "five hundred."

In 1795 Prussia and Spain made peace with France, which gave the republicans an opportunity of bearing with their whole force on the frontiers of Germany. The royalists in La Vandeé again rose, but were speedily reduced. About the same time the Cape of Good Hope and several of the Dutch East India possessions were taken by the English, whilst admirals Bridport, Hotham, and Cornwallis defeated the French fleets.

Once more let us revert to Polish affairs. The late partition of Poland had opened the eyes of Europe to the probable future encroachments of the courts of Vienna, Petersburgh, and Berlin; and the Poles, aware of their impending fate, resolved to oppose the designs of their enemies by a vigorous and unanimous effort. Under the brave Kosciusko they gave battle to the Russians, and maintained a long and sanguinary contest, which ended in their driving the enemy out of Warsaw, with immense slaughter. But the armies of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, invaded Poland on every side; and Suwarrof, at the head of 50,000 men, annihilated their army, recaptured Warsaw, which they pillaged, and, sparing neither age nor sex, put to the sword nearly 30,000 individuals. The final partition of the kingdom then took place.

The campaign of 1796 opened with great vigour on the part of the allies as well as on that of the French, and numerous severe battles were fought in Germany, the advantage inclining rather to the side of the allies. Moreau, who had pursued his victorious career to the Danube, there received a check, and was forced to retrace his steps to the Rhine; but though often nearly surrounded by the Austrians, he effected one of the most masterly retreats of which we have any record in modern times.

But it was in Italy that the most brilliant success attended the French arms. The command had been given to Buonaparte. Having routed the Austrians and Piedmontese at Monte Notte and Millesimo, he compelled the king of Sardinia to sue for peace. Then followed his daring exploit at the bridge of Lodi, and his seizure of Bologna, Ferrara, and Urbino; till, at length, finding himself undisputed master of the north of Italy, he erected the Transpadane and Cis-padane republics.—Among the other events of the year may be noticed the capture of St. Lucia and Granada, in the West Indies, by Sir Ralph Abercrombie; the failure of a French expedition sent to invade Ireland, which was dispersed by adverse winds; the abandonment of Corsica by the British; some fruitless negotiations for peace between England and France, and the demise of the empress Catharine II.

The papal states were next overrun by the French, and the pope was under the necessity of purchasing peace, not only with money and the surrender of many valuable statues, paintings, &c., but by the cession of part of his territories. Buonaparte then resolved to invade the hereditary

states of the emperor; and the French armies having gained considerable advantages over their adversaries, the French directory took advantage of their position and offered terms of peace, and a definitive treaty was eventually signed at Campo Formio. By this treaty the Venetian states, which had been revolutionized by Buonaparte during the negotiations, were ceded to Austria, while the Austrian possessions in the north of Italy and the Netherlands were given to France in exchange. Genoa about the same time was revolutionized, and assumed the name of the Ligurian republic. At the latter end of this year Lord Duncan obtained an important victory over the Dutch fleet off the coast of Holland.

The French having no other power than Great Britain now to contend with, the year 1798 was ushered in with rumours of a speedy invasion; and large bodies of troops, assembled on the opposite shores of France, were said to be destined for this grand attack, which was to be under the direction of the victorious general Buonaparte. These preparations were met in a suitable manner by the English, whose effective male population might almost literally be said to be embodied for the defence of the country. At the same time a dangerous and extensive rebellion broke out in Ireland; but the vigilance of the government defeated the intentions of the rebels, and they submitted, though not without the severest measures being adopted, and the consequent effusion of blood.

A secret naval expedition upon a large scale, with a well-appointed army on board, under the command of Buonaparte, had been for some time preparing. It at length set sail from Toulon, took possession of Malta on their way to Egypt, and, having eluded the vigilance of Nelson, safely landed near Alexandria, which town they stormed, and massacred the inhabitants. The veteran troops of France everywhere prevailed over the ill-disciplined Mamelukes, and the whole of Egypt soon submitted to the conqueror. Meanwhile Admiral Nelson discovered and totally destroyed the French fleet in the bay of Aboukir. While these events were passing in Egypt, the French government prosecuted its revolutionary principles wherever its emissaries could gain admittance. Rome was taken by them, the pope imprisoned, and a republic erected. Switzerland was also invaded, and, notwithstanding the gallant efforts of the Swiss patriots, the country was united to France under the title of the Helvetian republic. The territory of Geneva was also incorporated with France. These unjustifiable invasions showed so plainly the aggrandizing policy pursued by the French directory, that the emperors of Russia and Austria, the king of Naples, and the Porte united with England to check their ambitious designs.

The year 1799 presented a continued scene of active warfare. The Neapolitans, who had invaded the Roman territory, were not only driven back, but the whole kingdom of Naples submitted to the French, and the king was compelled to seek refuge in Sicily. The French armies also took possession of Tuscany and Piedmont; but the operations of the allies were conducted with vigour and success. The archduke Charles routed the French under Jourdan in the hard-fought battles of Ostrach and Stockach; and the Austro-Russian army obtained a decisive victory at Cassano, and drove the enemy to Milan and Genoa. The arms of the republic were equally unfortunate in other parts. Turin, Alessandria, and Mantua were taken; and the French under Joubert and Moreau, were totally routed at Novi. Switzerland afterwards became the principal scene of action; and there also the army of Suwarrof was successful; but another Russian army, commanded by Koraskoff, was attacked and defeated by Massena, and Zurich taken by storm. In Italy, however, success still attended the allies. The French were expelled from Naples and Rome, and the papal chair was soon after occupied by Pius VII.

While these important military operations were occupying the armies in Europe, Buonaparte had reduced Egypt, and formed the resolution of invading Syria. El-Arish, Gaza, and Jaffa had surrendered; and with the confidence of certain success, Acre was invested; but there, as in days of old, a British warrior was its defender. The courage and activity of Sir Sidney Smith resisted the repeated assaults of the French during a siege of sixty-nine days; and Buonaparte, though at the head of 12,000 veterans was completely foiled in all his attempts, and was obliged to retreat into Egypt. He was afterwards successful in several encounters with the Turks, particularly at Aboukir; but, foreseeing that the expedition would ultimately prove disastrous, he confided the command to General Kleber, and secretly returned to France. Buonaparte's invasion of Egypt was considered as preparatory to an attempt on India, where, at the very time, the British arms were crowned with great success—Seringapatam having been taken, and our formidable enemy, Tippoo Saib, being found among the slain.

Discord and anarchy reigned throughout France, under the weak, yet arbitrary administration of the directory; and the sudden appearance of Buonaparte was the signal for a new revolution in that government. At the head of the conspiracy was his brother Lucien, president of the council of five hundred, who was supported by Cambaceres, Talleyrand, Sieyès, Fouché, &c. The directory was speedily overturned, a senate and three consuls were appointed, and Buonaparte was chosen first consul.

One of his first acts was that of making pacific overtures to England, which were rejected. He then put himself at the head of the army, crossed Mount St. Bernard, and marched from victory to victory, till the memorable battle of Marengo decided the fate of Italy. The successes of the French in Germany were of a less decisive nature; but the defeat of the allies at Hohenlinden induced Francis II. to sign the treaty of Luneville, by which he ceded some of his possessions in Germany, and transferred Tuscany to the duke of Parma.

At the beginning of 1801 England was without an ally, and had to contend with another formidable opponent in Paul I., of Russia, who had induced Sweden and Denmark to unite with him in forming an armed neutrality. To crush this northern confederacy in the bud, a large fleet was sent to the Baltic, under the command of Sir Hyde Parker and Lord Nelson; Copenhagen was attacked, and the whole of the Danish ships were either taken or destroyed. This victory gave a fatal blow to the northern confederacy, which was eventually annihilated by the death of Paul, and the accession of his son Alexander, who immediately released the British vessels detained in his ports, and otherwise shewed his inclination to be on amicable terms with England.

In Egypt General Kleber had been assassinated, and the command of the French troops devolved on Menou. An English army, under Sir Ralph Abercrombie had now arrived and a decisive victory was gained by them at Alexandria, but they had to lament the loss of their gallant commander, who fell in the action. Grand Cairo, Rosetta, and Alexandria soon after surrendered, and the French agreed to evacuate the country. The other events of the year 1801 were of minor importance; and in the spring of the following year peace was signed at Amiens. England consented to surrender all its conquests, with the exception of Ceylon and Trinidad; the Ionian islands were to form a republic; and Malta was to be restored to its original possessors.

A new constitution was given to France in 1802, by which Buonaparte was declared chief consul for life; the whole of the executive authority, and even the appointment of his two colleagues being vested in him. New constitutions were also given to Switzerland and the Italian republics. About this period Buonaparte sent a considerable force to reduce

the island of St. Domingo, where Touissant L'Ouverture, a negro, had erected a republic. After an obstinate and sanguinary contest, the rebellious negroes submitted, and Touissant was treacherously seized and sent to France; but the French were unable fully to recover the island.

CHAPTER XXV.

FROM THE RECOMMENCEMENT OF HOSTILITIES, TO THE TREATY OF TILSIT.

The treaty of Amiens was little better than a hollow truce; and many disputes arising respecting its fulfilment, the war was resumed. In open violation of the law of nations, Buonaparte immediately commanded the arrest of all the English whom business or pleasure had drawn into France. Hanover was invaded and plundered; and an immense force was collected on the French coast, for the avowed purpose of annihilating the British power: but this, as before, proved an empty boast. Holland, being placed under the control of France, was dragged into the war, and soon lost her colonies. St. Domingo threw off its forced allegiance to France, and Dessalines, the successor of Touissant, was made president of the republic of Hayti, the ancient name of the island. The English at this time were very successful in India, under the government of the marquis of Wellesley.

The personal ambition of Buonaparte was every day more evident, and he at length resolved to annihilate the republic, and crown himself with an imperial diadem. Having procured the assassination of the duke d'Enghein, and by the basest arts impressed on the minds of the people an idea that treasonable practices were carrying on against him, the servile senate, desirous, as they said, of investing him with the highest title of sovereignty, in order the more effectually to establish his authority, proclaimed him emperor of the French—a title which was acknowledged immediately by all the sovereigns of Europe, Great Britain and Sweden alone excepted: A. D. 1804.

During the following year Buonaparte assumed the iron crown of Lombardy, under the title of king of Italy, which aroused the indignation of Francis II., who united with England and Russia. But an event which of all others was most calculated to raise the hopes of the allies, was the unexampled victory gained by Nelson off Trafalgar (Oct. 21) over the combined fleets of France and Spain.

In Germany the Austrian army was doomed to suffer great loss. At the head of 140,000 soldiers, Napoleon crossed the Rhine; and at Ulm, the Austrian general Mack surrendered his whole force, consisting of 140,000 men. Vienna was soon after entered by Napoleon, and at length the Austrians were completely defeated at the battle of Austerlitz. This induced Francis to sue for peace; and a treaty was concluded at Presburg, by which he ceded to France the states of Venice, and resigned the Tyrol, &c., to the newly-created king of Wirtemburg.

Early in 1806 the English retook the Cape of Good Hope from the Dutch. About the same time Naples was invaded by the French, and Napoleon gave his brother, Joseph Buonaparte, the crown of that kingdom, its legitimate sovereign having previously retired to Sicily. Holland was also erected into a kingdom, and given to his brother Louis. Amidst these and other important changes for the aggrandizement of his family, Buonaparte formed the "confederation of the Rhine," the name given to those states whose rulers renounced the ancient laws of the empire. The continued encroachments of France now roused the king of Prussia, who rushed precipitately into a war, and imprudently staked his fortune on the chance of one battle. This was the celebrated battle of Jena, where 110,000

Prussians and Saxons contended with 150,000 of the French, and were defeated and closely pursued. Berlin fell into the hands of the victors, and the Prussian general, Blucher, after a brave resistance, was forced to capitulate. Prince Hohenloe and his army surrendered at Prentzlau. Silesia was overrun by the French, who penetrated into Poland, and excited the Poles to assert their independence. The Russians, who were now advancing, met and defeated the French at Pultusk; and, notwithstanding the combined efforts of Murat, Lasnes, and Ney, they were also successful at Golomyn. In the insolence of power, Napoleon, at Berlin, issued his famous decrees, prohibiting all commercial intercourse with the British isles, and commanding the confiscation of every article of British manufacture, which scheme of exclusion he dignified with the name of the "continental system."

The grand Russian army under Benningsen, encountered a superior French force near Eylau, where a sanguine but indecisive conflict ensued. Dantzic surrendered to Lefevre; and a complete victory being gained by the French at Friedland, it was shortly followed by the treaty of Tilsit. The Russians and Prussians submitted to all the imperious demands of Napoleon; but Gustavus, king of Sweden, alone refused to treat with him, or to recognize his imperial dignity.

The Danes having yielded to the influence of France, an expedition was sent thither by England, for the purpose of preventing the Danish fleet from falling into the hands of the French. Copenhagen surrendered after a few days' siege, and the ships and naval stores were delivered to the English. This act of aggression was resented by the emperor of Russia, who declared war against England. Among other remarkable events of this year, were the departure of the prince regent of Portugal and his court to the Brazils, the conquest of Portugal by the French, and the erection of Saxony into a kingdom.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE FRENCH INVASION OF SPAIN, AND SUBSEQUENT PENINSULAR WAR.

What open force could not effect, was carried by intrigue and treachery. Napoleon having invited Charles IV., king of Spain, to a conference at Bayonne, seized his person, compelled him to abdicate, and transferred the crown to Joseph Buonaparte, whose place at Naples was soon after occupied by Murat, Napoleon's brother-in-law. Spain was filled with French troops, and no opposition was dreaded; but as soon as the Spaniards recovered from their consternation, the people rose in all parts, and proclaimed Ferdinand VII. The patriots began the war with great spirit; the usurper fled from Madrid; while Palafox and the brave inhabitants of Saragossa gained immortal honour by the invincible courage they displayed in defending their town against the furious attacks of the French, who were eventually compelled to retreat.

The Portuguese followed the example of the Spaniards; and a British army, commanded by Sir Arthur Wellesley, landed and defeated the French general, Junot, at Vimiera. But Sir Hugh Dalrymple arriving to assume the command, the convention of Cintra was entered into, by which the French army, with all its baggage, artillery, &c., were to be conveyed to France. An English army of 30,000 men, under Sir John Moore, landed in Spain, and advanced as far as Salamanca; but the French force in that country amounted to 150,000. Madrid was taken, and the English, not being well supported by the Spaniards, were compelled to retreat. At Corunna a severe battle was fought, and Sir John Moore was mortally wounded.

Austria having declared war against France, Napoleon entered the field, repulsed the Austrians at Eckmuhl, and took possession of Vienna. The archduke Charles gave him battle near Essling, which was desperately contested, and terminated in favour of the Austrians; but soon after, at Wagram, the French gained an important victory. The brave Tyrolese in this campaign made the most heroic efforts against the French; but the patriot Hoffer was taken and shot.

A most unsuccessful expedition was undertaken by the English against Antwerp. It was composed of nearly 40,000 men; great numbers of whom were swept of by a pestilential fever while in possession of the island of Walcheren; and the remainder returned without effecting any useful object. In other parts the English were more successful, having taken Cayenne, Martinique, and three of the Ionian islands.

In Turkey the sultan Selim had been assassinated; Mahmoud was seated on the throne, and peace was concluded between the Porte and Great Britain. After a protracted negotiation with Napoleon, the emperor of Austria signed the treaty of Vienna, by which he was obliged to sur render to France, Bavaria, and Russia, a considerable portion of his dominions.

Sir Arthur Wellesley had now the chief command in the Peninsula. He forced the passage of the Douro, recovered Oporto, and drove Soult out of Portugal. He then defeated the French with great slaughter at Talavera; but the enemy being reinforced, he was obliged to retreat His great services were, however, duly appreciated, and he was created Baron Wellington. At the close of 1809 the Spanish patriots sustained some severe defeats, and Gerona was taken by them. Marshals Junot and Ney commenced the ensuing campaign with the capture of Astoria and Cuidad Rodrigo; while Massena entered Portugal, and took Ameida At Busaco Lord Wellington defeated him, and reaching the impregnable lines of Torres Vedras, he took up a strong position, from which the French could not dislodge him, and Massena soon afterwards commenced a disastrous retreat.

The campaign of 1811 was distinguished by a series of battles, in which the contending armies displayed great bravery, but without any decided advantage to either in the end. Among those in which the allies were most successful, were Badajoz, Albeura, and Barrosa. The year 1811 was also memorable as the period when the Spanish American colonies began to renounce their allegiance to Spain, and struggle for independence.

In 1812 the events of the war assumed a new complexion. A change had taken place in the government of Spain, and more earnestness and energy was displayed in its councils. Lord Wellington commenced with the capture of Cuidad Rodrigo and Badajoz: then advancing into Spain, he gained a decisive victory over Marmont near Salamanca, which was followed by his entrance into Madrid, where he was received with the most enthusiastic acclamations. In the meantime the patriot armies in the north of Spain were eminently successful; and in the south the French were compelled to raise the seige of Cadiz, and evacuate Granada, Cordova, Seville, &c.

CHAPTER XXVII.

FROM THE INVASION OF RUSSIA BY THE FRENCH TO THE RESTORATION OF THE BOURBONS.

We must now take a rapid review of those extraordinary scenes in the North which rivetted the attention of all Europe, and filled every breast with anxious expectation. The emperor Alexander felt himself humiliated, and his country injured by that rigid observance of the "continental

system" which Napoleon had insisted on, and the boundless ambition of the latter, added to his hatred of all that was English, led him to attempt the subjugation of the Russian empire. He concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with Austria, Prussia, and the confederation of the Rhine, whose forces were destined to swell his ranks. The immense army, amounting to above 475,000 men, now marched towards the Russian frontiers; and the Russians gradually retired at the approach of the enemy, who, though checked and harassed in every way possible, pressed onward with amazing rapidity. At length a tremendous battle was fought under the walls of Smolensko, and the city was quickly after evacuated, the Russians retreating on Moscow. Having received daily accessions of troops, among whom were numerous bodies of Cossacks, Kutusoff, the Russian commander, determined on hazarding a grand battle, when a most sanguinary contest ensued, in which the French lost about 40,000 and the Russians 30,000 men. But Napoleon being reinforced, he was enabled to take possession of Moscow; he had scarcely, however, taken up his head quarters in the Kremlim, before he discovered that the city was set on fire in several places, by order of Rostopchin, its patriotic governor, and the greater part of it was soon reduced to a heap of ruins. Thus being in a moment, as it were, deprived of shelter, and feeling the severity of a Russian winter fast approaching, Napoleon endeavoured to negotiate, but Alexander, who, at the commencement of the French invasion had declared that "now the sword was drawn he would not again sheath it as long as an enemy remained in his dominions," indignantly rejected every proposition. Cut off from all supplies, and exposed to the incessant attacks of the exasperated Russians, among whom were hordes of Cossacks, the wretched troops commenced one of the most disastrous retreats ever recorded in history. Again and again had they to sustain the vigorous attacks of their pursuers, till the whole route was strewed with baggage, artillery, and ammunition, and with the mangled and frozen bodies of men and horses. Of the mighty force that invaded Russia, only 30,000 returned to France; 400,000 perished or were made prisoners; while the author of all their unparalleled sufferings basely deserted his army, travelled through Poland and Germany in disguise, and reached his capital in safety.

The unexampled reverses of Napoleon were hailed by the nations on the continent as the signal for their deliverance from his iron grasp. Alexander concluded an alliance with Sweden and Prussia, and they prepared for hostilities. Some sanguinary but indecisive battles were fought, and a short armistice was agreed upon, during which time Austria joined the league, and all parties prepared for the renewal of the contest with increased vigour. The greatest unanimity prevailed in the councils of the allied sovereigns. Their armies made a formidable attack on Dresden, though they failed in their object of taking the city by a *coup-de-main:* but the veteran Blucher defeated the enemy at Katzbach, and thereby delivered Silesia. Vandamme was beaten at Culm, and Ney at Jutterbock. It was now resolved that the whole of the allied armies should make a simultaneous effort to crush the common enemy. The forces of Napoleon were concentrated at Leipsic, and there it was that the allies attacked and totally defeated him. The sanguinary battle raged from dawn of day till night; both sides suffered immense loss, but that of the French was by far the greatest. Consulting his own personal safety, as in his retreat from Russia, Buonaparte hastily reached Paris; while the French garrisons which occupied the Saxon and Prussian fortresses were abandoned to their fate. The victory of Liepsic aroused every nation yet in alliance with France to throw off the oppressor's yoke. Among the number was Holland, whose inhabitants expelled the French, and recalled the prince of Orange. The Russian campaign and the war that now raged in Germany, had proved beneficial to the Spanish cause, by withdrawing many

of Napoleon's experienced generals and veteran troops. Lord Wellington crossed the Douro, and marching northwards, came up with the French army, commanded by Marshal Jourdan, at Vittoria, where he obtained a decisive victory, June 21, 1813. The memorable seige of St. Sebastian, and the defeat of Marshal Soult, to whose skill the task of defending the frontiers of France was confided, were the other most prominent events of the campaign; and France was soon after entered on the south-west by the English and Spaniards, and on the north-east by the combined armies of Russia, Prussia, and Austria.

In the meanwhile the French emperor obtained a levy of 300,000 men, to oppose the threatened invasion. Several engagements took place; but the allies marched steadily on, by different routes, and at length approached the city of Paris, which capitulated. On the following day (March 31, 1814), the emperor of Russia and the king of Prussia, accompanied by their generals and staff, made their triumphal entry into Paris, amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants, who, whether sincere or not, made the air resound with reiterated cries of "Vive l'Empereur Alexandre;" "Vivent les Bourbons;" "A bas les tyran," &c. In the meantime the marquis of Wellington had defeated Soult near Toulouse, and was advancing towards the capital. Napoleon, finding that the senate had deposed him, and that the allied powers were determined not to enter into any treaty with him as sovereign of France, abdicated his usurped crown at Fontainbleau; and the isle of Elba, with a suitable income, was assigned him for his future residence. Louis XVIII. was placed on the throne of his ancestors, the other sovereigns who had been deprived of their dominions were restored, and all Europe once more hailed a general peace.

We must not omit to notice that the Americans, having been dissatisfied with the British orders in council, resulting from the Berlin and Milan decrees of Napoleon, thought proper, in 1812, to declare war against England, and forthwith invaded Canada; they were, however, driven back [with considerable loss. The American commodore, Perry, succeeded, on the 10th of September, 1813, in capturing the British fleet on Lake Erie. Fort Erie was also taken by the Americans in July, 1814, and during the same month were fought sanguinary battles at Chippewa and Bridgewater. On the 11th of September, Sir George Provost, with 14,000 men, made an attack upon Plattsburg, but, after a severe contest, was compelled to retire with great loss. The British fleet under Downie was captured by Commodore M'Donough, on the same day. The war was terminated by the treaty of Ghent, Dec. 12, 1814.]

CHAPTER XXVIII.

FROM THE RETURN OF BUONAPARTE FROM ELBA, TO THE GENERAL PEACE

In March, 1815, while the plenipotentiaries and the allied sovereigns were occupied at the congress of Vienna in laying the foundation of a permanent peace, the astounding news arrived that Napoleon had left Elba, and landed in France, with about 1150 followers. Such was the encouragement he received, that when, on the 19th, he reached Fontainbleau, he was at the head of 15,000 veterans, with the certainty that numerous corps were advancing on every side to join his standard. Preparations were made to arrest his progress; but on his march he was powerfully reinforced, and he reached Paris unmolested. Louis had previously left the capital, and now sought an asylum in the Netherlands. The allied sovereigns in the meantime issued a manifesto, in which it was declared, that Napoleon Buonaparte, by violating the convention in virtue of which

he had been settled at Elba, had forfeited every claim to protection, and he was solemnly pronounced an outlaw.

In answer to this manifesto Napoleon published a declaration, asserting that he was recalled to the throne by the unanimous wish of the French people. Large armies were assembled with all possible expedition, and Buonaparte, with extraordinary celerity, opened the short but memorable campaign, by attacking the advanced posts of the Prussians on the 15th of June. On that and the following day considerable success attended his arms, but on the field of Waterloo (June 18) the genius of Wellington and the steady valour of the British troops gave a death-blow to his hopes and once more rescued Europe from its degrading thraldom. Having witnessed the irretrievable ruin of his army, he fled with the greatest precipitation from the field of battle, while the residue of his discomfited troops were pursued by the Prussians under Blucher. The combined armies now rapidly advanced towards Paris, and Buonaparte, finding that his reign was at an end, fled to the sea-coast in the hope of making his escape to America. In this, however, he was foiled by the vigilance of the British cruisers, and he at length surrendered to captain Maitland, of the Bellerophon, who, at his request, brought him to the British shores, though he was not permitted to land. After some discussion it was resolved he should be imprisoned for life in the island of St. Helena, whither, accompanied by a small train of attendants, he was forthwith sent. Louis XVIII. was a second time restored to his throne. An act of amnesty was passed, from which a few of Napoleon's most strenuous supporters were excluded, whilst Ney and Labedoyère were shot.

By the terms of the treaty entered into between France and the allied powers, it was agreed that sixteen of the frontier fortresses of France should be garrisoned by the allies for five years, and that 150,000 allied troops, under the duke of Wellington, should be maintained in that kingdom for the same space of time. The following arrangements were also concluded at the congress of Vienna; Prussia was enriched by the annexation of a portion of Saxony, and recovered Lusatia; Russia received a large part of Poland; the Venetian territories were given to Austria; Genoa was assigned to the king of Sardinia; the papal dominions were restored; while the United Provinces and the Netherlands were formed into a kingdom for the prince of Orange. England restored to the Dutch some of the colonies she had taken from them, and various minor changes also took place. A confederation was then entered into by the sovereign states of Germany for mutual defence and the prevention of internal war, and, to crown the whole, the emperors of Russia and Austria, with the king of Prussia, bound themselves by a solemn compact, called the Holy Alliance, the professed object of which was to preserve the peace of Europe, and to maintain the principles of Christianity in their respective dominions.

Having brought our "Outline Sketch of General History" down to a period so momentous, we shall leave all subsequent events for narration in the Histories of separate countries which follow. In the brief and cursory Introduction we have given, the reader has had a rapid view of the rise and fall of empires, the excesses of despotic power, and some of the countless evils attendant on a state of anarchy. Still it must be remembered that in this slight sketch we have only pioneered the way. As we proceed, it will be our aim more fully to develope the motives, while we describe the actions, of those responsible individuals in whose hands the destinies of nations are entrusted; and the judicious reader, impressed, as he cannot fail to be, with the mutability of human institutions and the instability of human grandeur, will be naturally led to contemplate and admire the overruling conduct of Divine Providence in the moral government of the world.

PRESENT CONDITION OF THE WORLD.

EUROPE.

Europe lies almost entirely in the northern temperate zone; a small part of it at the northern extremity is extended beyond the arctic circle, but it does not approach nearer to the equater than 35½ degrees. On the east and south-east it is bounded by Asia; on the west, north-west, and south-west, by the Atlantic Ocean; on the north, by the Frozen Ocean; and on the south, by the Mediterranean Sea. It is about 3,400 miles in length, from Cape St. Vincent in Portugal, to the Uralian Mountains in Russia; and 2,500 miles in breadth, from Cape Matapan to the North Cape in Lapland.

In proportion to its size, Europe is the most populous of all the great divisions of the globe, and, except in its northern states, it enjoys an agreeable temperature of climate. The soil, though not equal in luxuriance to that of the tropics, is well adapted to tillage and pasturage, so that it affords a copious supply of the necessaries of life, while its mines produce the most useful metals, and its seas teem with fish.

In no part of the world are manufactures carried to greater perfection than in several of the European countries, especially in Great Britain, France, and Germany, and that commercial intercourse which of late years has so very greatly increased, is gradually obliterating national prejudices, exciting emulation, rewarding industry, cultivating feelings of mutual esteem, and increasing the comforts, conveniences, and luxuries of all. To the commerce of Europe, in fact, there appears to be no limits; its traders are to be seen in every country, and every sea is filled with its ships. Moreover, as the seat of art and science, as the region where civilization is in active progress, and where Christianity is extending its benign influence far and wide, Europe indeed maintains a proud eminence, and, judging from present appearances, its inhabitants bid fair at no distant day to extend their dominions, already vast, by colonizing and giving laws to nations now scarcely emerging from barbarism.

ASIA.

The general history of this division of the world carries us back to the creation. The cradle of our first parents, and the portion of the earth where the most stupendous acts of divine power and wisdom have been displayed, Asia presents a most interesting subject for the contemplative mind. It was here that the world before the flood, as far as we know, was concentered. It was here that the antediluvian patriarchs settled, and spread abroad the families of the earth. After the flood, Asia was the heart of life, the source of all that population which has since covered the globe with its myriads of inhabitants. The present race of Asiatics is deduced from the Hebrews, the Indians, and the Tartars. It is foreign to our purpose to follow the series of the various tribes of population, which,

from the great fountain, overspread the earth, and especially Europe In deed, the whole of Europe, however elevated in the scale of reason and intelligence above their primitive sources, derived its people and language from Asia, while from Asia Minor have flowed arms, arts and learning.

AFRICA.

Africa is situated to the south of Europe, and to the west and southwest of Asia. It is separated from the former by the Mediterranean Sea and the Straits of Gibraltar, and from Asia by the Red Sea, at the most northerly extremity of which it is united to Asia by the isthmus of Suez.

The history of this immense peninsula, like several of the kingdoms of which it is composed, is involved in much obscurity. Interesting as are the monuments of former greatness to be found in this part of the world, especially in Egypt, there are no memorials on which the eye of science rests with more intensity of attention than upon those tablets which have enshrined the names of the several martyrs, from the time of Pharaoh Necho, to the inhuman murders of many an enterprising European traveller. The sun of civilization which once illumined with all its splendour one portion of this division of the world has been greatly obscured, and of the greater part of it we may say,

"Shadows, clouds, and darkness rest upon it."

AMERICA.

This vast continent, or New World of the Western Hemisphere, lies between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, the former separating it from Europe and Africa, and the latter from Asia and Australia. Its immense rivers and prodigious mountain chains are quite unequalled in the world, and the bays, lakes, cataracts, and forests, are also of unrivalled extent and grandeur. It is divided into North and South America, and is in length about 9000 miles, possessing, of course, every variety of climate, from the burning heat of the torrid zone to the intense cold of the arctic circle. Since its discovery by Columbus, vast numbers of Europeans have made this continent their home, the generality being attracted hither by the capabilities it seemed to afford them of enriching themselves: America has also been an asylum for the victims of political and religious persecution. [Abounding with every production necessary for the comfort and convenience of man, blessed with all the privileges of civil and religious freedom, this new country, which but three and a half centuries ago was unknown to the Eastern World, has risen to a height of prosperity almost unexampled in the history of nations, and the colonies of the United States, which, less than a hundred years since, Great Britain scarcely considered worthy of her notice, has shaken off her authority and now proudly fling out their banners side by side with those of the mother country, in every clime, and already threaten to dispute with her the pre-eminence she so justly claims upon the seas. Untrammelled with the wrecks of tottering or fallen dynasties, the citizens of this new republic are working out upon an extensive scale the great problem of self-government.]

A SERIES OF SEPARATE HISTORIES.

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

The propriety of commencing our series of *separate histories* with ENGLAND must, we think, be obvious to every reader. Its rank in the scale of nations; its unrivalled commerce and extensive foreign possessions; its naval and military prowess; and the intelligence, enterprize, and industry of its inhabitants—fully entitle it to the honor of precedence. But this is not all; the love of our country excites in us a laudable curiosity to inquire into the conduct and condition of our ancestors, and to become acquainted with the memorable events of their history; while our reverence for the glorious Constitution by which our most valuable privileges are secured, prompts us in an especial manner to trace its rise and progress, and thoroughly to ascertain upon what foundation our political and religious liberties are based. "If an Englishman," said the great Frederic of Prussia, "has no knowledge of those kings that filled the throne of Persia, if his memory is not embarrassed with that infinite number of popes that ruled the church, we are ready to excuse him; but we shall hardly have the same indulgence for him, if he is a stranger to the origin of parliaments, to the customs of his country and to the different lines of kings who have reigned in England."

CHAPTER I.

THE BRITISH AND ROMAN PERIOD—TO THE SUBJUGATION OF THE ISLAND BY THE SAXONS.

THE rule laid down by the celebrated historian, David Hume, for his treatment of early British history, is so reasonable, so obviously the only rule by which the historian can avoid disfiguring his narrative of realities by connecting it with fables and figments, that it would be to the last degree unwise to depart from it, even were it laid down by a writer of far less celebrity and genius.

We cannot better account for the silence with which we pass over the very early ages of Britain, than by quoting the short paragraph in which the eminent writer to whom we have referred, at once suggests and vindicates that course.

"The fables," says he, "which are commonly employed to supply the place of true history, ought to be entirely disregarded; or if any exception be admitted to this general rule, it can only be in favour of the ancient Grecian fictions, which are so celebrated and so agreeable, that they will ever be the objects of the general attention of mankind. Neglecting, therefore, all traditions, or rather tales, concerning the more early history of Britain, we shall only consider the state of the inhabitants as it appeared to the Romans on their invasion of this country. We shall briefly run over the events which attended the conquest made by that

empire as belonging more to Roman than to British story. We shall hasten through the obscure and uninteresting period of Saxon annals, and shall reserve a more full narration for those times when the truth is both so well ascertained and so complete as to promise entertainment and instruction to the reader."

That Britain, like Gaul, was originaliy inhabited by a tribe of the Celtæ, is as well ascertained as such a remote fact can be with respect to a people destitute of letters; language, manners, government (such as it was), and religion, all tend to show ther common origin. But the Britons, from their insular situation, retained their full rudeness and their primitive manners and customs long after the Gauls, from their intercourse with the inhabitants of other parts of the continent, had considerably improved in both respects.

The British people were divided into many kingdoms or tribes; and though each tribe had a monarch, each monarchy was principally founded upon physical force, and of course greatly tempered by it. For despotism, indeed, there was but little opportunity, whatever the inclination of the king. War was the principal occupation of tribe against tribe, and hunting at once the chief amusement; and, next to the feeding of flocks and herds, the most important means of subsistence. Wandering hither and thither in search of pasture for their cattle, these wild tribes were perpetually coming into collision with each other; and so frequent and fierce were their wars, that but for the interference of the Druids—in this respect a body of men as useful as in many other respects they were mischievous—their mutual rancour would have proceeded well-nigh to mutual annihilation.

Though we have stated the Britons to have been free from kingly despotism—though, in fact, the king was only the first freeman of a tribe of freemen, there yet was a despotism, and a terrible one, for both king and people—the despotism of the Druids. The Druids were the priests of the Britons; and they were also their teachers, their lawgivers and their magistrates; and the peculiar tenets which were inculcated upon the British from their earliest childhood, were such as to render the Druid priests omnipotent, as far as the term can be applied to men and man's attributes. He who dared to offend the Druid priest in any one of his multifarious offices, lost all peace in this world, even if his life were spared; he was excommunicated, utterly and hopelessly; shunned by his fellowmen, who dared neither to aid nor to soothe him, he could but retire to the deepest solitudes of the forest, battle for his precarious existence with the forest brutes, and perish like them, obscure and unregarded. Nor was the pang with which he closed his eyes forever upon this world mitigated by any bright and cheering hope in a future life. The metempsychosis had been a part of his belief from infancy, and he who died under the fearful ban of the Druids died in the assured and terrible conviction that he would live forever under successive forms, each more obscene and contemptible or more hated, persecuted, and tortured, than that which had preceded it.

With such means of upholding their power over a rude people, it will easily be believed that the Druids had little trouble in ruling both king and subjects. And, detestable as were their cruel sacrifices of human victims, this exceeding power over the minds of the people was so far valuable, that it supplied the want of more legitimate power to prevent wild courage proceeding to frenzied ferocity, and to prevent war from being prosecuted to the extent of extermination.

Humanity can never fail to regret the miseries and the crimes that characterize wars, or to detest the injustice and the insolence of the feeling which prompts the strong to trample upon the weak, and the wealthy to plunder the poor. But, while we necessarily look with these feelings upon invasion and war in the abstract, we must not close our eyes

to the fact, that the sufferings, however great, of a barbarous people invaded and overrun by a civilized people, are but temporary, and are followed and more than counterbalanced by a permanent deliverance from the squalid miseries and the mental darkness by which savage life is everywhere characterized. The poet may tune his harmonious lay to the *bliss* of those primeval ages,

"When wild in woods the noble savage ran;"

But the sterner pen of history, informed by the actual experience of the voyager, must give no such flattering picture of barbarism. Whether in the prairies of America, or in the wild bush of New-Holland, we find the savage invariably miserable and a mere animal; superior to the other animals in conformation, but, alas! even more subject to disease and famine than they are. We may sympathize with the terror which the poor savage feels when civilized man invades his haunts, and we have every right to demand that conquests be effected with the least possible cruelty; but we still must admit that it may become a great and enduring mercy to the conquered.

Britain, whose fleets are upon every sea, and upon whose conquests and possessions the sun, literally, never sets, was the home of numerous tribes of mere savages long after the mighty name of Rome was heard with awe or admiration, with love or hate, in every civilized nation of the earth.

Dwelling in wattled huts of the meanest construction, most of these tribes shifted their habitations from place to place as new pastures became necessary for their cattle; but some tribes were stationary and practised agriculture, which, though of the rudest kind, served to improve their subsistence.

Julius Cæsar, the renowned Roman, having overrun Gaul at the head of his irresistible legions, had his attention attracted to Britain B. C. 55. He determined to conquer it, and it is to his invasion that we primarily owe our present splendour and importance. From his own history of his Gallic wars it is that we chiefly derive our knowledge of the state of Britain; and it is on his authority that we describe its rude and poor condition. The conquest of such a country could have nothing but the love of conquest for its motive; but to a Roman, and, above all, to a Cæsar, that motive was sufficient to incite to the utmost enterprise, and to reconcile to the utmost danger and the utmost suffering.

Not far from the present site of the town of Deal, in Kent, Cæsar made a descent upon Britain. The savage appearance of the natives, and the fierce reception they at first gave to their invaders, struck a temporary terror even into the hearts of the veteran soldiers of Rome. But the check was only momentary. A standard-bearer leaped upon the inhospitable shore, and the legionaries followed their eagle. Cæsar advanced some distance into the country; but every mile of progress was made under the harrassing attacks of the natives, whose desultory mode of warfare, and their intimate acquaintance with the wild country, made them formidable in spite of their want of discipline and the rude nature of their arms. But the steady perseverance and serried ranks of the Romans enabled them still to advance; and they gained so much advantage, that when Cæsar deemed it necessary to return to his winter quarters in Gaul, he was able to extort promises of a peaceable reception when he should think proper to return, and received hostages for their fidelity. He withdrew accordingly, and the Britons, ignorant, and, like all barbarous people, incapable of looking forward to distant consequences, flagrantly failed to perform their engagements. Disobedience was what the Roman power would not at that time have brooked from a people far more civilized and powerful than the Brit-

ons, and Cæsar early in the ensuing summer again made his appearance on the coast of Kent. On this occasion he found a more regular and organized force awaiting him; several powerful tribes having laid aside their domestic and petty differences, and united themselves under Cassibelaunus, a brave man, and so superior to the majority of the British kings that he was possessed of their general respect and confidence. But mere valour could avail little against the soldiery of Rome, inured to hardships, rather enjoying than fearing danger, thoroughly disciplined, and led by so consummate a soldier as Julius Cæsar. The Britons, accordingly, harrassed him in his march, and disturbed his camp with frequent night-alarms, but whenever they came to actual battle they were ever defeated, and with dreadful loss. This time Cæsar made his way far into the country, crossed the Thames in face of the enemy, and in despite of the precaution they had taken to stake the bed of the river, detroyed the capital of Cassibelaunus, and established as king of the Trinobantes a chieftain, or petty king, named Mandubratius, who, chiefly in disgust of some ill treatment, real or imagined, which he had suffered at the hands of his fellow-countrymen, had allied himself with the Romans.

But though Cæsar was thus far successful, the wild nature of the country and the nomadic habits of the people prevented him from achieving anything more than a nominal conquest of the island. He was obliged to content himself, once more, with the promises which the islanders the more readily made him, because they never intended to fulfil them, and he again left the island, never to return to it; for the domestic troubles of Rome, greatly caused by his own ambition and daring genius, left neither him nor the Roman people any leisure to attend to a poor and remote island. His successor, the great Augustus, was wisely of opinion that it rather behoved Rome to preserve order in her already vast empire, than to extend its bounds. Tiberius was of the same opinion; and Caligula, flighty and fickle, if not absolutely mad, though he made a demonstration of completing the work which Cæsar had begun, seized no spoils more valuable than cockle-shells, inflicted only a fright upon the Britons, and gave Rome nothing for the vast expense of his eccentric expedition, save materials for many a merry pasquinade and hearty laugh.

For nearly a century after the first descent of Cæsar, the Britons enjoyed peace unbroken, save by their own petty disputes. But in the reign of the emperor Claudius, A. D. 43, the design of conquering the island of Britain was again revived, and Plautius, a veteran general, landed and fairly established himself and his legionaries in the country. As soon as he received tidings of the success and position of his general, Claudius himself came over; and the Cantii, the Regni, the Trinobantes, and other tribes of the south-eastern part of the island, made their formal submission to him, and this time, probably, with something like sincerity, as they had experienced the power of the Roman arms, and the superiority of the Roman discipline.

The more inland Britons, however, were still fiercely determined to maintain their liberty and preserve their territory; and several tribes of them, united under the command of Caractacus, a man of courage and of conduct superior to what could be anticipated in a mere barbarian, made a stout resistance to all attempts of the Romans to extend their progress and power; A. D. 50. Indignant that mere barbarians should even in a slight degree limit the flight of the destroying eagle, the Romans now sent over reinforcements under the command of Ostorius Scapula, whose vigorous conduct soon changed the face of affairs. He beat the Britons farther and farther back at every encounter, and penetrated into the country of the Silures (now forming part of South Wales), and here in a general engagement he completely routed them and took a vast number of prisoners, among whom was the brave Caractacus.

This brave though unfortunate prince was sent to Rome. Arrived in that mighty city, he was scarcely more astonished at the vast wealth and grandeur which it contained, than at the cupidity of the possessors of such a city, and their strange desire to deprive a people so poor as the Britons of their wild liberty and wattled huts. It is to the honour of the Romans of that day, that Caractacus was treated with a generosity which was at once equal to his merits, and in strong contrast with the treatment which Rome usually reserved for defeated kings who had dared to oppose her. And this generosity of the Romans to Caractacus individually, is the more creditable and the more remarkable, because his capture by no means prevented his compatriots from continuing the struggle. Though always distressed, and often decisively worsted, the Britons still fought bravely on for every acre of their fatherland; and as they improved in their style of fighting, even in consequence of the defeats they received, Britain was still considered a battle-field worthy of the presence of the best officers and hardiest veterans of Rome.

Irritated at the comparatively slow progress of their arms against so poor and rude a people, the Romans now gave the chief command of their troops in Britain to Suetonius Paulinus, a man of equal courage and conduct, and noted even among that warlike race for unwavering sternness. This general perceived the true cause of the British pertinacity of resistance in the face of so many decisive defeats and severe chastisements. That cause, the only one, probably, which could so long have kept such rude people united and firm under misfortune, was the religious influence of the Druids, whose terrible anger had more terror for their deluded followers than even the warlike prowess and strange arms of the Romans. Suetonius, then, determined to strike at the very root of British obstinacy; and as the little isle of Anglesey, then called Mona, was the chief resort of the Druids, he proceeded to attack it, rightly judging that by making a terrible example of the chief seat of their religion and their priests, he should strike more terror into the refractory Britons than by defeating them in a hundred desultory battles. His landing was not effected without considerable difficulty; for here the naturally brave Britons fought under the very eyes of their powerful and dreaded priests, and with the double motive of desire to win their praise, and terror of incurring an anger which they believed to be potent in the future world as in this. Urged by such considerations, the Britons fought with unexampled fury and determination, and the priests and priestesses mingled in the ranks, shrieking strange curses upon the invaders, waving flaming torches, and presenting so unearthly and startling an appearance that many of the Roman soldiers, who would have looked coolly upon certain death, were struck with a superstitious awe, and half imagined that they were actually engaged in personal warfare with the tutelar demons of their mortal foes. But Suetonius was as disdainful of superstitious terrors as of actual danger, and his exhortations and example inspired his men to exertions that speedily put the ill-armed and undisciplined Britons to flight.

The worst crime of which the Druids were guilty, was that of offering to their gods human sacrifices. Even in time of peace, victims selected by the Druids, either in actual malice or in mere wanton recklessness, fed the devouring flames. But it was more especially in war time that these truly horrible sacrifices were frequent, and the victims numerous. Confident in their hope of defeating the Romans by force, and the terrors of their superstition, the Druids of Mona on this occasion had promised their cruel deities a plenteous sacrifice. The fires were prepared—but they who were to have been the ministering priests became the victims; for Suetonius, as cruel as those against whom he fought, burned the captive Druids at their own altars. Having wreaked this cruel vengeance, and

cut down or burned the dense groves in which the Druids had for ages performed the dark rites of their mysterious religion, he left Anglesey and returned into Britain, confident that the blow he had thus struck at the most venerated seat of the British faith would so shake the courage and confidence of its votaries, that he would have for the future only a series of easy triumphs. But his absence from the main island might have been of more disparagement to his cause than his feats at Mona had been to its advantage. Profiting by their brief freedom from his presence, the scattered tribes of the Britons had reunited themselves, and under a leader, who, though a woman, was formidable both by natural character and shameful provocation.

Boadicea, widow of the king of the Iceni, having offended a Roman tribune by the spirit with which she upheld her own and her subject's rights, was treated with a shameful brutality, amply sufficient to have maddened a far feebler spirit. She herself was scourged in the presence of the Roman soldiers, amid their insulting jeers, and her three daughters, scarcely arrived at the age of womanhood, were subjected to still more brutal outrage.

Haughty and fierce of spirit even beyond the wont of her race, Boadicea vowed that the outrages to which she had been subjected should be amply avenged in Roman blood; and the temporary absence of Suetonius from Britain was so well employed by her, that he found on his arrival from Mona that she was at the head of an immense army, which had already reduced to utter ruin several of the Roman settlements. The safety of London, which was already a place of considerable importance, was his first care; but though he marched thither with all possible rapidity, he was not able to save it from the flames to which Boadicea had doomed it, and all those of its inhabitants who were not fortunate enough to make a timely escape. Nor was the Roman discomfiture confined to London or its neighbourhood. Successful in various directions, the Britons were as unsparing as successful; and it is affirmed—though the number has always appeared to us to be very greatly exaggerated—that of Romans and the various strangers who had accompanied or followed them to Britain, no fewer than 70,000 perished in this determined and sanguinary endeavour of the Britons to drive the invaders from their shores. Even allowing somewhat for the error or exaggeration of early historians, it is certain that the loss inflicted upon the Romans and their adherents by Boadicea, was immense. But the return of Suetonius inspired his countrymen with new spirit, and the tide of fortune soon left the native islanders. Flushed with numerous successes, and worked up to a frenzy of enthusiasm even by the cruel use which they had made of their success, they collected all their forces for one final and mighty effort. Suetonius and Boadicea in person commanded their respective forces. The latter harangued her troops with great spirit; the former contented himself with making his arrangements with consummate art, well knowing that his legionaries required no exhortation to strike hard and home at an enemy that had put the Roman eagle to flight, and make earth drink deep of the proud Roman blood. The battle was obstinate and terrible; but once again the marvellous superiority of discipline over mere numbers and courage, however vast the one or enthusiastic the other, was strikingly displayed. The dense masses of the Britons were pierced and broken by the Roman phalanx; the defeat became a rout—the rout a massacre. Boadicea escaped from the field by the swiftness of the horses of her own chariot; but despairing of ever again being able to make head against the detested invaders of her country, and preferring death to falling again into the hands of those who had so mercilessly maltreated both herself and her daughters, she swallowed a potent poison, and when overtaken by the pursuing soldiers, was beyond their malice, being then in the agonies of death.

Though Seutonius had achieved great successes in Britian, he had done so only at the expense of such extraordinary losses and cruelty on both sides, that Nero recalled him from his government, apparently under the impression that his excessive sternness and severity unfitted him for a post in which it was not merely necessary to know how to combat the resisting, but also how to conciliate the conquered. Two or three other generals were briefly entrusted with this difficult and delicate post, which they filled with credit to themselves and the Roman name; but it was the good fortune of Vespasian, through the prowess and judgment of his famous general, Julius Agricola, completely to subdue Britain to the Roman dominion.

A consummate soldier, Julius Agricola was no less consummate as a civil governor; and while he led his victorious legions against the Britons, driving farther and farther backwards to the bleak rocks and forests of Caledonia those who did not perish in the field, or were too proud to do homage to their conqueror, he showed himself admirably fitted for the peculiar duties to which he had been appointed, by the skill with which he made kindness and liberality to the submissive go hand in hand with stern severity to those who still dared to resist the Roman arms. Having followed the more obstinate of the Britons from post to post, and defeated their collected force under Galgacus in a pitched battle, he erected a chain of forts between the Frith of Forth and that of Clyde, and thus divided the northern retreat of the hostile Britons from the southern parts, that now formed a great and settled Roman province.

In this province the British inhabitants were by this time but little inclined to give any farther trouble to their all-powerful conquerors, of whose warlike prowess they had seen too many proofs to give them even a faint hope of successful resistance. Moreover, Agricola skilfully and assiduously availed himself of their peaceable disposition to instruct them in the Roman tongue, as well as in the Roman habits and arts. His efforts in this direction were as successful as his former exertions to put down resistance had been; and both London and the smaller places soon began to wear a busy and civilized aspect. The skill with which the Romans incorporated with themselves even the rudest and most intractable people, when they had once by their conquering prowess fairly got footing among them, was to the full as astonishing and admirable as that prowess itself. The Romans from time to time strengthened the northern fortifications of Britain, and thus prevented any inroad from the still untamed hordes native to Scotland or sheltered there; and the southern Britons were so fully contented with their situation, and became so perfectly incorporated with their conquerors, and initiated into their habits and feelings, that the only disturbances we read of in Britain during a long series of years arose, not from insurgent attempts on the part of the Britons, but from the turbulence of the Roman soldiers, or from the ambition of some Roman governor, who, made presuming by holding high state and authority in so distant a province, was induced to assume the purple and claim the empire.

The wonderful improvement made in the condition of Britain by the residence of the Romans was at length brought to a period. The barbaric hosts of the north were now pressing so fiercely and so terribly upon Rome herself, that the old and long sacred rule of the Roman senate, never to contract the limits of the empire by abandoning a colony once planted, was obliged to be disregarded. The outlying legions were wanted for the defence of the very heart of the empire; and the insular situation of Britain, and its very slight consequence with respect to wealth, naturally pointed it out as a colony to be earliest and with the least regret abandoned. Scarcely had the Roman legions departed when the Britons were assailed by the Picts and Scots. The chain of northern forts was strong and ad-

mirably planned, but hardy and warlike defenders were no less necessary, and the Britons had so long been accustomed to look for all military service to the veterans who had dwelt among them, that they had lost much of their ancient valour, and were no match for the fierce barbarians whose bodies were as little enervated by luxury as their minds were untamed by any approach to letters or politeness.

An appeal to Rome, where an interest in Britain was not yet wholly lost in the more pressing instincts of self-preservation, was answered by the immediate despatch of a legion, which drove away the barbarians The departure of the Romans was immediately followed by a new incursion; aid was again sent from Rome, and the enemy again was driven back. But the situation of the Roman empire was now so critical, that even a single legion could no longer be spared from home defence, and the Romans, having put the northern fortifications into repair, exhorted the Britons to defend themselves with perseverance and valour, and took their final leave of them in the year 448, after having been masters of the island, and exerted their civilizing influence upon its inhabitants, for very nearly four centuries.

It had been well for the Britons if they had not been in the habit of relying so implicitly upon the Romans for defence. Now that Rome left them thus suddenly and completely to their own mastery, they were in precisely the worst possible stage of transition to fit them for a struggle with their more barbarous northern neighbours; they had lost much of the fierce and headlong valour of barbarians, without acquiring the art and discipline of civilized warriors, and they had just so much of wealth and luxury as sufficed to tempt cupidity. Many of their boldest and most vigorous youth had either been incorporated in the Roman soldiery, or had fallen in support of Gratian and Constantine in their ill-fated pretensions to the imperial throne. The northern barbarians, ever on the watch, soon became aware that the Roman legion, before which their untrained hosts had been compelled to give way, had departed; and they forthwith assembled in vast numbers and again assailed the northern fortifications. To men so long unaccustomed as the Britons were to self-defence, the very consciousness of having to rely wholly upon their own valour and prudence, had an appalling and bewildering effect. They made but a feeble and disorderly resistance, were speedily beaten from their forts, and then fled onward in panic, leaving the country as they passed through it to the mercy of the savage invaders. The behavior of these was precisely what might have been expected; the sword and the torch marked their footsteps, hamlet and town were razed and ruined, and the blackness of desolation was seen in the fields which had lately been covered with the wealth of harvest. Beaten at every point at which they attempted to make head against their enemies, and seeing in the terrible rage with which they were pursued and harassed, no prospect but that of utter and irredeemable ruin, the unfortunate Britons sent an embassy to Rome to implore aid once more. Their missive, which was entitled *The Groans of the Britons*, graphically paints their situation and their feelings. "The barbarians" said this missive, "on the one hand, chase us into the sea, the sea on the other hand throws us back upon the barbarians; and we have only the hard choice left us of perishing by the sword or by the waves."

But Attila, that terrible *Scourge of God*, as he profanely boasted himself, was now pushing Rome herself to mortal extremity; and had Britain been even rich and important, not a legion could have been prudently spared at this crisis for its defence. Being poor and insignificant, it of course could not for an instant claim the attention of those who were combating for the safety of the empire, and who had already begun to despair of it. When the Britons found that they were indeed finally abandoned by Rome, they lost all heart, deserted even their strongest points

BOADICEA HARANGUING THE BRITISH TRIBES.

of defence, and fled to the concealment of their hills and forests, leaving their houses and property to the mercy of their enemies. These, in their profusion and in the wantonness of their destruction, soon drew upon themselves the pangs of actual want, and then abandoned the country which they had thus converted into a desert, and carried all that was moveable of use or ornament to their northern homes.

When the enemy had completely retired from the country the Britons ventured forth from their retreats; and their industry, exerted under the influence of the most instant and important events, soon removed the worst features of ruin and devastation from their country. But as they remained as unwarlike as ever, and were divided into numerous petty communities, whose chiefs were at perpetual discord, their returning prosperity was merely an invitation to their barbarous neighbours to make a new inroad upon people ingenious enough to create wealth, but not hardy enough to defend it.

To Rome it was now quite clearly of no use to apply; and Vortigern, prince of Danmonium, one of the most powerful of the petty kings of Britain, who was very influential on account of his talents and possessions, though of an exceedingly odious character, proposed to send to Germany and invite over a force of Saxons to serve as the hired defenders of Britain.

As a general rule, calling in a foreign force is to be deprecated; but, situated as the Britons were, we do not see what alternative they had between doing so and being either exterminated by the barbarians or reduced to their own wretched and rude condition. It must, indeed, have been obvious to Vortigern, and all other men of ability, that there was some danger that they who were sent for to defend, might remain to oppress. But this was a distant and a merely problematical danger; that with which they were threatened by the barbarians was certain, instant, and utterly ruinous; and even had both dangers been on a par as to certainty, the Saxons, as less rude and barbarous, were preferable as tyrants to the Picts and Scots.

The Saxons had long been famous for their prowess. Daring in the fight and skilful in seamanship, they had made descents upon the sea-board of most countries, and had never landed without giving the inhabitants ample reason to tremble at their name for the time to come. Even the Romans had so often and so severely felt their mischievous power, that they had a special officer called the Count of the Saxon Shore, whose peculiar duty it was to oppose these marauders upon their own proper element, and prevent them from landing on the Italian shore.

When the Britons determined to apply to the Saxons for aid, two brothers, by name Hengist and Horsa, were the most famous and respected warriors among that warlike people. They were reputed descendants of the god Woden; and this fabulous ancestry joined to their real personal qualities and the great success which had attended them in their piratical expeditions, had given them great influence over the most daring and adventurous of the Saxons. Perceiving that the Romans had abandoned Britain, they were actually contemplating a descent upon that island when the British envoys waited upon them to crave their aid as mercenaries. To a request which harmonized so well with their own views and wishes the brothers of course gave a ready assent, and speedily arrived at the isle of Thanet with sixteen hundred followers, inured to hardship and in love with danger even for its own sake. They marched against the Picts and Scots, who speedily fled before men whose valour was as impetuous as their own, and seconded by superior arms and military conduct.

When the Britons were thus once more delivered from the rage and cupidity of their fierce neighbours, they became anxious to part with their deliverers on such friendly terms as would insure their future aid should it be required. But the Saxon leaders had seen too much of the beauty

and fertility of the country, and of the weakness and divisions of its own ers, to feel any inclination to take their departure; and Hengist and Horsa, so far from making any preparation to return home, sent thither for reinforcements, which arrived to the number of five thousand men, in seventeen-war-ships. The Britons, who had been unable to resist the Picts and Scots, saw the hopelessness of attempting to use force for the expulsion of people as brave and far better organized, and therefore, though not without serious fears that those who had been called in as mercenary soldiers would prove a more dangerous enemy than the one they had so fiercely and effectually combated, the Britons affected the most unsuspecting friendship and yielded to every encroachment and to every insolence with the best grace that they could command. But it is no easy matter to conciliate men who are anxiously watching for a plausible excuse for quarrel and outrage. Some disputes which arose about the allowances of provisions for which the Saxon mercenaries had stipulated, furnished this excuse, and, siding with the Picts and Scots, the Saxons openly declared war against the people whom they had been liberally subsidized to defend.

Desperation and the indignation so naturally excited by the treacherous conduct of their quondam allies, roused the Britons to something like the vigour and spirit of their warlike ancestors. Their first step was to depose Vortigern, who was before unpopular on account of his vicious life, and was now universally hated on account of the bad consequences of the measure he had recommended, though, as we have already observed, when he suggested the subsidizing of the Saxons, the Britons were in such a position that it would not have been easy to suggest a better measure. His son Vortimer, who had a reputation for both courage and military conduct, was raised to the supreme command, and the Britons fought several battles with great courage and perseverance, though with almost invariable ill fortune. The Saxons kept advancing; and though Horsa was slain at the battle of Aylesford, Hengist, who then had the sole command of the Saxons, showed himself fully equal to all the exigencies of his post. Steadily advancing upon the Britons, he at the same time sent over to Germany for reinforcements. These continued to arrive in immense numbers, and the unfortunate Britons, worsted in every encounter, were successively chased to and from every part of their country. Whether with a desire to make terror do the work of the sword among the survivors, or with a real and savage intent to exterminate the Britons, Horsa made it an invariable rule to give no quarter. Wherever he conquered, man, woman, and child were put to death; the towns and hamlets were again razed or burned, and again the blackened and arid fields bore testimony to the presence and the unsparing humour of a conqueror.

Dreadfully reduced in numbers, and suffering every description of privation, the unfortunate Britons now lost all hope of combating successfully. Some submitted and accepted life on the hard condition of tilling as slaves the land they had owned as freemen; others took refuge in the mountain fastnesses of Wales, and a still more considerable number sought refuge in the province of Armorica in Gaul; and the district which was there assigned them is still known by the name of Britanny.

Hengist founded the kingdom of Kent, which at first comprised not only the county now known by that name, but also those of Essex and Middlesex, and a portion of Surrey. Being still occasionally disturbed by revolts of the Britons, he settled a tribe of Saxons in Northumberland. Other northern tribes, learning the success of Hengist and his followers, came over. The earliest of these was a tribe of Saxons, who came over in the year 477, and, after much fighting with some of the Britons who had partially recovered their spirit, founded the kingdom of Sussex. This kingdom, of which the Saxon Ælla was the founder and king, included the present county of Sussex and also that of Surrey.

Though from many causes there is considerable difficulty in ascertaining the exact dates of the events of the very earliest Saxon adventurers in Britain, it is pretty certain that the victorious and successful Hengist enjoyed the possession of his ill-acquired kingdom until the year 488, when he died at Canterbury, which city he had selected as his capital.

In the year 495 a tribe of Saxons landed under the command of Cerdic and his son Kenric. He was warmly resisted by the Britons, who still remained attached to their country and in arms for their freedom, and he was obliged to seek the assistance of the Saxons of Kent and Sussex to enable him to maintain his ground until reinforcements could arrive from Germany. These at length came under the command of his sons Meyla and Bledda, and having consolidated their forces with his own he brought the Britons to a general action in the year 508. The Britons, who mustered in numbers far greater than could have been expected after so many and such great losses, were commanded by Nazan Leod. At the beginning of the day the courage and skill of this leader gave him greatly the advantage, and had actually broken the main army of the Saxons, which was led by Cerdic in person, when Henric, who had been more successful against another division of the Britons, hastened to his father's aid. The fortune of war now turned wholly against the Britons, who were completely routed, with the loss of upwards of five thousand men, among whom was the brave Nazan Leod himself. The Saxons under Cerdic now established the West Saxon kingdom, or Wessex, which included the counties of Hants, Wilts, Dorset, and Berks, and the fertile and picturesque Isle of Wight. The discomfited Britons next applied for aid to their fellow-countrymen of Wales, who under the prince Arthur, whose real heroism has been so strangely exaggerated by romance, hastened to their aid, and inflicted a very severe defeat upon Cerdic in the neighbourhood of Bath. But this defeat, though it prevented him from extending the kingdom he had founded, did not disable him from maintaining himself in it. He did so until his death in 534, when he was succeeded by his son Kenrick who reigned there until his death in 560.

In other parts of the island other tribes of adventurers had been equally successful with the two of which we have more particularly spoken; but as a mere repetition of fierce invasion on the one hand, and resistance, often heroic but always unsuccessful, would neither amuse nor instruct the reader, we at once pass to the event, which was, that the whole island, save Cornwall and Wales, was conquered by bands of Saxons, Jutes, and Angles, and divided into seven petty kingdoms, and called by the name of Angles-land, subsequently corrupted into England. Of each of these kingdoms we shall give a very concise account up to that period when the whole island was united under one sole sovereign, and at which the history becomes at once clearer in its details and more interesting.

CHAPTER II.

THE HEPTARCHY, OR THE SEVEN KINGDOMS OF THE SAXONS IN BRITAIN.

It has already been seen that Hengist, the earliest Saxon invader of Britain, founded the kingdom of Kent, and died in established and secure possession of it. He was succeeded by his son Escus. This prince, though he possessed neither the military prowess nor the love of adventure which had distinguished his father, maintained his place in peace, and not without dignity, to his death, which occurred in 512, when he was succeeded by his son Octa.

Octa like his father, was a man of mediocre talent, and unfortunately

for him he lived in a time when his neighbourhood was anything but tranquil. The kingdom of the East Saxons, newly established, greatly extended its limits at his expense, and at his death, in 534, he left his kingdom less extensive than he had received it by the whole of Essex and Middlesex. To Octa succeeded his son Ymrick, who reigned in tolerable tranquillity during the long period of thirty-two years. Towards the close of his reign he associated with him in the government his son Ethelbert, who in 566 succeeded him. While the kings of the Heptarchy were as yet in any danger of disturbance and reprisals on the part of the outraged Britons, the mere instinct of self-preservation had prevented them from having any considerable domestic feuds: but this danger at an end, the Saxon kings speedily found cause of quarrel among themselves. Sometimes, as we have seen in the case of Kent, under Octa, one state was encroached upon by another; at another time the spirit of jealousy, which is inseparable from petty kings of territories having no natural and efficient boundaries, caused struggles to take place, not so much for territory as for empty supremacy—mere titular chiefdom.

When Ethelbert, himself of a very adventurous and ambitious turn, succeeded to his kingdom of Kent, Ceaulin, king of Wessex, was the most potent prince of the Heptarchy, and used his power with no niggard or moderate hand. Ethelbert, in the endeavour to aggrandize his own dominions, twice gave battle to his formidable rival, and twice suffered decisive defeat. But the cupidity and tyrannous temper of Ceaulin, having induced him to annex the kingdom of Sussex to his own already considerable possessions, a confederacy of the other princes was formed against him, and the command of the allied force was unanimously voted to Ethelbert, who even in defeat had displayed equal courage and ability. Ethelbert, thus strengthened, once more met his rival in arms, and this time with better success. Ceaulin was put to the rout with great loss, and, dying shortly after the battle, was succeeded both in his ambition and in his position among the kings of the Heptarchy by Ethelbert, who very speedily gave his late allies abundant reason to regret the confidence and the support they had given him. He by turns reduced each of them to a complete dependence upon him as chief, and having overrun the kingdom of Mercia, the most extensive of all the kingdoms of the island, he for a time seated himself upon the throne, in utter contempt of the right and the reclamations of Webba, the son of Crida, the original founder of that kingdom. But whether from a sense of the injustice of his conduct, or from fear that a continued possession of so extensive a territory, in addition to that which of right belonged to him, should arm against himself a league as compact and determined as that by the aid of which he had triumphed over his formidable rival Ceaulin, he subsequently resigned Mercia to Webba, but not without imposing conditions as insulting as they were wholly unfounded in any right save that of the strongest.

From the injustice which marked this portion of Ethelbert's conduct, it is pleasing to have to turn to an important event which shed a lustre upon his reign—the introduction of Christianity to the Saxon population of England.

Though the Britons had long been Christians, the terms upon which they lived with the Saxons were especially unfavourable to any religious proselytism between the two people; and, indeed, the early historians do not scruple to confess that the Britons considered their conquerors to be unworthy to participate in the blessings of Christian knowledge and faith.

Ethelbert, fortunately, was married to a Christian lady, Bertha, daughter of Caribert, king of Paris, who, ere he would consent to his daughter's marriage with a Pagan, stipulated that the princess should fully and freely enjoy her own religion. On leaving her native land for England, she

was attended by a bishop, and both the princess and the prelate exerted their utmost credit and ability to propagate the Christian faith in the country of their adoption; and as Bertha was much beloved at the court of her husband, she made so much progress towards this good end, that the pope, Gregory the Great, flattered himself with the hope of converting the Saxons of England altogether, a project which even before he became pope he had conceived from having accidentally seen some Saxon slaves at Rome, and been much struck with their singular personal beauty, and the intelligence with which they replied to his questions.

Encouraged by the success which had attended the efforts of Bertha, Gregory dispatched Augustin and forty other monks to Britain. They found Ethelbert, by the influence of his queen, well disposed to receive them hospitably and listen to them patiently. Having provided them with a residence in the isle of Thanet, he gave them time to recover from the fatigues of travel, and then appointed a day for a public interview; but friendly as the brave Pagan was towards the co-religionists of his wife, he could not wholly divest himself of superstitious terrors; and, lest the stranger preachers should have some evil spells of power, he appointed the meeting to take place in the open air, where, he thought, such spells would be less effective than within the walls of a building.

Augustin set before the king the inspiring and consoling truths of Christianity. Doctrines so mild, so gentle, so free from earthly taint, and from all leaven of ambition and violence, struck strangely, but no less forcibly, upon the spirit of the bold Ethelbert. But though much moved, he was not wholly convinced; he could admire, but he could not instantly embrace tenets so new and so different from those to which from infancy he had been accustomed. But if he could not on the instant abandon the faith of his ancestors for the new faith that was now preached to him, he was entirely convinced that the latter faith was, at the least, incapable of injuring his people. His reply, therefore, to the addresses of Augustin, was at once marked by tolerance and by caution; by an unwillingness to abandon the faith of his youth, yet by a perfect willingness to allow his people a fair opportunity of judging between that faith and Christianity.

"Your words and your promises," said he, "sound fairly; but inasmuch as they are new and unproven, I cannot entirely yield my confidence to them, and abandon the principles so long maintained by my ancestors. Nevertheless, you may remain here in peace and safety, and as you have travelled so far in order to benefit us, at least as you suppose, I will provide you with everything necessary for your support, and you shall have full liberty to preach your doctrines to my subjects."

Well would it have been for mankind if all potentates in all times and countries had been as wisely tolerant as this Pagan Saxon of an early and benighted age.

The decree of toleration that was thus accorded to Augustin was all that he required; his own faithful zeal and well-cultivated talents assured him of success; and so well and diligently did he avail himself of the opportunities that were afforded to him by the king's toleration and the queen's favour, that he speedily made numbers of converts. Every new success inspired him with new zeal and nerved him to new exertions. His abstinence, his painful vigils, and the severe penances to which he subjected himself, struck these rude people with awe and admiration, and not merely fixed their attention more strongly than any other means could have done upon his preachings, but also predisposed them to believe equally in the sincerity of the preacher and in the truth of his doctrine. Numbers, not only of the poorer and more ignorant, but also of the wealthier and better informed, became at first attentive auditors, and then converts. They crowded to be baptized, and after a great majority

of his subjects had thus been admitted into the pale of Christianity, the king himself became a convert and was baptized, to the great joy of Rome.

Augustin had constantly impressed upon the king that conversion to the Christian faith must be the result not of force or threatenings, but of conviction; that the religion of Christ was the religion of love and of perfect faith in doctrines set forth in faithful preaching. He had constantly exhorted the king to allow no worldly motives to weigh in his own conversion, and by no means to exert his authority, or the terror of it, to produce an unwilling assent on the part of any portion of his people, however humble, seeing that in the sight of Heaven, and in things spiritual, the humblest peasant was as important and as precious as the proudest and most powerful monarch.

But Gregory the Great was zealous in the extreme in the cause of proselytism, and by no means backward in availing himself of temporal power for the fulfilment of spiritual ends. And as soon as he learned that Ethelbert and a considerable portion of his subjects had embraced Christianity, he sent to the former at once to congratulate him upon his wise and happy conversion, and to urge him, by his duty as a monarch, and by his sympathies and faith as a Christian, not any longer to allow even a part of his subjects to wander on in the darkness and error of Paganism. To have the kingly power, he argued, implied and included the duty of using it in all ways that could conduce to the welfare of his subjects—and what more weighty and tremendous matter could concern them than the possession of that true faith which alone could secure their happiness in this world and their safety in the world to come. Exhorting the king to blandishment and persuasion, he also exhorted him, in the case of those means failing with any, to resort to terror, and threatening, and even chastisement. So different was the policy of the papal statesman and the pious and sincerely Christian feelings of his zealous missionary!

Gregory at the same time sent his instructions to Augustin, and very particular answers to some singular questions put by the missionary as to points of morality which he thought it necessary to enforce upon the understandings and practice of his new and numerous flock; but these questions and answers would be out of place here, as they only tend to illustrate either the exceeding grossness of the flock, or the exceeding simplicity and minute anxiety of their spiritual pastor.

Well pleased with the zeal of Augustin, and with the success with which it had thus far been crowned, Gregory made him archbishop of Canterbury, sent him a pall from Rome, and gave him plenary authority over all the British churches that should be erected. But though Agustin was thus highly approved and honoured, Gregory, who was shrewdly acquainted with human nature, saw, or suspected, that the good missionary was very proud of a success which was, indeed, little less than miraculous, whether its extent or its rapidity be considered. At the same time, therefore, that he both praised and exalted him, he emphatically warned him against allowing himself to be seduced into a too great elation on account of his good work; and, as Augustin manifested some desire to exert his authority over the spiritual concerns of Gaul, the pope cautioned him against any such interference, and expressly informed him that he was to consider the bishops of that country wholly beyond his jurisdiction. Strange contradictions in human reasoning and conduct! We have the humble missionary dehorting a newly converted pagan from persecution; a pope, the visible head of the whole Christian world, and the presumed infallible expounder of Christian doctrines, strongly and expressly exhorting him to it; and anon we have the ambitious and despotic patron of forcible proselytism wisely and reasonably interposing

his authority and advice to prevent the recently so humble missionary from making shipwreck of his character and usefulness, by an unbecoming and unjustifiable indulgence in the soaring ambition so suddenly and strongly awakened by the gift of a little brief authority!

It was not only in the influence that Bertha had in the conversion of the Saxon subjects of her husband to Christianity that she was serviceable to them, though compared to that service all others were of comparatively small value. But even in a worldly point of view her marriage to Ethelbert was of real and very important benefit to his subjects. For her intimate connection with France led to an intercourse between that nation and England, which not merely tended to increase the wealth, ingenuity, and commercial enterprise of the latter, but also to soften and polish their as yet rude and semi-barbarous manners. The conversion of the Saxons to Christianity had even a more extensive influence in these respects, by bringing the people acquainted with the arts and the luxuries of Italy.

Stormy at its commencement, the reign of Ethelbert was subsequently peaceable and prosperous, and it left traces and seed of good, of which the English are even to this day reaping the benefit. Besides the share he had in converting his subjects to Christianity, and in encouraging them to devote themselves to commerce and the useful arts, he was the first Saxon monarch who gave his people written laws; and these laws, making due allowance for the age and for the condition of the people for whose government they were promulged, show him to have been, even if regarded only in his civil capacity, an extremely wise man and a lover of peace and justice. After a long and useful reign of fifty years, Ethelbert died in the year 616, and was succeeded by his son Eadbald.

History but too frequently shows us the power of worldly passions in perverting religious faith. During the lifetime of his father, Eadbald had professed the Christian religion; but when he became king he abandoned it and returned to the gross errors of paganism, because the latter allowed the indulgence of an incestuous passion which he had conceived, and which Christianity denounced as horrible and sinful. It is much to be feared that among the very earliest converts, in the case of the conversion of a numerous people, many, if not even the majority, are guided into the new way rather by fear, policy, mere fashion, or mere indolence, than by sincere conviction. In the present instance this is lamentably apparent; for on Eadbald returning to the gross and senseless practices of his forefathers, the great body of his subjects, outwardly at least, returned with him. So completely were the Christian altars abandoned, and so openly and generally was the Christian faith derided, that Justus, bishop of Rochester, and Melitus, bishop of London, abandoned their sees in despair, and departed the kingdom. Laurentius, who had succeeded Augustin in the Archiepiscopal dignity of Canterbury, had prepared to follow their example; but on the eve of his departure he determined to make one striking and final effort to bring back the king into the fold of the church.

When excessive zeal has to deal with ignorance and rudeness—and even yet the Saxons were both ignorant and rude—we are taught by all history that even the sincerest men, wrought upon by excessive zeal for what they consider to be a righteous and important work, will descend to pious frauds to accomplish that for which the plain truth would not under the circumstances suffice. Laurentius was no exception to this common rule. Seeking an interview with the king, he threw off his upper garments, and exhibited his body covered with wounds and bruises to such an extent as denoted the most savage ill-treatment. The king, though evil passion had led him formally to abjure Christianity, was not prepared to see, unmoved, such proof of brutality and irreverence having

been shown to the chief teacher of his abandoned creed; and he eagerly and indignantly demanded who had dared thus to ill-treat a personage so eminent. Laurentius, in reply, assured him that his wounds had been inflicted not by living hands, but by those of St. Peter himself, who had appeared to him in a vision, and had thus chastised him for his intended desertion of a flock upon which his departure would inevitably draw down eternal perdition. The result of this bold and gross invention showed how much more powerful over gross and ignorant minds are the coarsest fables of superstition, than the sublimest truths or the most affectionate urgings of genuine religion. To the latter, Eadbald had been contemptuously deaf; to the former, he on the instant sacrificed his incestuous passion and the object of it. Divorcing himself from her, he returned to the Christian pale; and his people, obedient in good as in evil, returned with him. The reign of Eadbald, apart from this apostacy and re-conversion, was not remarkable. The power which his father had established, and the prestige of his father's remembered ability and greatness, enabled him to reign peaceably without the exertion, probably without the possession, of any very remarkable ability of his own. After a reign of twenty-five years, he died in 640, leaving two sons, Erminfrid and Ercombert.

Ercombert, though the younger brother, succeeded his father. He reigned for twenty-four years. This reign, too, was on the whole peaceable, though he showed great zeal in rooting out the remains of idolatry from among his people. He was sincerely and zealously attached to the church, and he it was who first of the Saxon monarchs enforced upon his subjects the observance of the fast of Lent.

Ercombert died in 664, and was succeeded by his son Egbert. This prince, sensible that his father had wrongfully obtained the throne, and fearing that factions might be found in favour of the heirs of his father's elder brother, put those two princes to death—an act of barbarous policy which would probably have caused his character to descend to us in much darker and more hateful colours, but that his zeal in enabling Dunnina, his sister, to found a monastery in the Isle of Ely caused him to find favour in the eyes of the monkish historians, who were ever far too ready to allow apparent friendliness to the temporal prosperity of the church to outweigh even the most flagrant and hateful sins against the doctrines taught by the church.

It is nevertheless true that, apart from his horrible and merciless treatment of his cousins, this prince displayed a character so mild and thoughtful as makes his commission of that crime doubly remarkable and lamentable. His rule was moderate, though firm, and during his short reign of only nine years he seems to have embraced every opportunity of encouraging and advancing learning. He died in 673, and was succeeded by his brother Lothaire; so that his cruel murder of his nephews did not prove successful in securing the throne to his son.

Lothaire associated with himself in the government his son Richard, and every thing seemed to promise the usurpers a long and prosperous reign. But Edric, the son of Egbert, unappalled by the double power and ability which thus barred him from the throne, took shelter at the court of Edilwalch, king of Sussex. That prince heartily espoused his cause, and furnished him with troops; and after a reign of eleven years, Lothaire was slain in battle, A.D. 684, and his son Richard escaped to Italy, where he died in comparative obscurity.

Edric did not long enjoy the throne. His reign, which presents nothing worthy of record, was barely two years. He died in 686, and was succeeded by his son Widred.

The violence and usurpation which had recently taken place in the kingdom produced the usual effect, disunion among the nobility; and that

disunion, as is also usually the case, invited the attack of external enemies. Accordingly, Widred had hardly ascended the throne when his kingdom was invaded by Cedwalla, king of Wessex, and his brother Mollo. But though the invaders did vast damage to the kingdom of Kent, their appearance had the good effect of putting an end to domestic disunion, and Widred was able to assemble a powerfull force for the defence of his throne. In a severe battle which was fought against the invaders, Mollo was slain; and Widred so ably availed himself of the opportunity afforded to him by this event, that his reign extended to the long term of thirty-two years. At his death, in 718, he left the kingdom to his family; but at the death of his third successor, Alric, who died in 794, all pretence, even, to a legitimate order of succession to the throne was abandoned. To wish was to strive, to conquer was to have right; and whether it were a powerful noble or an illegitimate connection of the royal family, every pretender who could maintain his claim by force of arms seemed to consider himself fully entitled to strike for the vacant throne. This anarchical condition of the kingdom, and the weakness and disorder which were necessarily produced by such frequent civil war, paved the way to the utter annihilation of Kent as a separate kingdom, which annihilation was accomplished by Egbert, king of Wessex, about the year 820.

CHAPTER III.

THE HEPTARCHY (CONTINUED).

The kingdom of Northumberland first made a considerable figure and exercised a great share of influence in the Heptarchy under Adelfrid, a brave and able but ambitious and unprincipled ruler. Originally king of Bernicia, he married Acca, daughter of Alla, king of the Deiri, and at the death of that monarch dispossessed and expelled his youthful heir, and united all the country north of the Humber into one kingdom, the limits of which he still farther extended by his victories over the Picts and Scots, and the Britons in Wales. An anecdote is related of this prince which seems to indicate that he held the clergy in no very great respect. Having found or made occasion to lay siege to Chester, he was opposed by the Britons, who marched in great force to compel him to raise the seige, and they were accompanied to the field of battle by upwards of a thousand monks from the monastery of Bangor. On being informed that this numerous body of religious men had come to the field of battle, not actually to fight against him, but only to exhort their countrymen to fight stoutly and to pray for their success, the stern warrior, who could not understand the nice distinction between those who fought against him with their arms and those who prayed that those arms might be victorious, immediately detached some of his troops with orders to charge upon the monks as heartily as though they had been armed and genuine soldiers; and so faithfully was this ruthless order obeyed, that only fifty of the monks are said to have escaped from the sanguinary scene with their lives. In the battle which immediately followed this wanton butchery the Britons were completely defeated, and Adelfrid having entered Chester in triumph, and strongly garrisoned it, pursued his march to the monastery of Bangor, resolved that it should not soon again send out an army of monks to pray for his defeat.

The early years of the sway of Catholicism in every country were marked both by the numbers of the monasteries and the vast expense that was lavished upon them. This was especially the case in both England and—as we shall hereafter have to remark—Ireland; but in neither

of these countries was there another monastery which could, for extent at least, bear comparison with that of Bangor. From gate to gate it covered a mile of ground, and it sheltered the enormous number of two thousand monks; the whole of this vast building was now sacrificed to the resentment of Adelfrid, who completely battered it down.

But the warlike prowess of Adelfrid was fated to prove insufficient to preserve him in the power which he had so unrighteously obtained by depriving a young and helpless orphan of his heritage. That orphan, now grown to man's estate, had found shelter in the court of Redwald, king of the East Angles. This monarch's protection of the young Edwin, and that young prince's reputed ability and courage, alarmed Adelfrid for the stability of his ill-acquired greatness; and he had the ineffable baseness to make offers of large presents to induce Redwald to deprive the young prince of life, or to deliver him, living, into the power of the usurper of his throne. For some time Redwald returned positive and indignant refusals to all propositions of this kind; but the pertinacity of Adelfrid, who still increased in the magnitude of his offers, began to shake the constancy of Redwald, when, fortunately for that monarch's character, his queen interposed to save him from the horrid baseness to which he was well nigh ready to consent. Strongly sympathising with Edwin, she felt the more interest for him on account of the magnanimous confidence in her husband's honour which the young prince displayed by tranquilly continuing his residence in East Anglia even after he was aware how strongly his protector was sued and tempted to baseness by the usurper Adelfrid. Not contented with having successfully dissuaded her husband from the treachery of yielding up the unfortunate and dispossessed prince, she farther endeavoured to induce him to exert himself actively on his behalf, and to march against the usurper while he was still in hope of having an affirmative answer to his disgraceful and insulting proposals. The king of the East Angles consented to do this, and suddenly marched a powerful army into Northumberland. In the sanguinary and decisive battle which ensued, Adelfrid was slain, but not until after he had killed Redwald's son, Regner.

Edwin, who thus obtained possession of the kingdom of Northumberland, passing at once from the condition of an exiled and dependent fugitive to that of a powerful monarch, displayed ability equal to the latter lot as he had displayed firm and dignified resignation in the former. Just, but inflexibly severe in restraining his subjects from wrong-doing, he put such order into the kingdom, which at his accession was noted for its licentiousness and disorder, that of him, as of some other well-governing princes, the old historians relate that he caused valuable property to be exposed unguarded upon the high roads, and no man dared to appropriate it. A mere figurative and hyperbolical anecdote, no doubt, but one which evidences the greatness of the truth on which such an exaggeration must be founded.

Nor was it merely within even the wide limits of his own kingdom that the fine character of Edwin was appreciated; it procured him admiration and proportionate influence throughout the Heptarchy. His benefactor Redwald, king of the East Angles, being involved in serious disputes with his subjects, was overpowered by them and put to death. The conduct of Edwin, both while a fugitive and a soujourner among them, and in his subsequent prosperity and greatness, caused them to offer him their throne. But they were incapable of understanding the whole greatness of his spirit. He had too deep and abiding a sense of gratitude for the favours he owed to Redwald, and, still more, to the queen of that prince, to see their offspring disinherited, and instead of accepting the throne, he threatened the East Angles with chastisement in the event of their refusing to give possession of it to the rightful owner Earpwold, second heir of the murdered

king. Earpwold accordingly ascended the throne, and was protected upon it by the power and reputation of Edwin.

Edwin married Ethelburga, daughter of Ethelbert, king of Kent, by Bertha, to whom, chiefly, that monarch and his people had owed their conversion to Christianity. Of such a mother, Ethelburga on the occasion of her marriage proved herself the worthy daughter; she, as her mother had done, stipulated for full and free exercise of her religion, and she also took with her to her new realm a learned bishop, by name Paulinus. Very soon after her marriage, she began to attempt the conversion of her husband. Calm and deliberate in all that he did, Edwin would not allow the merely human feeling of conjugal affection to decide him in a matter so vitally important as an entire change of religion. The most that her affectionate importunity could obtain, was his promise to give the fullest and most serious attention to all the arguments that might be urged in favour of the new faith that was offered to him; and, accordingly, he not only held frequent and long conferences with Paulinus, but also laid before the gravest and wisest of his councillors all the arguments that were urged to him by that prelate. Having undertaken the inquiry in a sincere and teachable spirit, he could not fail to be convinced, and the truth having fallen bright and full upon his enlightened mind, he openly declared himself a convert to Christianity. His conversion and baptism were followed by those of the greater part of his people, who were the more easily persuaded to this great and total change of faith when they saw their chief priest, Coifi, renounce the idolatry of which he had been the chief pillar and propounder, and excel in his conoclastic zeal against the idols to which he had so long ministered, even the Christian bishop, Paulinus himsel

The reign of Edwin produced great benefit to his people, but rather by his activity and industry than by its length, he being slain in the seventeenth year of his reign, in a battle which he fought against Cædwalla, king of the Welch Britons, and Penda, king of the Mercia.

At the death of Edwin the kingdom of Northumberland was dismembered, and its inhabitants for the most part fell back into paganism. So general, indeed, was the defection from Christianity, that the widowed Ethelburga returned to her natal kingdom of Kent, and was accompanied by Paulinus, who had been made archbishop of York.

After the dismembered kingdom of Northumberland had been torn by much petty but ruinous strife, the several portions were again united by Oswald, brother of Eanfrid, and son of the usurper Adelfrid. Oswald was strongly opposed by the Britons under the command of the warlike Cædwalla, but the Britons were so desperately beaten, that they never again made any general or vigorous attack upon the Saxons. As soon as he had re-established the unity of the Northumbrian kingdom, Oswald also restored the Christian religion, to which he was zealously attached. It is, probably, rather to this than to any of his other good qualities, that he owes the marked favour in which he is held by the monkish historians, who bestow the highest possible praises upon his piety and charity, and who moreover affirm that his mortal remains had the power of working miracles.

Oswald was slain in battle against Penda, the king of Mercia. After his death the history of the kingdom of Northumberland is a mere melange of usurpations, and of all the distractions of civil war, up to the time when Egbert, king of Wessex, reduced it, in common with the rest of the Heptarchy, to obedience to his rule.

CHAPTER IV.

THE HEPTARCHY (CONTINUED).

The kingdom of East Anglia was founded by Uffa; but its history affords no instruction or amusement; it is, in fact, in the words of an eminent historian, only "a long bead-roll of barbarous names," until we arrive at the time of its annexation to the powerful and extensive kingdom of Mercia, to which we now proceed to direct the reader's attention.

Mercia, the most extensive of all the kingdoms of the Heptarchy, could not fail to be very powerful whenever ruled by a brave or wise king. Situated in the middle of the island, it in some one point or more touched each of the other six kingdoms.

Penda, in battle against whom we have already described Oswald of Northumberland to have lost both throne and life, was the first really powerful and distinguished king of Mercia; but he was distinguished chiefly for personal courage and the tyrannous and violent temper in which he so exerted that quality as to render himself the terror or the detestation of all his contemporary English princes. Three kings of East Anglia, Sigebert, Egric, and Annas, were in succession slain in attempting oppose him, as did Edwin and Oswald, decidedly the most powerful of the kings of Northumberland; and yet this monarch, who wrought such havoc among his fellow-princes, did not ascend his throne until he was more than fifty years of age. Oswy, brother of Oswald, now encountered him, and Penda was slain; this occurred in the year 655, and the tyrannical and fierce warrior, whom all hated and many feared, was succeeded by his son, Penda, whose wife was a daughter of Oswy. This princess was a Christian, and, like Bertha and Ethelburga, she so successfully exerted her conjugal influence, that she converted her husband and his subjects to her faith. The exact length of this monarch's reign is as uncertain as the manner of his death. As regards the latter, one historian boldly asserts that he was treacherously put to death by the order and connivance of his queen; but this seems but little to tally with her acknowledged and affectionate zeal in converting him to Christianity; and as nothing in the shape of proof can be produced to support so improbable a charge, we may pretty safely conclude that either ignorance or malice has given a mistaken turn to some circumstances attending his violent death. He was succeeded by his son Wolfhere, who inherited his father's courage and conduct, and not merely maintained his own extensive kingdom in excellent order, but also reduced Essex and East Anglia to dependence upon it. He was succeeded by his brother, Ethelred, who showed that he inherited his spirit as well as his kingdom. Though a sincere lover of peace, and willing to make all honourable sacrifices to obtain and preserve it, he was also both willing and able to show himself a stout and true soldier when the occasion really demanded that he should do so. Being provoked to invade Kent, he made a very successful incursion upon that kingdom; and when his own territory was invaded by Egfrid, king of Northumberland, he fairly drove that monarch back again, and slew Elfwin, Egfrid's brother, in a pitched battle. He reigned creditably and prosperously for thirty years, and then resigning the crown to his nephew, Kendrid, he retired to the monastery of Burdney. Kendrid, in his turn, becoming wearied of the cares and toils of royalty, resigned the crown to Ceolred, the son of Ethelred; he then went to Rome, and there passed the remainder of his life in devout preparation for another and a better world. Ceolred was succeeded by Ethelbald, and the latter by Offa, who ascended the throne in the year 755; he was an active and warlike prince. Very early in his reign he defeated Lothaire, king of Kent, and Kenwulph, king of Wessex

and annexed Oxfordshire and Gloucestershire to his already large dominions. But though brave, he was both cruel and treacherous. Ethelbert, king of the East Angles, had paid his addresses to the daughter of Offa, and was accepted as her affianced husband, and at length invited to Hereford to celebrate the marriage. But in the very midst of the feasting and amusements incident to so important and joyful an event, the young prince was seized upon by order of Offa, and barbarously beheaded. The whole of his retinue would have shared the same fate, but that Elfrida, the daughter whom Offa thus barbarously deprived of her affianced husband, found out what cruelty had been exercised upon their master, and took an opportunity to warn them of their danger. Their timely escape, however, did not in the least affect the treacherous ambition of Offa, who seized upon East Anglia.

As he grew old, Offa became tortured with remorse for his crimes, and with the superstition common to his age, sought to atone for them by ostentatious and prodigal liberality to the church. He gave the tithe of all his property to the church, lavished donations upon the cathedral of Hereford, and made a pilgrimage to Rome, where his wealth and consequence readily procured him the absolution of the pope, whose especial favour he gained by undertaking to support an English college at Rome. In order to fulfil this promise, he, on his return to England, imposed a yearly tax of thirty pence upon each house in his kingdom; the like tax for the same purpose being subsequently levied upon the whole of England, was eventually claimed by Rome as a tribute, under the name of Peter's pence, in despite of the notoriety of the fact that it was originally a free gift, and levied only upon one kingdom. Under the impression or the pretence that he had been favoured with an especial command revealed to him in a vision, this man, once so cruel and now so superstitious, founded and endowed a magnificent abbey at St. Albans, in Hertfordshire, to the honour of the relics of St. Alban the Martyr, which he asserted he had found at that place.

Ill as Offa had acquired his great weight in the Heptarchy, his reputation for courage and wisdom was so great that he attracted the notice and was honoured both with the political alliance and the personal friendship of Charlemagne. After a long reign of very nearly forty years, he died in the year 794.

Offa was succeeded by his son Egfrith, who, however, survived only the short space of five months. He was succeeded by Kenulph, who invaded the kingdom of Kent, barbarously mutilated the king, whom he took prisoner and dethroned, and crowned his own brother Cuthred in his stead. Kenulph, as if by a retributive justice, was killed in a revolt of the East Anglians, of whose kingdom he held possession through the treachery and tyrannous cruelty of Offa. After the death of Kenulph the throne was usually earned and vacated by murder; and in this anarchial condition the kingdom remained until the time of Egbert. And here we may remark, *en passant*, that neither in its political nor civil organization did the Anglo-Saxon state of society exhibit higher examples of social order than are usually to be found in communities entering on the early stages of civilization.

Essex and Sussex were the smallest and the most insignificant of all the kingdoms of the Heptarchy, and deserve no particular mention, even in the most voluminous and detailed history until the union of the whole Heptarchy, to which event we shall now hasten.

We have already spoken of the stout resistance which the Britons made to Cerdic and his son Kenric, the founders of the kingdom of Wessex. A succession of ambitious and warlike kings greatly extended the territory and increased the importance of this kingdom, which was extremely powerful, though in much internal disorder, when its throne was ascended by

Egbert, in the year 800. This monarch came into possession of it under some peculiar advantages. A great portion of his life had been spent at the court of Charlemagne, and he had thus acquired greater polish and knowledge than usually fell to the lot of Saxon kings. Moreover, war and the merit attached to unmarried life had so completely extinguished the original royal families, that Egbert was at this time the sole male royal descendant of the original conquerors of Britain, who claimed to be the descendants of Woden, the chief deity of their idolatrous ancestors.

Immediately on ascending the throne, Egbert invaded the Britons in Cornwall, and inflicted some severe defeats upon them. But before he could completely subdue their country, he was called away from that enterprise by the necessity of defending his own country, which had been invaded in his absence by Bernulf, king of Mercia.

Mercia and Wessex were at this time the only two kingdoms of the Heptarchy which had any considerable power; and a struggle between Egbert and Bernulf was, as each felt and confessed it to be, a struggle for the sole dominion of the whole island. Apparently, at the outset, Mercia was the most advantageously circumstanced for carrying on this struggle, for that kingdom had placed its tributary princes in the kingdoms of Kent and Essex, and had reduced East Anglia to an almost equal state of subjection.

Egbert, on learning the attempt that Bernulf was making upon his kingdom, hastened by forced marches to arrest his progress, and speedily came to close quarters with him at Elandum in Wilts. A sanguinary and obstinate battle ensued. Both armies fought with spirit, and both were very numerous; but the fortune of the day was with Egbert, who completely routed the Mercians. Nor was he, after the battle, remiss in following up the great blow he had thus struck at the only English power that could for an instant pretend to rivalry with him. He detached a force into Kent under his son Ethelwolf, who easily and speedily expelled Baldred, the tributary king, who was supported there by Mercia, Egbert himself at the same time entering Mercia on the Oxfordshire side. Essex was conquered almost without an effort, and the East Anglians, without waiting for the approach of Egbert, rose against the power of Bernulf, who lost his life in the attempt to reduce them again to the servitude which his tyranny had rendered intolerable. Ludican, the successor of Bernulf, met with the same fate after two years of constant struggle and frequent defeat, and Egbert now found no difficulty in penetrating to the very heart of the Mercian territory, and subduing to his will a people whose spirit was thoroughly broken by a long and constant succession of calamities. In order to reconcile them to their subjection to him, he skilfuly flattered them with an empty show of independence, by allowing their native king, Wiglaf, to hold that title of his tributary, though with the firmest determination that the title should not carry with it an iota of real and independent power.

He was now, by the disturbed and turbulent condition of Northumberland, invited to turn his arms against that kingdom. But the Northumbrians, deeply impressed with his high reputation for valour and success, and probably sincerely desirous of being under the strong stern government of one who had both the power and the will to put an end to the anarchy and confusion to which they were a prey, no sooner heard of his near approach than they rendered all attack on his part wholly unnecessary, by sending deputies to meet him with an offer of their submission, and with power to take, vicariously, oaths of allegiance to him. Sincerely well pleased at being thus met even more than half way in his wishes, Egbert not only gave their envoys a very gracious reception, but also voluntarily allowed them the power to elect a tributary king of their own choice. To East Anglia he also granted this flattering but hollow and

valueless privilege, and thus secured to himself the good will of the people whom he had subjected, and the interested fidelity of titular kings, whose royalty, such as it was, depended upon his breath for its existence, and who, being on the spot, and having only a comparatively limited charge, could detect and for their own sakes would apprise him of the slightest symptoms of rebellion. The whole of the Heptarchy was now in reality subjected to Egbert, whom, dating from the year 827, we consider as the first king of England.

CHAPTER V.

THE ANGLO-SAXONS AFTER THE DISSOLUTION OF THE HEPTARCHY.—REIGNS OF EGBERT, ETHELWOLF, AND ELTHELBALD.

The vigorous character of Egbert was well calculated to make the Saxons proud of having him for a monarch, and the fact of the royal families of the Heptarchy being, from various causes, extinct, still farther aided in making his rule welcome, and the union of the various states into one agreeable. As the Saxons of the various kingdoms had originally come not from different countries so much as from different provinces, and as, during their long residence in so circumscribed a territory as England, necessary and frequent intercourse had, in despite of their being under different kings, made them to a very great extent one people, their habits and pursuits were similar, and in their language, that most important bond of union to mankind, they scarcely differed more considerably than the inhabitants of Cornwall and those of Cumberland do at the present day.

Freed from the unavoidable differences and strife which had occurred while so many jarring royalties were crowded into such a narrow and undivided space, they now seemed, by the mere force of their union into one body, to be destined to be at once prosperous among themselves, and formidable to any one who should dare to attack them from without. All things had concurred to give Egbert the supreme power in England; and all things seemed now to concur to make that power permanent and respectable. The correctness of these appearances, and the real degree of force possessed by the united people, were soon to be tested.

Britain, which both by condition and situation seemed so nearly allied to Gaul, and so fitted by nature to be subject to it, was now, in a great measure, to owe to that situation the attacks of an enemy that scarcely knew fear, and did not know either moderation or mercy. We allude to the Danes. To these bold and sanguinary marauders, who were as skilful on the ocean as they were unsparing on the land, the very name of Christianity was absolutely hateful. We have seen how easily in England the wild and unlettered Saxons were *led* into that faith; but, in Germany, the Emperor Charlemagne, instead of trying to lead the pagans out of error into truth, departed so far from both the dictates of sound policy and the true spirit of Christianity, as to endeavour to make converts to the religion of peace and good-will at the point of the sword; and, when resisted, as it was quite natural that he should be by a people unacquainted with the faith he wished to teach them, and strongly prejudiced against it by the style in which his teachings were conducted, his persecution—generous and humane though he naturally was—assumed a character which would not be accurately characterized by any epithet less severe than the word brutal. Decimated when goaded into revolt, deprived of their property by fire, and of their dearest relatives by the sword, many thousands of the pagan Saxons of Germany sought refuge in Jutland and Denmark, and naturally, though incorrectly, judging of the Christian faith by the conduct of the Christian champion, Charlemagne, they made the former hateful by

by their mere relations of the cruelties of the latter. When the feeble and divided posterity of Charlemagne made the French provinces a fair mark for bold invaders, the mingled races of Jutes, Danes, and Saxons, known in France under the general name of Northmen or Normans, made descents upon the maritime countries of France, and then pushed their devastating enterprises far inland. England, as we have said, from its mere proximity to France, was viewed by these northern marauders as being in some sort the same country; and its inhabitants, as being equally Christian with the French, were equally hated, and equally considered fit objects of spoliation and violence. As early as the reign of Brithric in the kingdom of Wessex, in 787, a body of these bold and unscrupulous pirates landed in that kingdom. That their intention was hostile there can be little doubt, for, when merely questioned about it, they slew the magistrate and hastily made off. In the year 794 they landed in Northumberland and completely sacked a monastery, but a storm preventing them from making their escape, they were surrounded by the Northumbrian people, and completely cut to pieces.

During the first five years of Egbert's supreme reign in England, neither domestic disturbances nor the invasion of foreign foes occurred to obstruct his measures for promoting the prosperity of his people. But about the end of that time, and while he was still profoundly engaged in promoting the peaceable pursuits which were so necessary to the wealth and comfort of the kingdom, a horde of Danes made a sudden descent upon the isle of Sheppy, plundered the inhabitants to a great amount, and made their debarkation in safety, and almost without any opposition. Warned by this event of his liability to future visits of the same unwelcome nature, Egbert held himself and a competent force in readiness to receive them; and, when in the following year (A.D. 832) they landed from thirty-five ships upon the coast of Dorset, they were suddenly encountered by Egbert, near Charmouth, in that county. An obstinate and severe contest ensued, in which the Danes lost a great number of their force, and were, at length, totally defeated; but as they were skilfully posted, and had taken care to preserve a line of communication with the sea, the survivors contrived to escape to their ships.

Two years elapsed from the battle of Charmouth before the pirates again made their appearance; and, as in that battle they had suffered very severely, the English began to hope that they would not again return to molest them. But the Danes, knowing the ancient enmity that existed between the Saxons and the British remnant in Cornwall, entered into an alliance with the latter, and, landing in their country, had an easy open road to Devonshire and the other fertile provinces of the West. But here again the activity and unslumbering watchfulness of Egbert enabled him to limit their ravages merely to their first furious onset. He came up with them at Hengesdown, and again they were defeated with a great diminution of their numbers.

This was the last service of brilliant importance that Egbert performed for England, and just as there was every appearence that his valour and sagacity would be more than ever necessary to the safety of the country, he died, in the year 838, and was succeeded by his son Ethelwolf.

The very first act of Ethelwolf's reign was the division of the country which the wisdom and ability of his father, aided by singular good fortune, had so happily united. Threatened as the kingdom so frequently was from without, its best and chiefest hope obviously rested upon its union, and the consequent facility of concentrating its whole fighting force upon any threatened point. But, unable to see this, or too indolent to bear the whole government of the country, Ethelwolf made over the whole of Kent, Sussex, and Essex, to his son Athelstan It was fortunate that, under such a prince, who at the very outset of his reign could

commit an error so capital, England had, in most of her principal places, magistrates or governors of bravery and ability.

Thus Wolfhere, governor of Hampshire, put to the rout a strong party of the marauders who had landed at Southampton, from no fewer than three and-thirty sail; and, in the same year, Athelhelm, governor of Dorsetshire, encountered and defeated another powerful body of them who had landed at Portsmouth; though, in this case, unfortunately, the gallant governor died of his wounds. Aware of the certain disadvantages to which they would be exposed in fighting pitched battles in an enemy's country, the Danes, in their subsequent landing, took all possible care to avoid the necessity of doing so. Their plan was to swoop suddenly down upon a retired part of the coast, plunder the country as far inland as they could prudently advance, and re-embark with their booty before any considerable force could be got together to oppose them. In this manner they plundered East Anglia and Kent, and their depredations were the more distressing, because they by no means limited themselves to booty in the usual sense of that term, but carried off men, women, and even children into slavery.

The frequency and the desultoriness of these attacks, at length, kept the whole coastward in a perpetual state of anxiety and alarm; the inhabitants of each place fearing to hasten to assist the inhabitants of another place, lest some other party of the pirates, in the meantime, should ravage and burn their own homes. There was another peculiarity in this kind of warfare, which to one order of men, at least, made it more terrible than even civil war itself; making their descents not merely in the love of gain, but also in a burning and intense hatred of Christianity, the Danes made no distinction between laymen and clerks, unless, indeed, that they often showed themselves, if possible, more inexorably cruel to the latter.

Having their cupidity excited by large and frequent booty, and being, moreover, flushed with their success on the coast of France, the Danes or Northmen at length made their appearance almost annually in England. In each succeeding year they appeared in greater numbers, and conducted themselves with greater audacity: and they now visited the English shores in such swarms that it was apparent they contemplated nothing less than the actual conquest and settlement of the whole country. Dividing themselves into distinct bodies, they directed their attacks upon different points; but the Saxons were naturally warlike, the governors of most of the important places seaward were, as we have already remarked, well fitted for their important trust, and the very frequency of the attacks of the Danes had induced a vigilance and organization among the people themselves which rendered it far less easy than it had formerly been to surprise them. At Wiganburgh the Danes were defeated with very great loss by Ceorle, governor of Devonshire, while another body of the marauders was attacked and defeated by Athelstan, in person, off Sandwich. In this case, in addition to a considerable loss in men, the Danes had nine of their vessels sunk, and only saved the rest by a precipitate flight. But in this year the Danes showed a sign of audacious confidence in their strength and resources which promised but ill for the future repose of England; for though they had been severely chastised in more than one quarter, and had sustained the loss of some of their bravest men, the main body of them, instead of retreating wholly from the island, as they had usually done towards the close of the autumn, fortified themselves in the Isle of Sheppy, and made it their winter quarters. The promise of early recommencement of hostilities that was thus tacitly held out was fully and promptly fulfilled.

Early in the spring of 852, the Danes who had wintered in the Isle of Thanet, were reinforced by the arrival of a fresh horde, in 350 vessels

and the whole marched from the Isle of Thanet inland, burning and destroying whatever was not sufficiently portable for plunder. Brichtric, who—so far had Ethelbert allowed the disjunction of the kingdom to proceed—was now governor and titular king of Mercia, made a vain attempt to resist them, and was utterly routed. Canterbury and London were sacked and burned and the disorderly bands of the victorious enemy spread into the very heart of Surrey. Ethelwolf, though an indolent king, was by no means destitute of a certain princely pride and daring. Enraged beyond measure at the audacity of the marauders, and deeply grieved at the sufferings they inflicted upon his subjects, he assembled the West Saxons, whom, accompanied by his second son Ethelbald as his lieutenant, he led against the most considerable body of the Danes. He encountered them at Okely, and, although they fought with their usual reckless and pertinacious courage, the Saxons discomfited and put them to flight. This victory gave the country at least a temporary respite; for the Danes had suffered so much by it, that they were glad to postpone further operations, and seek shelter and rest within their intrenchment in the Isle of Thanet. Thither they were followed by Huda and Ealher, the governors of Surrey and Kent, who bravely attacked them. At the commencement of the action the advantage was very considerably on the side of the Saxons: but the fortune of war suddenly changed, the Danes recovered their lost grounds and the Saxons were totally routed, both their gallant leaders remaining dead upon the field of battle: A.D. 853.

Desperate as the situation of the country was, and threatening as was the aspect of the Danes, who, after defeating Huda and Ealher, removed from the Isle of Thanet to that of Sheppey, which they deemed more convenient for winter quarters, Ethelwolf, who was extremely superstitious and bigoted, and who, in spite of the occasional flashes of chivalric spirit which he exhibited, was far more fit for a monk than for either a monarch or a military commander, this year resolved upon making a pilgrimage to Rome. He went and carried with him his fourth son, the subsequently "Great" Alfred, but who was then a child of only six years old. At Rome Ethelwolf remained for one year, passing his time in prayer; earning the flatteries and favour of the monks by liberalities to the church, on which he lavished sums which were too really and terribly needed by his own impoverished and suffering country. As a specimen of his profusion in this pious squandering, he gave to the papal see, in perpetuity, the yearly sum of three hundred maucuses—each maucus weighing, says Hume, about the same as the English half crown—to be applied in three equal portions: first, the providing and maintaining lamps for St. Peter's; second, for the same to St. Paul's, and thirdly, for the use of the pope himself. At the end of the year's residence which he had promised himself he returned home; happily for his subjects, whom his prolonged stay at Rome could not have failed to impoverish; his foolish facility in giving, being not a whit more remarkable than the unscrupulous alacrity of the papal court in taking. On reaching England, he was far more astonished than gratified at the state of affairs there. Athelstan, his eldest son, to whom, as we have before mentioned, he had given Kent, Sussex and Essex, had been some time dead; and Ethelbald, the second son, having, in consequence, assumed the regency of the kingdom during his father's absence, had allowed filial affection and the loyalty due to a sovereign to be conquered by ambition. Many of the warlike nobility held Ethelwolf in contempt, and did not scruple to affirm that he was far more fit for cowl and cloister than for the warrior's weapon and the monarch's throne. The young and ambitious prince lent too facile an ear to these disloyal deriders and suffered himself to be persuaded to join and head a party to dethrone his father and set himself up in his place. But Ethelwolf, though despised by the ruder and fiercer nobles, was not without numerous and sincere

friends; his party, long as he had been absent, was as strong and as zealous as that of the prince; both parties were of impetuous temper and well inclined to decide the controversy by blows; and the country seemed to be upon the very brink of civil war, of which the Danes would no doubt have availed themselves to subject the island altogether. But this extremity was prevented by Ethelwolf himself, who voluntarily proffered to remove all occasion of strife by sharing his kingdom with Ethelbald. The division was accordingly made; the king contenting himself with the eastern moiety of the kingdom, which, besides other points of inferiority, was far the most exposed.

It were scarcely reasonable to expect that he who had not shrewdness and firmness enough to protect his own rights and interests, would prove a more efficient guardian of those of his people. His residence at Rome had given the papal court and the clergy a clear view of the whole extent of the weakness of his nature; and the facility with which he had parted with his cash in exchange for hollow and cozening compliments, marked him out as a prince exactly fitted to aid the English clergy in their endeavour to aggrandize themselves. And the event proved the correctness of their judgment; for at the very same time that he presented the clergy with the tithes of all the land's produce, which they had never yet received, though the country had been for nearly two centuries divided into parishes, he expressly exempted them and the church revenues in general from every sort of tax, even though made for national defence; and this at a moment when the national exigences were at their greatest height, and when the national peril was such that it might have been supposed that even a wise selfishness would have induced the clergy to contribute towards its support; the more especially, as towards them and their property the Danes had ever exhibited a peculiar malignity.

Ethelwolf died in 857, about two years after he had granted to the English clergy the important boon of the tithes; and he, by will, confirmed to Ethelbald the western moiety of the kingdom, of which he had already put him in possession, and left the eastern moiety to his second eldest surviving son Ethelbert.

The reign of Ethelbald was short; nor was his character such as to make it desirable for the sake of his people that it had been longer. He was of extremely debauched habits, and gave especial scandal and disgust to his people by marrying his mother-in-law, Judith, the second wife of his deceased father. To the comments of the people upon this incestuous and disgraceful connection he paid no attention; but the censure of the church was not to be so lightly regarded, and the advice and authority of Swithin, bishop of Winchester, induced him to consent to be divorced. He died in the year 860, and was succeeded by his brother Ethelbert, and the kingdom thus, once more, was united under one sovereign

CHAPTER VI.

THE REIGNS OF ETHELBERT AND ETHELRED.

The reign of Ethelbert was greatly disturbed by the frequent descents of the Danes. On one occasion they made a furious attack upon Winchester, and did an immense deal of mischief in the neighbourhood, but were finally beaten off with great loss; and, on another occasion, the horde of them that was settled in the Isle of Thanet, having thrown Ethelbert off his guard by their apparent determination to keep sacred a treaty into which they had entered with him, suddenly broke from their quarters, marched in great numbers into Kent, and there committed the most wanton outrages in addition to seizing immense booty.

Ethelbert reigned solely over England but little more than five years; he died in 866, and was succeeded by his brother Ethelred. He, too, was greatly harrassed by the Danes. Very early in his reign, connived at and aided by the East Angles, who even furnished them with the horses necessary for their predatory expedition, they made their way into the kingdom of Northumberland, and seized upon the wealthy and important city of York. Ælla and Osbricht, two high-spirited Northumbrian princes, endeavoured to expel them, but were defeated and perished in the assault. Flushed with their success, the Danes now marched, under the command of their terrible leaders, Hubba and Hinguar, into Mercia, and after much carnage and rapine established themselves in Nottingham, from which central situation they menaced the ruin of the whole kingdom. The Mercians, finding that their local authorities and local forces were no match for desperadoes so numerous and so determined, despatched messengers to Ethelred, imploring his personal interference on their behalf, and the king, accompanied by his brother Alfred, who had already begun to display those talents which subsequently won him an imperishable fame, marched to Nottingham with a powerful army, A.D. 870.

The gallantry and activity of the king and his brother speedily drove the Danes from Mercia, and they retired into Northumberland with the apparent design of remaining there quietly. But peace was foreign to their very nature, and, forgetful of their recent obligations to the treachery of the East Angles, they suddenly rushed forth upon them, butchered Edmund, their tributary prince, in cold blood, and committed the most extensive havoc and depredations, especially upon the monasteries.

The Danes having, in 871, made Reading a station, from which they greatly harrassed the surrounding country, Ethelred determined to dislodge them. On desiring the aid of the Mercians he was disloyally refused, they, unmindful of the benefit they had received from him, being desirous of getting rid of their dependence upon him, and becoming a separate people as in the Heptarchy. Even this shameful conduct of the Mercians could not move Ethelred from his purpose. Aided by Alfred, from whom, during his whole reign, he received the most zealous and efficient assistance, he raised a large force of his hereditary subjects, the West Saxons, and marched against Reading. Being defeated in an action without the town, the Danes retreated within the gates, and Ethelred commenced a seige, but was driven from before the place by a sudden and well-conducted sally of the garrison. An action shortly afterwards took place at Aston, not far from Reading, at which an incident occurred which gives us a strange notion of the manners of the age. A division of the English army under Alfred commenced the battle, and was so skilfully surrounded by the enemy while yet in a disadvantageous position and not fairly formed in order of battle, that it was in the most imminent danger of being completely cut to pieces. Alfred sent an urgent message to his brother for assistance, but Ethelred was hearing mass, and positively refused to stir a step until its conclusion. Had the day gone against the Saxons, Ethelred's conduct on this occasion would probably have been censured even by the priests, but as the Danes were put to the rout, and with signal slaughter, the whole credit of the victory was given to the piety of Ethelred.

Beaten out of Berkshire, the Danes now took up a strong position at Basing, in Hants. Here they received a powerful reinforcement from abroad, and sent out marauding parties in all directions with great success. Such, indeed, was their havoc, that Englishmen of all ranks began to contemplate, with unfeigned terror, the near probability of their whole country being overrun by these merciless and greedy invaders The anxiety of Ethelred occasioned by these gloomy prospects, which

were still farther increased by the impatience of the Mercians and others under his rule, so much augmented the irritation of a wound he had received in the battle at Basing, that it terminated his life in the year 871

CHAPTER VII

THE REIGN OF ALFRED THE GREAT.

ALFRED succeeded his brother Ethelred, and scarce were the funeral rites performed before he found it necessary to march against the enemy, who had now seized upon Milton. At the outset, Alfred had considerably the advantage, but his force was very weak compared to that of the enemy, and, advancing too far, he not only missed the opportunity of completing their defeat, but even enabled them to claim the victory. But their victory—if such it was—cost them so many of their bravest men that they became alarmed for the consequences of continuing the war, and entered into a treaty by which they bound themselves altogether to depart from the kingdom. To enable them to do this they were conducted to London, but on arriving there the old leaven became too strong for their virtuous resolutions, and, breaking off from their appointed line of march, they began to plunder the country round London for many miles. Burthred, the tributary prince of Mercia, of which London formed a part, thinking it improbable, after his shameful desertion of Alfred's brother on a former occasion, that Alfred would now feel inclined to assist him, made a treaty with the Danes, by which, in consideration of a considerable sum of money, they agreed to cease from ravaging his dominions, and remove themselves into Lincolnshire; but they had on former occasions laid that county waste, and finding that it had not yet so far recovered as to promise them any booty worth having, they suddenly marched back again upon Mercia; then establishing themselves at Repton, in Derbyshire, they commenced their usual career of slaughter and rapine in that neighbourhood. This new instance of Danish perfidy filled Burthred with despair, and seeing no probability of his being able either to chase the Danes away, or to render them peaceably disposed either by force or bribe, he abandoned his territory altogether, proceeded to Rome, and there took up his abode in a monastery, where he continued until his death. Burthred, who was brother-in-law to Alfred, was the last titular and tributary king of Mercia.

The utter abandonment of the English cause by Burthred left it no other leading defender but Alfred: A.D. 871. Brave and able as that prince was, his situation was now truly terrible. New swarms of Danes came over, under the leadership of Guthrum, Osital, and Amund. One band of the host thus formed took up their quarters in Northumberland, and another Cambridge, whence the latter marched for Wareham, in Dorsetshire, and thus settled themselves in the very midst of Alfred's territory. This circumstance, from Alfred's superior knowledge of the country and his facility of obtaining supplies, gave him advantages of which he so ably and promptly availed himself, that the Danes were glad to engage themselves to depart. They had now, however, become so notorious for breaking their treaties, that Alfred, in concluding this one with them, resorted to an expedient very characteristic of that rude and superstitious age. He made them confirm their pledges by oaths upon holy reliques. He thought it unlikely that even Danes would venture to depart from an agreement made with a ceremony which was then thought so tremendous, and even should they be impious enough to do so, he felt quite certain that their awful perjury would not fail to draw down full destruction upon them. But the Danes, who hated Christianity, and held its forms in utter con-

tempt, no sooner found themselves freed from the disadvantageous position in which Alfred had placed them, than they fell without warning upon his astounded army, put it completely to flight, and then hastened to take possession of Exeter. Undismayed by even this new proof of the faithless and indomitable nature of the enemy, Alfred exerted himself so diligently, that he got together new forces, and fought no fewer than eight considerable battles within twelve months. This vigour was more effectual against such a foe than any treaty, however solemn, and they once more found themselves reduced to an extremity which compelled them to sue for peace. As Alfred's sole wish was to free his subjects from the intolerable evils incident to having their country perpetually made the theatre of war, he cheerfully agreed to grant them peace and permission to settle on the coast, on the sole condition that they should live peaceably with his subjects, and not allow any new invaders to ravage the country. While they were distressed, and in danger, the Danes were well pleased with these terms, but just as the treaty was concluded a reinforcement arrived to them from abroad. All thought of peace and treaty was at once laid aside by them; they hastened, in all directions, to join the new comers, seized upon the important town of Chippenham, and recommenced their old system of plundering, murdering, and destroying, in every direction, for miles around their quarters. The Saxons, not even excepting the heroic Alfred himself, now gave up all hope of success in the struggle in which they had so long and so bravely been engaged. Many fled to Wales and the continent, while the generality submitted to the invaders, contented to save life and land at the expense of national honour and individual freedom. It was in vain that Alfred reminded the chief men among the Saxons of the sanguinary successes they had achieved in the time past, and endeavoured to persuade them that new successes would attend new efforts. Men's spirits were now so utterly subdued that the Danes were looked upon as irresistible; and the heroic and unfortunate Alfred, unable to raise sufficient force to warrant him in again endeavouring to save his country from the yoke of the foreign foeman, was fain to seek safety in concealment, and to console himself in his temporary inactivity with the hope that the oppressions of the Danes would be so unmeasured and intolerable, that even the most peace-loving and indolent of the Saxons would, at no distant day, be goaded into revolt. Unattended even by a servant, Alfred, disguised in the coarse habit of a peasant, wandered from one obscure hiding-place to another. One of these was the lowly hut of a neatherd, who had in happier days been in his service. The man faithfully obeyed the charge given to him by the king not to reveal his rank even to the good woman of the house. She, unsuspicious of the quality of her guest, was at no pains to conceal her opinion that so able a man, in full health, and with an extremely vigorous appetite, might find some better employment, bad though the times were, than moping about and muttering to himself. On one occasion she still more strongly gave her opinion of the idleness of her guest. He was seated before the ample wood fire, putting his bow and arrow in order as she put some wheaten cakes down to bake, and being called away by some other domestic business, she desired Alfred to mind the cakes, giving him especial charge to turn them frequently lest they should be burned. The king promised due obedience, but scarcely had his imperious hostess left him when he fell into a profound reverie on his own forlorn and abandoned condition, and the manifold miseries of his country. It is probable that, during that long sad day-dream, more than one thought suggested itself to Alfred, by which England, at a future day, was to be greatly benefited. But, assuredly, his thoughts were, for that time at least, of little benefit to his hostess, who, on her return to the cottage, found the king deep buried in his gloomy thoughts, and her cakes done, indeed, but

done—to a cinder. The good woman's anger now knew no bounds; oaf, lubber, and lazy loon, were the mildest names which she bestowed upon him, as, with mingled anger and vexation, she contrasted his indolence in the matter of baking, with his alacrity in eating what he found ready baked for his use.

So successful had Alfred been in destroying all traces of his wanderings, that Hubba and other leading Danes, who had at first made search after him with all the activity and eagerness of extreme hate, not unmingled with fear, at length became persuaded that he had either left the country altogether, or perished miserably ere he could find means and opportunity to do so. Finding that his enemies had discontinued their search after him, Alfred now began to conceive hopes of being able once more to call some friends to his side. For this purpose he betook himself to Somersetshire, to a spot with which he had accidentally become acquainted, which singularly united obscurity and capability of being defended. A morass formed by the overflowing of the rivers Parret and Thame had nearly in its centre about a couple of acres of firm land. The morass itself was not safely practicable by any one not well acquainted with the concealed paths that led through it to the little *terra firma*, and it was further secured from hostile visitors by numerous other morasses no less difficult and dangerous, while by a dense growth of forest trees it was on every side environed and sheltered. Here he built himself a rude hut, and, having found means to communicate with some of the most faithful of his personal friends, it was not long before he was placed at the head of a small but valiant band. Sallying from this retreat under the cover of the night, and always, when practicable, returning again before the morning, he harassed and spoiled the Danes to a very great extent; and his attacks were so sudden and so desultory, that his enemies were unable either effectually to guard against them, or to conjecture from what quarter they proceeded.

Even by this warfare, petty and desultory as it was, Alfred was doing good service to his country. For with the spoil which he thus obtained he was enabled to subsist and from time to time to increase his followers; and while his attacks, which could not be wholly unknown to the Saxon population, gave them vague hopes that armed friends were not wholly lost to them, they moderated the cruelty and imperiousness of the Danes by constantly reminding them of the possibility of a successful and general revolt of the Saxons.

For upwards of a year Alfred remained in this secure retreat, in which time he had gathered together a considerable number of followers; and now at length his perseverance had its reward in an opportunity of once more meeting his foes in the formal array of battle.

Hubba, the most warlike of all the Danish chiefs, led a large army of his countrymen to besiege the castle of Kinwith, in Devonshire. The earl of that country, a brave and resolute man, deeming death in the battle field far preferable to starving within his fortified walls, or life preserved by submission to the hated Danes, collected the whole of his garrison, and, having inspired them with his own brave determination, made a sudden sally upon the Danish camp in the darkness of night, killed Hubba, and routed the Danish force with immense slaughter. He at the same time captured the enchanted *Reafen*, the woven raven which adorned the chief standard of the Danes, and the loss of which their superstitious feelings made more terrible to them than that of their chief and their comrades who had perished. This *Reafen* had been woven into Hubba's standard by his three sisters, who had accompanied their work with certain magical formulæ which the Danes firmly believed to have given the represented bird the power of predicting the good or evil success of any enterprise by the motion of its wings. And, considering the great power

of superstition over rude and untutored minds, it is very probable that the loss of this highly valued standard, coinciding with not only the defeat, but also the death, of its hitherto victorious owner, struck such a general fear and doubt into the minds of the Danes as very greatly tended to dispose them, shortly after, to make peace with Alfred.

As soon as Alfred heard of the spirit and success with which the earl of Devonshire had defended himself and routed the most dreaded division of the Danish army, he resolved to leave his obscure retreat and once more endeavour to arouse the Saxon population to arms. But as he had only too great and painful experience of the extent to which his unfortunate people had been depressed in spirit by their long continued ill fortune, he determined to act deliberately and cautiously, so as to avoid an appeal made too early either to find the Saxons sufficiently recovered to make a new effort for their liberty, or to allow of their being prepared to make that effort successfully.

Still leaving his followers to conceal themselves in the retreat of which we have spoken, he disguised himself as a harper, a very popular character in that day, and one which his great skill as a musician enabled him successfully to maintain. In this character he was able to travel alike among Danes and Saxons without suspicious recognition; and his music at once obtained him admission to every rank and the opportunity of conversing with every description of people. Emboldened by finding himself unsuspected by even his own subjects, he now formed the bold project of penetrating the very camp of the enemy to note their forces and disposition. To soldiers in camp amusement is ever welcome, and the skilful music of Alfred not merely gratified the common soldiers and inferior officers but even procured him, from their recommendations, admittance to the tent of Guthrum, their prince and leader. Here he remained long enough to discover every weak point of the enemy, whether as to the position of their camp, which was situated at Eddington, or as to the carelessness of discipline into which their utter contempt of the "Saxon swine" caused them to fall. Having made all necessary observations he took the earliest opportunity to depart, and sent messages to all the principal Saxons upon whom he could depend, requiring them to meet him on a specified day, at Brixton, in the forest of Selwood. The Saxons, who had long mourned their king as dead, and were groaning beneath the brutal tyrannies of the Danes, joyfully obeyed his summons, and at the appointed time he found himself surrounded by a force so numerous and so enthusiastic as to give him just hopes of being able to attack the Danes with success. Knowing the importance of not allowing this enthusiasm to cool, he wasted no time in useless delay or vain form, but led them at once to Guthrum's camp, of which his recent visit made him acquainted with the most practicable points. Sunk in apathetic indolence, and thinking of nothing less than of seeing a numerous band of English assembled to attack them, the Danes were so panic-struck and surprised that they fought with none of their accustomed vigour or obstinacy, and the battle was speedily converted into a mere rout. Great numbers of the Danes perished in this affair; and though the rest, under the orders of Guthrum, fortified themselves in a camp and made preparations for continuing the struggle, they were so closely hemmed in by Alfred, that absolute hunger proved too strong for their resolution, and once more they offered to treat for peace with the man whose mercy they had so often abused, and whose valour and ability they had long since imagined, and exultingly believed, to be buried in an obscure and premature grave.

The enduring and persevering inclination to clemency which he constantly displayed is by no means one of the least remarkable and admirable traits in the character of Alfred. Though he now had the very lives of his fell and malignant foes in his power, and though they were so con-

scious of their helplessness that they offered to submit on any terms, however humiliating, he gave them their lives without attempting to impose even moderately severe terms. Peace for his subjects was still the great load-star of all his wishes and of all his polity; and often as he had been deceived by the Danes, his real magnanimity led him to believe that even their faithlessness could not always be proof against mercy and indulgence; he therefore not only gave them their lives, but also full permission to settle in his country, upon the easy condition of living in peace with his other subjects, and holding themselves bound to aid in the defence of the country in whose safety they would have a stake, should any new invasion render their assistance necessary. Delighted to obtain terms so much more favourable than they had any right to hope for, Guthrum and his followers readily agreed to this; but Alfred's mercy had no taint of weakness. He, with his usual sagacity, perceived that one great cause of the persevering hostility of the Danes to his subjects was their difference of religion. Reflecting that such a cause would be perpetually liable to cause the Danes to break their peaceable intentions, he demanded that Guthrum and his people should give evidence of their sincerity by embracing the Christian religion. This, also, was consented to by the Danes, who were all baptized, Alfred himself becoming the godfather of Guthrum, to whom he gave the honourable Christian name of Athelstan. The success of this measure fully justified the sagacity which had suggested it to Alfred. The Danes settled in Stamford, Lincoln, Nottingham, Leicester, and Derby, were called the Five Burghers, and they lived as peaceably as any other of Alfred's subjects and gave him as little trouble. For some years after this signal triumph of Alfred's prowess and policy, England was unmolested by foreign invaders, excepting on one occasion when a numerous fleet of Danes sailed up the Thames, beyond London. They committed considerable havoc on their route, but on arriving at Fulham they found the country so well prepared by Alfred to resist them, that they made a panic retreat to their ships, and departed with such spoil as in their haste they were able to secure.

Freed from the warlike bustle in which so large a portion of his life had been spent, Alfred now devoted himself to the task of regulating the civil affairs of the kingdom. He committed the former kingdom of Mercia to the government of his brother-in-law, Ethelbert, with the rank and title of earl or duke; and in order to render the incorporation of the Danes with the Saxons the more complete, he put them upon the same legal footing in every respect. In each division of the kingdom he established a militia force, and made arrangements for its concentration upon any given point in the event of a new invasion. He also repaired the various towns that had suffered in the long disorders of the kingdom, and erected fortresses in commanding situations, to serve both as depots for armed men, and as rallying points for the militia and levy, *en masse*, of the country around, in case of need. But though the admirable military dispositions thus made by Alfred made it certain that any invaders would find themselves hotly opposed in whatever quarter they might make their attack, Alfred was more anxious to have the internal peace of the country wholly unbroken, than to be obliged, however triumphantly and surely, to chastise the disturbers of it; he therefore now turned his attention to the organization of such a naval force as should be sufficient to keep the piratical enemy from landing upon his shores. He greatly increased the number and strength of his shipping, and practised a large portion of his people in naval tactics, to which, considering their insular situation, the kings and people of England had hitherto been strangely indifferent. The good effects of this wise precaution were soon manifest; squadrons of his armed vessels lay at so many and at such well-chosen positions, that the Danes, though they often came in great numbers, were either wholly

prevented from landing, or intercepted when retiring from before the land-forces, and deprived of their ill-gotten booty, and their ships either captured or sunk. In this manner Alfred at length got together a hundred and twenty vessels, a very powerful fleet for that time, and as his own subjects were at the outset but indifferent sailors, he supplied that defect by sparingly distributing among them skilful foreign seamen, from whom they soon learned all that was known of naval tactics in that rude age.

For some years Alfred reaped the reward of his admirable policy and untiring industry in the unbroken tranquillity of the country, which gave his subjects the opportunity of advancing in all the useful arts, and of gradually repairing those evils which the long-continued internal wars had done to both their trade and their agriculture. But a new trial was still in store for both Alfred and his subjects.

A.D. 893. Hastings, a Danish chieftain, who some years before had made a short predatory incursion into England, but who recently had confined his ravages to France, finding that he had reduced that country, so far as he could get access to it, to a condition which rendered it unproductive of farther booty, suddenly appeared this year off the coast of Kent, with an immense horde of his pirates, in upwards of three hundred vessels. Disembarking the main body in the Rother, and leaving it to guard the fort of Apuldore, which he surprised and seized, he, with a detachment of nearly a hundred vessels, sailed up the Thames as far as Milton, where he established his head-quarters, whence he sent out his maurading parties in every direction. As soon as tidings of this new incursion reached Alfred, that gallant monarch concentrated an immense force from the armed militia in various parts of the country, and marched against the enemy. Setting down before Milton and Apuldore, Alfred, by his superiority of force, completely hemmed in the main bodies of the pirates, and their detached parties were encountered as they returned with their booty, and cut off to a man. Finding that, so far from having any prospect of enriching themselves, they were, in fact, compelled to live in England upon the plunder that they had seized in France, the pirate garrison of Apuldore made a sudden sally with the design of crossing the Thames into Essex. But the vigilant eye of Alfred was too constantly upon them to allow either secrecy or suddenness to give them success in this attempt. He arrested their march at Farnham, utterly routed them, and spoiled them of all their property, including numbers of valuable horses. The slaughter was very great, and those Danes who were so fortunate as to survive the battle, made their way in panic haste to their piratical vessels, and sailed over to Essex, where they entrenched themselves at Mersey; Hastings, with the division under his command, at the same time going also into the county of Essex and entrenching himself at Canvey.

Guthrum, who from the time of his baptism had been constantly faithful to the engagement into which he had entered with Alfred, was now dead, as also was Guthred, another Dane of rank, who was very faithful to Alfred, by whom he had been made governor of Northumberland. No longer restrained by the example and authority of those two eminent chiefs, the East Anglian and Northumbrian Danes now suddenly exhibited their old propensity to strife and rapine, got together a fleet of nearly two hundred and fifty vessels, and made their appearance in hostile array before Exeter. Leaving a sufficient force under competent command to make head against the Danes in Essex, Alfred immediately hastened to Exeter, and fell so suddenly upon them, that with little loss on his side, they were driven, in complete disorder and with immense loss, to their fleet. They made attempts to land in other parts of the country; but the preparations which Alfred had everywhere made of militia and armed freemen, whom the recent alarms had kept more than usually on the alert,

caused the pirates to be so warmly received, that they at length sailed from the island altogether, in despair of making any further booty.

The Danes in Essex, united under the command of the formidable Hastings, did immense mischief in that county. But the force left behind by Alfred, increased by a large number of Londoners, marched to Bramflete, forced the pirates' entrenchments, put the greater number of the garrison to the sword, and captured the wife and children of the pirate chief. This capture was the most importantly useful result of this well-conducted enterprise. Alfred had now in his hands hostages through whom he could command any terms; but so generous was his nature, that he restored the women and children to Hastings, upon the sole and easy condition that he should leave the kingdom immediately, under a solemn engagement to return to it no more as a foeman.

But though the worst band of the Danes was thus forced to depart the kingdom, the plague of the Danes was by no means wholly at an end. There were very numerous scattered hordes of them, who neither owned the leadership of Hastings, nor were willing to leave the country empty-handed. These united into one large force, and fortified themselves at Shobury, at the mouth of the Thames, whence they marched into Gloucestershire, and being reinforced by a numerous body of Welchmen, fortified themselves very strongly at Boddington. Having now only this body to deal with, Alfred gathered together the whole force he could command, and drawing lines of circumvallation around the pirates, deliberately sat down with the determination of starving them into submission. They held out for some time, slaying their horses to subsist upon; but at length even this miserable resource failing them, they sallied out in utter desperation. The most considerable portion of them fell in the fierce contest that ensued, but a still formidable body escaped, and, ravaging the country as they passed along, were pursued by Alfred to Watford, in Hertfordshire. Here another severe action ensued, and the Danes were again defeated with great loss. The remnant found shelter on board the fleet of Sigefort, a Northumbrian Dane, who possessed ships of a construction very superior to those of the generality of his countrymen. The king pursued this fleet to the coast of Hampshire, slew a great number of the pirates, captured twenty of their ships, and—even his enduring mercy being now wearied—hanged, at Winchester, the whole of his prisoners.

The efficient and organized resistance which had of late been experienced by the pirates, and the plain indications given by the Winchester executions that the king was determined to show no more lenity to pirates, but to consign them to an ignominious death, as common disturbers and enemies of the whole human race, fairly struck terror even into the hitherto incorrigible Danes. Those of Northumberland and East Anglia, against whom Alfred now marched, deprecated his resentment by the humblest submission, and the most solemn assurances of their future peaceable behaviour, and their example was imitated by the Welch.

The same admirable arrangements which had enabled him to free his country from the Danes, were now of infinite service to Alfred in restoring and enforcing order among his own subjects. It was almost inevitable that great disorders should prevail among a people who so frequently, and during so many years, had been subject to all the horrors and tumults incident to a country which is so unhappy as to be the theatre of war. In addition to making very extensive and wise provisions for the true and efficient administration of justice in the superior courts, and framing a code for their guidance so excellent that its substance and spirit subsist to this day in the common law of England, he most effectually provided for the repression of petty offences, as well as more serious ones, whether against persons or property, and the manner in which he did so, like the manner in which he, as it were, made his whole kingdom a series of gar-

risons to restrain the Danes, shows that he, with admirable genius, perceived the immense importance of an attention to details, and the ease with which many graduated efforts and arrangements will produce a result which would be in vain aimed at by any one effort however vast.

Of what may be called the national police established by Alfred, we take the following brief and condensed, but extremely lucid and graphic, account from Hume: "The English," says Hume, "reduced to the most extreme indigence by the continued depredations of the Danes, had shaken off all bands of government, and those who had been plundered to-day, betook themselves on the morrow to the like disorderly life, and, from despair, joined the robbers in pillaging and ruining their fellow-citizens. These were the evils for which it was necessary that the vigilance and activity of Alfred should provide a remedy.

"That he might render the execution of justice strict and regular, he divided all England into counties; these counties he subdivided into hundreds, and the hundreds again into tithings. Every householder was answerable for the behaviour of his family and his slaves, and even of his guests if they lived above three days in his house. Ten neighbouring householders were formed into one corporation, who, under the name of a tithing, decennary, or fribourg, were answerable for each other's conduct, and over whom one man, called a tithing-man, headbourg, or bondholder, was appointed to preside. Every man was punished as an outlaw who did not register himself in some tithing, and no man could change his habitation without a warrant or certificate from the bondholder of the tithing to which he formerly belonged.

"When any person, in any tithing or decennary, was guilty of a crime, the bondholder was summoned to answer for him, and if he were not willing to be surety for his appearance and his clearing himself, the criminal was committed to prison, and there detained till his trial. If he fled, either before or after finding surety, the bondholder and decennary became liable to inquiry, and were exposed to the penalties of the law. Thirty-one days were allowed them for producing the criminal, and if the time elapsed without their being able to find him, the bondholder, with two other members of the decennary, was obliged to appear, and, together with three chief members of the three neighbouring decennaries, making twelve in all, to swear that his decennary was free from all privity, both of the crime committed, and of the escape of the criminal. If the bondholder could not find such a number to answer for their innocence, the decennary was compelled by fine to make satisfaction to the king, according to the degree of the offence. By this institution every man was obliged by his own interest to keep a watchful eye over the conduct of his neighbour, and was in a manner surety for the behaviour of those who were placed under the division to which he belonged; whence these decennaries received the name of frank-pledges.

"Such a regular distribution of the people, with such a strict confinement in their habitation, may not be necessary in times when men are more inured to obedience and justice, and it might perhaps be regarded as destructive of liberty and commerce in a polished state; but it was well calculated to reduce that fierce and licentious people under the salutary restraint of law and government. But Alfred took care to temper these rigours by other institutions more favourable to the freedom of the citizens, and nothing could be more popular or liberal than his plan for the administration of justice. The bondholder summoned together his whole decennary to assist him in deciding any lesser difference which occurred among the members of this small community. In affairs of greater moment, in appeals from the decennary, or in controversies arising between members of different decennaries, the cause was brought before the hundred, which consisted of ten decennaries, or a hundred families of free-

men, and which was regularly assembled once in four weeks for the deciding of causes. Their method of decision deserves to be noted, as being the origin of juries—an institution admirable in itself, and the best calculated for the preservation of liberty and the administration of justice that ever was devised by man. Twelve freeholders were chosen, who, having sworn, together with the hundreder, or presiding magistrate of that division, to administer impartial justice, proceeded to the examination of that cause which was submitted to their jurisdiction. And beside these monthly meetings of the hundred, there was an annual meeting appointed for a more general inspection of the police of the district, for the inquiry into crimes, the correction of abuses in magistrates, and the obliging of every person to show the decennary in which he was registered. The people, in imitation of their German ancestors, assembled there in arms—whence a hundred was sometimes called a wapentake, and its courts served both for the support of military discipline, and for the administration of civil justice.

"The next superior court to that of the hundred, was the county court, which met twice a year, after Michaelmas and Easter, and consisted of the freeholders of the county, who possessed an equal vote in the decision of causes. The bishop presided in this court, together with the alderman, and the proper object of the court was the receiving of appeals from the hundreds and decennaries, and the deciding of such controversies as arose between men of different hundreds. Formerly the alderman possessed both the military and the civil authority; but Alfred, sensible that this conjunction of powers rendered the nobility dangerously independent, appointed also a sheriff to each county, who enjoyed a coordinate authority with the former in the judicial function. His office also empowered him to guard the rights of the crown in the county, and to levy the fines imposed, which in that age formed no contemptible part of the public revenue.

"There lay an appeal, in default of justice, from all these courts to the king himself in council; and as the people, sensible of the equity and great talents of Alfred, placed their chief confidence in him, he was soon overwhelmed with appeals from all parts of England. He was indefatigable in the dispatch of these causes, but finding that his time must be entirely engrossed by this branch of duty, he resolved to obviate the inconvenience by correcting the ignorance or the corruption of the inferior magistrates, from which it arose. He took care to have all his nobility instructed in letters and the law; he chose the earls and sheriffs from among the men most celebrated for probity and knowledge; he punished severely all malversation in office, and he removed all the earls whom he found unequal to their trust, allowing some of the more elderly to serve by deputy, till their death should make room for more worthy successors."

Without any qualification or allowance for the age and circumstances in which he lived, the military, and, even more, the civil talents of Alfred, and their noble and consistent devotion to the magnificent task of making a great and civilized nation out of a people disunited, rude, ignorant, fierce, and disorderly, would justly entitle him to the praise of being among the greatest and best monarchs that have ever existed. But when we reflect that he had to contend against a late, an imperfect, and irregular education; that he, who, in a comparatively short life, so largely figured both as warrior and sage, was twelve years old ere he began to learn even the very elements of literature, and that, during the latter years of his glorious life, he laboured under frequent and painful fits of illness almost amounting to bodily disability, it would not be an easy task to exaggerate his merits. Good as well as great, a patient and thoughtful student, as well as a mighty chieftain in the field and a sage statesman at the council-board, he probably approached as nearly to perfection,

both as man and monarch, as is possible for one of our fallible and frail race. To the English of his own age he gave benefits, some of which have descended even to our own generation; his renown shines forth in the page of history like some bright particular star, a beacon of greatness to things and of goodness to private men; and sad will that day be for England, and degraded will be the English character, when the general heart shall fail to throb with a lively, a grateful, and a gladly proud emotion at the mention of him whom their sturdy fathers heartily and justly hailed by the proud name of ALFRED THE GREAT.

CHAPTER VIII.

HISTORY OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS, FROM THE DEATH OF ALFRED THE GREAT TO THE REIGN OF EDWARD THE MARTYR.

ALFRED THE GREAT, who died in the year 901, had three sons and three daughters by his wife Ethelswitha, the daughter of an earl of Mercia. His eldest son, Edmund, died before him, and he was succeeded by his second son, Edward, who, being the first English king of that name, was surnamed *The Elder*.

Though Edward was scarcely, if at all, inferior to his truly great father in point of military talents, his reign was, upon the whole, a turbulent one, and one that by no means favoured the growth in the kingdom of that civilized prosperity, of which Alfred had laid the foundations both deep and broad. But the fault was not with Edward; he had to contend against many very great difficulties, and he contended against them with both courage and prudence. He had scarcely paid the last sad offices to his royal father when his title to the throne was disputed by his cousin Ethelwold, son of Ethelbert, the elder brother of Alfred. Had the hereditary and lineal descent of the crown been as yet strictly settled with a regard to primogeniture, the claim of Ethelwold would have, undoubtedly, been a just one. But such was far from being the case; many circumstances, the character, or even the infancy of the actual heir in the order of primogeniture, very often inducing the magnates and people, as in the case of Alfred himself, to pass over him who in this point of view was the rightful heir, in favour of one better qualified, and giving higher promise of safety and prosperity to the nation.

Ethelwold had a considerable number of partizans, by whose aid he collected a large and imposing force, and fortified himself at Wimborne, in Dorsetshire, with the avowed determination of referring his claim to the decision of war. But the military condition in which Alfred had left the kingdom now rendered his son good service. At the first intimation that he received of his cousin's opposition, he on the instant collected a numerous and well-appointed army and marched towards him, determined not to have the internal peace of the whole kingdom disturbed by a series of petty struggles, but to hazard life and crown upon the decision of a single great battle. As the king approached, however, the information of his overwhelming force that was conveyed to Ethelwold so much alarmed him, that he suddenly broke up his army and made a hasty retreat to Normandy. Here he remained inactive for some time; but just as all observers of his conduct imagined that he had finally abandoned his pretensions, he passed over into Northumberland, where he was well received by the Danes of that district, who were glad of any pretence, however slight, for disavowing their allegiance to the actual king of England. The five burghers, who had so long been in a state of rarely broken tranquillity, also joined Ethelwold, and the country had once more the prospect of endless and ruinous internal warfare. Ethelwold led his

freebooters into Wiltshire, Gloucestershire, and Oxfordshire, and made their escape good, with an immense booty, ere the royal forces could come up with them. But the king followed his foes into East Anglia, and fearfully retaliated upon that district the injuries that had been inflicted upon his peaceable subjects. When, laden with spoil, he gave the order to retire, a part of his army, chiefly Kentish men, disobeyed him. They were, consequently, left behind in the enemy's country, and, while busily engaged in adding to their already rich booty, were suddenly and furiously set upon by the Danes. The battle was obstinate on both sides. In the end the Danes were victorious; but though they remained masters of the field of battle, they lost their bravest leaders, and among them the original promoter of the war, Ethelwold himself. The East Anglians were now glad to accept the terms of peace offered to them by the king; and he, having nothing to fear from them, turned his whole attention to subduing the Danes of Northumberland. He accordingly fitted out a fleet, under the impression that by carrying the war to their own coast he would infallibly compel them to refrain from plundering his people, by the necessity they would experience of staying at home to defend their own property. But the consequence of this manœuvre was directly contrary to what the king had, and not illogically either, supposed it would be. They judged that the king's fleet carried the main armed strength of England; and, trusting the safety of their own property to concealment and the chapter of accidents, they no sooner saw the royal fleet appear off their coast than they made a land incursion upon the English. But they, too, had reasoned with more seeming than real correctness.

Edward was fully prepared to meet them by land as well as by sea; and he attacked them at Tetenhall, in Staffordshire, put a great number of them to the sword, recovered the whole of the spoils they had taken from his subjects, and drove all those of them who escaped death or captivity, in a most desolate and poverty-stricken state, into their own country.

During the whole remainder of Edward's reign he was engaged with one party or another of the English Danes. But he chastised each party severely in its turn; and, by constant care and unsparing liberality, he fortified Chester, Warwick, Colchester, and many other cities so strongly as to leave them little to fear from any sudden incursion of their persevering and rancorous enemies. In the end he vanquished the Northumbrians, the East Anglians, the British tribes of Wales nearest to his frontiers, and compelled the Scots, who had recently been very troublesome, to submit to him. He was much aided in his various projects by his sister Ethelfleda, widow of the Mercian earl Ethelbert, who was a woman of masculine genius as well as masculine habits and feelings.

Upon the whole, though the reign of Edward the Elder was a victorious, it can scarcely be called a fortunate one; for in it many of those Danes who had long lived in habits of peace returned to their old taste for plundering, and so many battles fought in his own country could not, even when he was the most signally victorious, be otherwise than injurious to both the prosperity and the morals of his people.

Edward died in 925. We have already remarked upon the unsettled state of the law of succession to the throne in that age. Another instance of it occurred now. Edward left legitimate children, but they were of years far too tender to admit of their assuming the reins of government under any circumstances, and especially so in the then imminent danger of England being again convulsed by the Danes. The chief people of the nation therefore passed those young children by and gave the throne to Athelstan, an illegitimate son of the deceased monarch. But though Athelstan had the general suffrages of the great men, there were some exceptions. Among those were Alfred, a Saxon nobleman of great influence and popularity, who endeavoured to organize an armed opposition to the

new king. But the king's suspicion fell upon this nobleman before his conspiracy was ripe for execution, and he was seized and charged with the offence, or rather the intent of offending. He by some means ascertained, or he boldly presumed, that the king, however vehemently he might suspect him, had in reality no tangible evidence, and he offered to clear himself of the imputed crime by an oath taken before the pope.—Such was the awful respect in which the pope was then held, and such was his sanctity supposed to be, that it was finally and universally believed that the fate of Ananias and Sapphira would inevitably befal any one who should dare to make oath falsely in his presence. This belief, absurd as it was, had singular corroboration given to it by the fate of this Alfred. He was permitted to purge his guilt in the way proposed by himself, and he took the required oath in the presence of Pope John, but had scarcely pronounced the words dictated to him ere he fell into convulsions, in which he continued till his death, which occurred in three days This story has been spoken of as being a pure monkish invention. We think differently. The monks did frequently exaggerate and even invent, but that is no reason for assuming their guiltiness of like conduct where there is no proof against them, and where, without attaching the slightest consequence to the alleged sanctity of the pope's person, we can explain the actual occurrence of the event by a simple physical cause. And what more easy than to do so in this case? Superstition was in those days by no means confined to the poor and lowly. Ignorance—in the scholastic sense of that word—was the birthright of the powerful baron as well as of the trampled and despised churl, long after the time of Athelstan; and many a noble who defied all human laws, and looked scornfully upon all merely physical danger, would blanch and cower at tales that the simplest village lass of a more enlightened day would smile at. There is nothing upon record to lead us to believe that this Alfred was more sceptical in such matters than the generality of nobles. Urged by a desire of safety for life and possessions, and perhaps entertaining a hope of escape from the consequences alleged to await perjury such as he proposed to commit, he might be buoyed up sufficiently to commit the perjury, and yet, at the very moment of committing it, terror, compounded of the consciousness of a tremendous guilt, and of the tremendous consequences which from infancy he had heard predicated of such guilt, would surely be not unlikely to affect his brain. Men have maddened on the instant at beholding some horrible sight, others have grown grey in a single night of intense and harrowing mental agony; why, then, should we suppose it impossible that the awful feelings incident to such a situation as that of Alfred should produce sudden epilepsy and subsequent death?

The result was as fortunate for Athelstan as it was disastrous to Alfred. The king was freed from the opposition of a noble who might have been very troublesome to him, and the manner of that noble's death was to all ranks of men a most convincing proof not only that Alfred had been doubly guilty, first of conspiracy and then of perjury, but also that the king was the rightful possessor of the crown, and that to dispute his right was to incur all Alfred's danger and much of Alfred's guilt. The king took care to strengthen and confirm this feeling by confiscating the whole of Alfred's property, as though his death, under the circumstances, was tantamount to a judicial sentence; and, as he prudently bestowed this large property upon the already wealthy monastery of Malmsbury, he made the fall of a single powerful enemy the immediate means of securing the friendship of an infinitely more powerful corporation.

Having thus become free from what at first seemed a very imminent peril, Athelstan turned his attention to quieting the Northumbrian Danes, who just at this time were very discontented under the English rule. On his arrival he saw reason to believe that he could better secure their obe-

dience by giving them a tributary prince of their own race than by the utmost severity, and he accordingly gave the title of king of Northumberland to Sithric, a powerful Danish chieftan, to whom he also gave the hand of his own sister Editha. But, though this was sagacious, and seemed to be especially safe policy, it gave rise to considerable difficulty. Sithric, who was a widower when honoured with the hand of Editha, died about a year after his second marriage, and Anlaf and Godefrid, his sons by the former marriage, assumed the sovereignty of Northumberland, as a matter of permanent and settled hereditary tenure, and not of the king's favour and conferred during his pleasure. Highly offended at this presumption of the young men, Athelstan speedily ejected them from their assumed sovereignty. Anlaf took shelter in Ireland and Godefrid in Scotland, where he was very kindly and honourably treated by Constantine, then king of that country.

Athelstan, on learning that the presumptuous Dane who was so likely to prove a troublesome enemy to him was protected by Constantine, importuned him to put his guest into the English power. Desirous of avoiding, if possible, an open quarrel with so powerful a prince as Athelstan, the Scottish monarch gave a feigned consent to a proposal which it was almost as infamous to make as it would have been to have complied with; but he gave Godefrid private intimation which enabled him to get to sea, where, after making himself dreaded as a pirate, he at length finished his life.

Athelstan, who, probably, was well informed by spies at the Scottish court of the part which Constantine had taken in aiding the escape of Godefrid, marched a numerous army into Scotland, and so much distressed that country that Constantine found himself obliged to make his submission in order to save his country and himself from total ruin. Whether his submission went to the extent of Constantine's actually acknowledging himself to hold his crown in real vassalage to the king, which some historians stoutly affirm and others just as stoutly deny, or whether it went no farther than apology and satisfaction for actual offence given, certain it is, that Constantine took the earliest and most open opportunity of showing that he looked upon the king of England in any other rather than a friendly light. For Anlaf, brother of Constantine's deceased protegé, having gotten together a body of Welsh malcontents and Danish pirates, Constantine joined forces with him, and they led an immense body of marauders into England. Undismayed by the numbers of the invaders, Athelstan marched his army against them, and, chiefly owing to the valour and conduct of Turketul, the then chancellor of England, the invaders were completely routed. In this battle, which was fought near Brunanburg, in Northumberland, a great number of the Welsh and Danish leaders perished, and Anlaf and the Scottish king, after losing a great part of their forces, were barely able to effect their own escape.

It is said that on the eve of this great battle Anlaf was the hero of an adventure in the English camp like that of Alfred the Great in the camp of Guthrum the Dane. Habited like a minstrel, he approached the English camp, and his music was so much admired by the soldiers that they obtained him admission to the king's tent, where he played during the royal repast, so much to the delight of the king and his nobles, that on being dismissed he received a very handsome present. Too politic to betray his disguise by refusing the present, the noble Dane was also far too haughty to retain it; and as soon as he believed himself out of the reach of observation, he buried it in the earth. One of Athelstan's soldiers, who had formerly fought under the banner of Anlaf, had at the very first sight imagined that he saw his old chief under the disguise of a minstrel. In the desire to ascertain if his suspicion were correct, he followed Anlaf from the royal tent, and his suspicion was changed into conviction

when he saw a professedly poor and wandering minstrel burying the king's rich gift. He accordingly warned the king that his daring enemy had been in his tent. At first the king was very angry that the soldier had not made this discovery while there was yet time to have seized upon the pretended minstrel; but the soldier nobly replied, that having served under Anlaf, he could not think of betraying him to ruin, any more than he now could peril the safety of Athelstan himself by neglecting to warn him of Anlaf's espionage. To such a mode of reasoning there could be no reply, save that of admiring praise. Having dismissed the soldier, Athelstan pondered on the probable consequences of this stealthy visit paid to his tent by Anlaf; and it having struck him that it was very likely to be followed by a night-attack, he immediately had his tent removed. The bishops of that day were to the full as brave and as fond of war as the laity, and on that very night a bishop arrived with an armed train to the aid of his sovereign. The prelate took up the station which the king had vacated; and at night the king's suspicion was verified with great exactitude. A sudden attack was made upon the camp, and the enemy, disdaining all meaner prey, rushed straight to the tent which they supposed to be occupied by the king, and the belligerent bishop and his immediate attendants were butchered before they had time to prepare for their defence.

The decisive battle of Brunanburgh gave Athelstan peace from the Danes, and he devoted the remainder of his reign to wise and active endeavours to improve the character and condition of his subjects. Several of his laws were well calculated to that end, and there is one which particularly entitles him, even without any reference to the barbarism of the age in which he made it, to the character of a profound and sagacious thinker. Anxious to encourage a mercantile spirit among his subjects, he ordained by this law that any merchant who on his own adventure should make three sea voyages should, as a reward, be promoted to the rank of a thane or gentle.

After an extremely active and prosperous reign, upon which, however, his endeavour to persuade the Scottish king into the commission of an act of the foullest treachery has left one dark and indelible stain, though the only one, this king died in the year 941, and was succeeded by his half brother Edmund, the legitimate son of Edward the Elder.

Stimulated by the accession of a new king, and the unsettled state of things naturally connected with a new reign, the Danes of Northumberland broke out into rebellion against Edmund as soon as he had ascended the throne. But Edmund marched so promptly against them, and at the head of so imposing a force, that they met him with assurances of the most humble and permanent submission, and even voluntarily offered to prove their sincerity as Guthrum and his followers had formerly done to Alfred, by becoming Christians. Edmund accepted their submission, but he wisely judged that the submission extorted by an armed force was not likely to last much longer than the fear which that force awakened; and he therefore removed the five Burgher Danes from the Mercian towns in which they had been allowed to settle. A wise precaution, as they had invariably taken advantage of their situation to aid rebellious or invading Danes to penetrate into the very heart of the kingdom.

Cumberland, in the hands of the Welsh Britons had been on many occasions a sore annoyance to the northern portion of the English dominion, and Edmund took an opportunity to wrest it from the Britons and to bestow it as a military fief on Scotland, that power accepting it on condition of protecting the northern part of England from Danish incursion.

Edmund's active and useful reign had only endured six years when he was murdered under circumstances which give us a strange notice of the domestic habits of royalty at that day. He was seated at a banquet, at

Gloucester, when an infamous robber, named Leolf, whom he had some time before condemned to banishment, entered the hall of banquet, and seated himself at the royal table with as cool an assurance as though he had been a favoured as well as an innocent and loyal subject. The king angrily ordered the fellow from the room, and, on receiving some insolent refusal, seized him by the throat and endeavoured to thrust him out. Whether the ruffian had from the first intended to assassinate the king, or whether the king's strength and passion alarmed the robber for his own life, is uncertain; but from whichever cause, Leolf suddenly drew his dagger and killed the king on the spot: A.D. 946.

Edmund was succeeded by his brother Edred; another instance of irregularity in the succession, as Edmund left children, but so young that they were deemed unfit for the throne, and it would seem that the mutual jealousy of the Saxon nobles as yet prevented them from thinking of a temporary regency, as a means at once of preserving the direct order of succession and remedying the nonage of the direct heir to the crown. The new king had no sooner ascended his throne than the Danes of Northumberland proved how justly Athelstan had judged of their sinrerity, by breaking the peace to which they had so solemnly pledged themselves. But Edred advancing upon them with a numerous army, they met him with the same submissive aspect which had disarmed the wrath of his predecessor. The king, however, was so much provoked at their early disobedience to him that he would not allow their humility to prevent him from inflicting a severe punishment upon them. He accordingly put many of them to the sword, and plundered and burned their country to a considerable extent; and then, his wrath appeased, he consented to receive their oath of allegiance and withdrew his troops. Scarcely had he done so when these ever-faithless people again broke out into rebellion, perhaps prompted on this particular occasion less by any merely mischievous feeling, than by the real and terrible distress to which the king's severity had reduced them. This new revolt was, however, speedily quelled, and he appointed an English governor of Northumberland, and placed garrisons in all the chief towns to enable him to support his authority. Edred about this time also made Malcolm of Scotland repeat his homage for his fief of Northumberland. Though Edred, as his conduct thus early in his reign demonstrated, was both a brave and an active prince, he was extremely superstitious. He delighted to be surrounded by priests; and to his especial favourite Dunstan, abbot of Canterbury, he not only committed some of the most influential and important offices of the state, but also to a very ridiculous extent, surrendered the guidance of his own common sense. Of a haughty temper, and extremely ambitious, this monk, in order to have tools for the accomplishment of his wide-spreading purposes of self-aggrandizement, introduced into England a great number of a new order of monks, the Benedictines, who, laying a stress upon celibacy beyond that laid by any former order, and professing generally a more rigid way of life and a greater purity of heart, were, in truth, the mere tools of the vast and still increasing ambition of Rome, to which the practice of celibacy among the priesthood was especially favourable, as they who thus debarred themselves from conjugal and paternal ties could not fail to be more willing and passive servants.

To introduce this new and entirely subservient order of monks into England was greatly desired by the pope, and the ambitious policy of Dunstan, and his almost despotic power over the superstitious mind of Edred, afforded full opportunity for doing so. The influence of Dunstan, indeed, was very great over the people as well as over the king; though he commenced life under circumstances which would have ruined a man of less determined ambition, and of less pliant and accomplished hypocrisy than himself. Of noble birth, and enjoying the great advantage of having been edu-

cated by his uncle, the accomplished Adhelm, archbishop of Canterbury, he entered the church early in life, but with so little of real vocation to the sacred profession, that his way of life procured him a most unenviable character; and King Edmund, in whose reign this famous saint of the Roman calendar commenced his career, looked coldly upon a priest whose debauchery was represented to be such as would disgrace even a layman. Enraged at finding his ambition thus suddenly checked, he was not the less determined that the check should be but temporary. Affecting to be suddenly stricken with penitence and shame, he secluded himself, at first from the court, and then altogether from society. He had a cell made for his residence, of such scant dimensions, that he could neither stand fully upright in it, nor stretch himself out at full length when sleeping; and in this miserable dwelling, if dwelling it can be called, he perpetually turned from prayer to manual labour, and from manual labour to prayer, during all his hours, except the very few which he allowed himself for sleep. The austerity of his life imposed upon the imaginations of the superstitious people, who considered austerity the surest of all proofs of sanctity; and when, whether in mere and unmingled hypocrisy, or in part hypocrisy and part self-delusion, he pretended to be frequently visited and tempted by Satan in person, his tale found greedy listeners and ready believers. From one degree of absurdity to another is but an easy step for vulgar credulity. It being once admitted that Satan, provoked or grieved by the immaculate life and fervent piety of the recluse, visited him to tempt him into sin, what difficulty could there be in supposing that the recluse resisted a long time only with prayer, but at length resorted to physical force, and held the fiend by the nose with a red hot pair of tongs, until he shrieked aloud with agony, and promised to abstain for the future from his unholy importunity? Such was the tale which Dunstan, the recluse, had the audacity to offer to the public belief and such was the tale to which the public listened with attentive ears, and gave "faith and full credence." When a long seclusion, and carefully circulated rumours of his piety and self-mortification, had done away with the ill impressions which had been excited by wilder, but in reality, far less censurable conduct of his earlier days, Dunstan once more made his appearance at court; and, as Edred was deeply tinged with superstitious feeling, the priest was kindly received at first, and very soon favoured and promoted above all the other courtiers. Raised to the direction of the treasury, and being, moreover, the king's private adviser in all important concerns, Dunstan had immense power and influence, which he used to advance the great object of Rome in substituting the devoted monks for the comparatively independent secular clergy, who, having family ties and affections, were not sufficiently prostrate or blindly obedient to suit the papal purpose. During nine years —the length of Edred's reign—the monks made immense progress in England. They enlisted the feelings of the people on their side by their severe and passionate declamation against the worldly lives, and especially against the marriage of the secular clergy, whose wives they persisted in calling by the opprobrious name of concubines. And though the secular clergy, who possessed both talent and wealth, exerted themselves manfully, not only to defend their own lives, but also to expose the hypocrisy, pretended purity, and actual and even shameful worldiness and sensuality of their opponents, the power and credit of Dunstan weighed fearfully against them. The death of Edred, which occurred in 955, revived their hopes, and threatened to stop the progress of the monks, and to lower the credit of their patron Dunstan.

The children of Edred were still in their infancy when he died, and his nephew, Edmund's son Edwy, who had himself been passed over in favour of Edred on the same account, now succeeded to the throne. He was at the time of his succession only about seventeen years of age, and blessed

with a fine person and a powerful and well-trained mind. But all his natural and acquired good qualities were rendered of but little use to him by the enmity of the monks, with whom he had a serious quarrel at the very commencement of his career.

Opposed to the marriage of clerks altogether, the monks were scarcely less hostile to the marriage of laics within the degrees of affinity forbidden by the canon law. Edwy, passionately in love with the Princess Elgiva, to whom he was related within those degrees, was too inexperienced to perceive all the evils that might result to both himself and the fair Elgiva from his provoking the fierce, bigoted, and now very powerful monks; and in despite of all the advice and warnings of the ecclesiastics he espoused her. The coarse and violent censure which the monks took occasion to pass upon the marriage aggravated the dislike which, on account of their gloom and severity, Edwy had always felt to the monks, whom he took every occasion to disappoint in their endeavours to possess themselves of the convents belonging to the secular clergy.

If the king had disliked the monks, the monks now hated the king with a most bitter hatred. By his marriage he had offended their rigid bigotry, by his favours to the seculars he disappointed their grasping avarice, and, favoured and advised as they were by a personage at once so able, crafty, audacious, and powerful as Dunstan, it needed not the spirit of prophecy to foresee that Edwy would infalliby be their victim.

As if to show that they were determined to carry their hatred to the utmost extent, they chose the very day of the coronation for their first manifestation of it; the day upon which they had sworn fealty to the sovereign, at which to outrage him as a man, and commit little less than treasonable violence upon him as their king! so little does the rancour of mingled bigotry and avarice regard even the forms of consistency and decency.

The Saxons, like their ancestors, the ancient Germans, drank deep, and were wont to be but riotous and uncouth companions in their cups. Both from his youth and his natural temper, Edwy was averse to this riotous wassail; and as his nobles, at his coronation feast, began to pass the bounds of temperance, he took an opportunity to leave the banqueting apartment and go to that of his young and lovely queen. He was instantly followed thither by the haughty and insolent Dunstan, and by Odo, archbishop of Canterbury. These presumptuous churchmen upbraided him in the most severe terms for alleged uxoriousness, applied the coarsest epithets to the alarmed queen, and finished by thrusting him back into the scene of riot and drunkenness from which he had so lately escaped.

Edwy had not sufficient power and influence in his court to take immediate and direct revenge for this most flagrant and disgraceful insult; but he felt it too deeply to pass it over without visiting it, at the least with indirect punishment. Aware that Dunstan was by no means the immaculate and unworldly person he was suppposed to be by the ignorant multitude, and strongly suspecting that he had taken advantage of the weakness and superstition of Edred greatly to enrich himself, he desired him to give an account of his receipts and expenditure during that prince's reign. Dunstan, with characteristic insolence, refused to give any account of the monies which he affirmed to have been expended by order of Edred, and which he on that account pretended that Edwy had no right to inquire about.

Enraged at the insolence of Dunstan, and yet not altogether displeased at being furnished with so good a pretext for ridding the court of the powerful and haughty ecclesiastic, Edwy urged this refusal against him as a certain proof of conscious malversation, and ordered him to leave the kingdom. Powerful as Dunstan was, he was not yet in a condition to dispute such an order; he could brutally insult the king, but he did not as

yet dare openly to rebel against the kingly authority. He went abroad, therefore, but he left behind, in the person of Odo, the archbishop of Canterbury, one who was both qualified and willing to supply his place in insolence to the king personally, and in traitorous intrigue against his royal authority. Odo and the monks seized upon the banishment of Dunstan, richly as his conduct had merited a severer punishment, as a theme upon which to sound anew the praises of that accomplished hypocrite, and to blacken the character of the king and queen in the eyes of the people. In so bigoted and ignorant an age such tactics as these were sure to succeed; and having made the king hateful, as well as the queen, whom they represented as the wicked and artful seducer of her husband into all evil conduct, both as a man and sovereign, Odo and his base tools at length ventured from whispered calumny and falsehood, to violence the most undisguised, and to cruelty the most inhuman and detestable.

Considering their aversion to Edwy's marriage with his cousin to be the chief cause of his opposition to their interests, Odo and the monkish party hated the queen even more bitterly than they did the king himself. Proceeding to the palace with a strong guard, Odo seized upon the lovely queen, branded her face with hot irons to efface those charms which had wrought so much evil to the ambitious churchmen, and carried her into Ireland, where it was intended she should be kept under strict surveillance for the remainder of her life. Edwy was naturally both brave and passionate, but he was powerless in the hands of the wily monks as a lion in the toils of the hunters; he tenderly loved his unhappy queen, but he could neither save her from this horrible outrage, nor even punish her brutal and unmanly persecutors. Nay more, when Odo, after having tortured and exiled the queen, demanded that she should be formally divorced, so much more powerful was the crozier than the sceptre, that the unhappy Edwy was obliged to yield.

Cruelly as Elgiva had been treated, the brutality of her enemies failed of its main object; though she suffered much from her wounds, they, singularly enough, left scarcely a scar to diminish her rare beauty. Aware of the tyranny which had been practised to cause Edwy to divorce her, and considering herself still his lawful wife in the sight of Heaven, she eluded the vigilance of those who were appointed to watch her movements, and made her escape back to England. But before she could reach her husband her escape was made known to Odo, and she was intercepted on the road by a party of emissaries, by whom she was hamstringed; and all surgical aid being denied her, she in a few days died, in the most fearful agonies, in the city of Gloucester. So completely monk-ridden were the ignorant people, that even this detestable and unnatural cruelty, which ought to have caused one universal outcry against the miscreants who instigated it, was looked upon by the people merely as a punishment due to the sinful opposition of king and queen to the canon law and the holy monks.

Having gone as far as we have related in treason, it cannot be wondered at that the monks now proceeded to arm for the dethronement of their unhappy king. They set up as his competitor his younger brother Edgar, who was at this time a youth of only thirteen or fourteen years of age; and they soon took possession, in his name, of East Anglia, Mercia, and Northumberland. Edwy was now confined to the southern counties of his kingdom; and to add to his danger and distress, his haughty and implacable enemy, Dunstan, openly returned to England to lend his powerful influence to Edgar in this unnatural civil strife. He was made bishop, first of Worcester and then of London, and, Odo dying, Dunstan was then promoted to the archbishopric of Canterbury; Brithelm, who had been first appointed to succeed Odo, being forcibly expelled for that purpose.

The consummate cunning of Dunstan fearfully aggravated the evils of

Edwy's condition, for the wily churchman caused him to be excommunicated, a sentence which in that rude and ignorant age would have sufficed to crush a far more powerful monarch than he had been, even before rebellion had divided his kingdom.

If we may judge from the unrelenting purpose shown by Dunstan, the utter dethronement of Edwy, and his exile, or violent death, would have been the sole termination of this disgraceful affair; but from the sin of his murder his enemies were spared by his untimely and rather sudden death, hastened no doubt by the miseries of which he had constantly been a victim.

Edgar, for whom for their own purposes Dunstan and the monks had usurped a part of the kingdom, now became the undisputed sovereign of the whole. Though very young at this time, being only in the seventeenth year of his age, this prince showed a profound, wily and politic genius. Desirous of consolidating and improving his kingdom, and of procuring it a high degree of credit among foreign nations, he seems to have clearly perceived that he could only preserve the internal peace which was indispensible to his purposes, by keeping the favour of Dunstan and the monks, of whose power he had seen so many proofs in the case of his unfortunate brother. Well knowing their eager desire to wrest all the religious property of the kingdom from the hands of the secular clergy, he bestowed church preferment on the partizans of the monks exclusively. To Oswold and Ethelwold, two of the creatures of Dunstan, he gave the valuable sees of Worcester and Winchester, and he consulted them, and especially Dunstan, not merely upon those affairs which more especially concerned the church, but even in many cases upon those of a purely civil nature. By this general subserviency to the ecclesiastics Edgar secured so strong an interest with them, that even when he occasionally differed from them, and preferred the dictates of his own strong sense to their bigoted or interested advice, he was allowed to proceed without any angry feeling, or at least, without any opposition. There was a most startling difference in the treatment bestowed by the monks upon this prince, and that which they inflicted upon his unhappy brother. As they founded their claim to the veneration of mankind upon their superior piety, and more especially upon their inviolable observance of their vow of chastity, so they had made the alledged lewdness of Edwy the excuse for their abominable treatment of that prince and Queen Elgiva. Yet if lewdness had indeed been so hateful to them as to impel them to barbarity towards a lovely and defenceless woman, and to rebellion and treason towards their sovereign, Edgar was tenfold more deserving their violent opposition than even their own statement showed Edwy to be. The lewdness of Edgar, after his pliant and politic subserviency to the monks, was the most distinguishing trait in his character. On one occasion he actually broke into a convent, seized a nun, by name Editha, and forcibly violated her. For this two-fold outrage against chastity and religion the hypocrite Dunstan, who had mutilated Elgiva, and persecuted Edgar even to an untimely grave, merely for a marriage which was at the worst irregular, and which a bull from the pope would have made regular, sentenced Edgar to the absurdly puerile punishment of abstaining for seven years from wearing the crown!

As if to make the favour shown to him by the monks quite conclusive as to the hypocrisy of the pretences upon which they had persecuted his unfortunate brother, this prince not merely indulged in disgraceful amours; he actually obtained his second wife by murder! The story is sufficiently striking in itself to deserve to be related at some length, and it actually demands to be so related as a final and conclusive proof of the hypocrisy of the monks in their gross and barbarous treatment of King Edwy.

Elfrida, daughter and heiress of the Earl of Devonshire, was so extremely beautiful that it was no wonder the renown of her charms reached the court, and the inflammable Edgar resolved that if report had not exaggerated the beauty of the lady he would make her his wife; the wealth, power, and character of her father forbidding even the unscrupulous and lewd Edgar from hoping to obtain her on any less honourable terms. Being anxious not to commit himself by any advances to the parents of the lady until quite sure that she was really as surpassingly beautiful as she was reported to be, he sent his favourite and confidant, the Earl Athelwold, to visit the earl of Devon as if by mere accident, that he might judge whether the charms of Elfrida really were such as would adorn the throne. Earl Athelwold fulfilled his mission very faithfully, as regarded the visit, but, unhappily for himself, he found the charms of Elfrida so much to his own taste, that he forgot the curiosity of his master, and sued the lady on his own account. Well knowing that with the king for an avowed rival his suit would have little chance of success, his first care was to lull the eager anxiety of Edgar by assuring him that in this, as in most cases, rumour with her thousand tongues had been guilty of the grossest exaggeration, and that the wealth and rank of Elfrida had caused her to be renowned for charms so moderate, that in a woman of lower degree they would never be noticed. But though the charms of Elfrida, Earl Athelwold added, by no means fitted her for the throne, her fortune would make her a very acceptable countess for himself, should the consent and recommendation of his gracious master accompany his suit to her parents.

Fully believing that his favourite really was actuated only by mercenary views, Edgar cheerfully gave him the permission and recommendation he solicited, and in the quality of a favoured courtier he easily procured the consent of the lady—to whom he had already made himself far from indifferent—and of her parents. He had scarcely become possessed of his beautiful bride when he began to reflect upon what would be the probable consequences of a detection by the king of the fraud that had been practised to gain his consent to the marriage. In order to postpone this detection as long as possible, he framed a variety of pretences for keeping his lovely bride at a distance from the court; and as his report of the homeliness of Elfrida had completely cooled the fancy of the king, Earl Athelwold began to hope that his deceit would never be discovered. But the old adage that "a favourite has no friends" was proved in his case; enemies desirous of ruining him made his fraud known to the king, and spoke more rapturously than ever of the charms of Elfrida. Enraged at the deception practised upon him, but carefully dissembling his real motives and purpose, the king told Athelwold that he would pay him a visit and be introduced to his wife. To such an intimation the unfortunate earl could make no objection which would not wholly and at once betray his perilous secret; but he obtained permission to precede the king, under pretence of making due preparation to receive him, but in reality to prevail upon Elfrida to disguise her beauty and rusticate her behaviour as far as possible. This she promised, and probably at first intended to do. But, on reflection, she naturally considered herself injured by the deception which had cost her the throne, and, so far from complying with her unfortunate husband's desire, she called to the aid of her charms all the assistance of the most becoming dress, and all the seductions of the most graceful and accomplished behaviour. Fascinated with her beauty, Edgar was beyond all expression enraged at the deceit by which his favourite had contrived to cheat him of a wife so lovely; and having enticed the unfortunate earl into a forest on a hunting excursion, he put him to death with his own hand, and soon after married Elfrida, whose perfidy to her murdered husband made her, indeed, a very fit spouse for the murderer.

Though much of this monarch's time was devoted to dissolute pleasures,

he by no means neglected public business, more especially of that kind which procured him the indulgence of the monks for all his worst vices.

Much as the monks and the king had done towards wresting the church property from the hands of the secular clergy, more still remained to be done; and Edgar, doubtless acting upon the advice of Dunstan, summoned a council, consisting of the prelates and heads of religious orders. To this council he made a passionate speech in reprobation of the dissolute and scandalous lives which he affirmed to be notoriously led by the secular clergy: their neglect of clerical duty; their openly living with concubines, for so he called their wives; their participation in hunting and other sports of the laity; and—singular fault to call forth the declamation of a king and employ the wisdom of a council—the smallness of their tonsure! Affecting to blame Dunstan for having by too much lenity in some sort encouraged the disorders of the secular clergy, the accomplished dissembler supposed the pious Edred to look down from Heaven, and thus to speak:

"It was by your advice, Dunstan, that I founded monasteries, built churches, and expended my treasures in the support of religion and religious houses. You were my counselor and my assistant in all my schemes; you were the director of my conscience; to you I was in all things obedient. When did you call for supplies which I refused you? Was my assistance ever withheld from the poor? Did I deny establishments and support to the convents and the clergy. Did I not hearken to your instructions when you told me that these charities were, beyond all others, the most grateful to my Maker, and did I not in consequence fix a perpetual fund for the support of religion? And are all our pious endeavours now to be frustrated by the dissolute lives of the clergy? Not that I throw any blame upon you; you have reasoned, besought, inculcated, and inveighed, but it now behoves you to use sharper and more vigorous remedies; and, *conjoining your spiritual authority with the civil power, to purge effectually the temple of God from thieves and intruders.*"

The words which we give in Italics were decisive as to the whole question; the innocence of the secular clergy, as a body, could avail them nothing against this union of civil power and spiritual authority, backed and cheered as that union was by the people, whom the hypocritical pretences of the monks had made sincerely favourable to those affected purists; and the monkish discipline shortly prevailed in nearly every religious house in the land.

Much as all honourable minds must blame the means by which Edgar preserved the favour of the formidable monks, all candid minds must award him the praise of having made good use of the power he thus preserved in his own hands. He not only kept up a strong and well-disciplined land force, in constant readiness to defend any part of his kingdom that might be attacked, but he also built and kept up an excellent navy, the vigilance and strength of which greatly diminished the chance of any such attack being made. Awed by his navy, the Danes abroad dared not attempt to invade his country; and constantly watched and kept in check by his army, the domestic Danes perceived that turbulence on their part could produce no effect but their own speedy and sure ruin. His neighbours of Scotland, Wales, Ireland, and the adjacent isles, held him in equal respect; and, upon the whole, no king of England ever showed himself either more desirous or more able to preserve to his kingdom the invaluable benefits of peace at home and respect abroad. In proof of the extent to which he carried his ascendency over the neighbouring and tributary princes, it is affirmed, that being at Chester, and desiring to visit the abbey of St. John the Baptist, in the neighbourhood of that city, he actually caused his barge to be rowed thither by eight of those princes, including Kenneth the Third, king of Scotland.

The useful arts received a great impulse during this reign from the great encouragement given by Edgar to ingenious and industrious foreigners to settle among his subjects. Another benefit which he conferred upon his kingdom was that of the extirpation of wolves, which at the commencement of his reign were very numerous and mischievous. By giving rewards to those who put these animals to death, they were at length hunted into the mountainous and woody country of Wales, and in order that even there so mischievous a race might find no peace he commuted the tribute money due from Wales to England to a tribute of three hundred wolves' heads to be sent to him annually, which policy speedily caused their entire destruction. After a busy reign of sixteen years this prince, still in the flower of his age, being only thirty-three, died, and was succeeded by his son Edward in the year 975.

CHAPTER XI.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF EDWARD THE MARTYR TO THE DEATH OF CANUTE

Edward II., subsequently surnamed the Martyr, though his death had nothing to do with religion, was the son of Edgar by that prince's first wife, and was only fifteen years of age when he succeeded to the throne. His youth encouraged his step-mother, Elfrida, to endeavour to set aside his succession in favour of her own son and his half-brother, Ethelred, who at this time was only seven years old. This extremely bad woman pretended that the marriage of her husband to his first wife was on several accounts invalid, and as her beauty and art had been very successfully exerted in securing favour during the life of Edgar, she would probably have succeeded in her iniquitous design had the circumstances been less favourable to Edward. But though that prince was very young, he was at least much nearer to the age for reigning than his half-brother; the will of his father expressly gave him the succession; many of the principal men of the kingdom imagined that the regency of Elfrida would be an extremely tyrannical one; and Dunstan, who was in the plenitude of his power, and who reckoned upon the favour and docility of young Edward, powerfully supported him, and crowned him at Kingston, before Elfrida could bring her ambitious plans to maturity.

The prompt and energetic support thus given by Dunstan to the rightful heir would entitle him to our unqualified applause, were there not good and obvious reason to believe that it originated less in a sense of justice than in anxiety for the interests of his own order. In spite of the heavy blows and great discouragement of Edgar, the secular clergy had still many and powerful friends. Among these was the duke of Mercia, who no sooner ascertained the death of King Edgar than he expelled all the monks from the religious houses in Mercia, and though they were received and protected by the dukes of the East Saxons and the East Anglians, it was clear to both Dunstan and the monks that there was a sufficient dislike to the new order of ecclesiastics to render it very important that they should have a king entirely favourable to them. And as Dunstan had watched and trained Edward's mind from his early childhood, they well knew that he would prove their fittest instrument. But though they had thus secured the throne to a king as favourable and docile as they could desire, they left no means untried to gain the voices of the multitude. At the occasional synods that were held for the settlement of ecclesiastical disputes, they pretended that miracles were worked in their favour; and,

in the ignorant state of the people, that party who could work or invoke the most miracles was sure to be the most popular. On one of these occasions a voice that seemed to issue from the great crucifix which adorned the place of meeting, proclaimed that he who opposed the establishment of the monks opposed the will of Heaven; on another occasion the floor of the hall fell in, killing and maiming a great number of persons, but that portion which supported the chair of Dunstan remained firm: and on another occasion, when the votes of the synod were so unexpectedly against him that he was unprovided with a miracle for the occasion, Dunstan rose, and, with an inimitably grave impudence, assured the meeting that he had just been favoured with a direct revelation from Heaven in favour of the monks. So utterly stultified was the general mind, and the populace received this impudent falsehood with so much fervent favour, that the party hostile to the monks actually dared not support any farther the views of the question upon which they had a clear and acknowledged majority!

Edward's reign deserves little further mention. No great event, good or evil, marked it; he was, in fact, merely in a state of pupilage during the four years that it lasted. Having an excellent disposition, it is probable that had he lived to mature years he would have shaken off the benumbing and deluding influence of the monkish party. But in the fourth year of his reign, and while he was yet barely nineteen years of age, he fell a victim to his atrocious step-mother's cruelty and ambition. Notwithstanding the hostility she had evinced towards him at the death of his father, young Edward's mild temper had caused him to show her that respect and attention which she was very far indeed from deserving. She resided at Corfe castle, in Dorsetshire; and as the young prince was one day hunting in that neighbourhood, he rode away from his company, and, wholly unattended, paid her a visit. She received him with a treacherous appearance of kindness, but just as he had mounted his horse to depart, a ruffian in her employment stabbed him in the back. The wound did not prove instantly mortal, but as he fainted from loss of blood ere he could disengage his feet from the stirrups, his frightened horse galloped onward with him, and he was bruised to death. His servants having traced him, recovered his body, which they privately interred at Wareham.

By this surpassing crime of his vile mother, who vainly, even in that superstitious age, endeavoured to recover the public favour, and expiate her crime in public opinion, by ostentatious penances and by lavishing money upon monasteries, Ethelred, son of Edgar and Elfrida, succeeded to the throne.

The Danes, who had been kept in awe by the vigour of Edgar, and who, moreover, had found ample employment in conquering and planting settlements on the northern coast of France, a resource which their numbers had exhausted, were encouraged by the minority of Ethelred to turn their attention once more towards England, where they felt secure of receiving encouragement and aid from the men of their own race, who, though long settled among the English, were by no means fully incorporated with them. In the year 981 the Danes accordingly made an experimental descent upon Southampton, in seven vessels; and as they took the people completely by surprise, they secured considerable plunder, with which they escaped uninjured and almost unopposed. This conduct they repeated in 987, with similar success, on the western coast.

This success of these two experiments convinced the marauders that the vigour of an Edgar was no longer to be dreaded in England, and they therefore prepared to make a descent upon a larger scale and with more extensive views. They landed in great numbers on the coast of Essex, and defeated and slew, at Maldon, Brithric, the duke of that county, who bravely attempted to resist them with his local force; and after their vic-

tory they devastated and plundered all the neighbouring country. So soon and so easily does a people degenerate when neglected by its rulers, that Ethelred and his nobles could see no better means of ridding themselves of these fierce pirates than that of bribing them to depart. They demanded and received, as the price of their departure, an enormous sum. They departed accordingly, but, as might have been anticipated, so large a sum so easily earned tempted them very speedily to repeat their visit. By this time a fleet had been prepared at London fully capable of resisting and beating off the invaders, but it was prevented from doing the service that was expected from it by the treachery of Alfric duke of Mercia. He had formerly been banished and deprived of his possessions and dignity, and though he had now for some time been fully restored, the affront rankled in his mind, and he conceived the unnatural design of ensuring his own safety and importance by aiding the foreign enemy to keep his country in a state of disorder and alarm. He was entrusted with one squadron of a fleet with which it was intended to surround and destroy the enemy in the harbour in which they had ventured to anchor, and he basely gave the enemy information in time to enable them to avoid the danger by putting out to sea again, and then completed his infamous treachery by joining them with his whole squadron. The behaviour of the king on this occasion was equally marked by barbarity and weakness. On hearing of Alfric's traitorous conduct, he had that nobleman's son Alfgar seized, and caused his eyes to be put out; yet, after inflicting this horrid cruelty upon the innocent son, he so far succumbed to the power and influence of the guilty father, as actually to reinstate him in his office and possessions.

A. D. 993.—The experience the Danes had acquired of the weakness of Ethelred and the defenceless condition of his kingdom, encouraged them to make new and still more formidable descents. Sweyn, king of Denmark, and Olave, king of Norway, sailed up the Humber with an immense fleet, laying waste and plundering in every direction. Those of the Danes, and they were but few, who refused to join the invaders, were plundered equally with the English. An army advanced to give battle, and so fierce was the contest that the Danes were already beginning to give way, when the tide of fortune was suddenly turned against the English by the treachery of Frena, Frithegist, and Godwin, three leaders, who, though of Danish descent, were entrusted with large and important commands. These men withdrew their troops, and the English were in consequence defeated.

The invaders now entered the Thames with a fleet of upwards of ninety ships and laid siege to London. Alarmed for their large wealth, the citizens defended themselves with a stoutness strongly contrasted with the pusillanimity which had been displayed by both the king and the nobles, and their resistance was so obstinate that the pirates at length gave up the attempt in despair. But though they abandoned the metropolis of the kingdom, they did not therefore give up their determination to plunder. Spreading their bands over Essex, Sussex, and Hants, they not only procured large booty there, but also a sufficient number of horses to enable them to extend their depredations far inland. It might have been supposed that, after the noble example set by the traders of London, the king and his nobles would be prevented by very shame from ever again resorting to the paltry and impolitic scheme of purchasing the absence of the invaders: but to that expedient they did resort. Messengers were sent to offer to subsist the invaders if they would preserve peace while they remained in the kingdom, and to pay tribute on condition of their taking an early departure. The Danes, wily as they were hardy, probably imagined that they had now so far exhausted the kingdom that the tribute offered to them would be more valuable than the further spoil they would

be likely to obtain, and they readily accepted the proposed terms. They took up their abode at Southampton, and there conducted themselves very peaceably. Olave carried his complaisance so far as to pay a visit to Ethelred, at Andover, and received the right of confirmation. Many rich gifts were consequently bestowed upon him by the king and the prelates, and the sum of sixteen thousand pounds having been paid to him and Sweyn, they took their departure. Olave, who never returned to England, was so great a favourite with the churchmen that he was honoured with a place among the saints in the Roman calendar.

A. D. 997.—The repeated proofs Ethelred had given of his willingness to purchase the absence of pirates rather than battle against them, produced, as was natural, a new invasion. A large fleet of the Danes this year entered the Severn. Wales was spoiled for miles, and thence the pirates proceeded to commit similar atrocities upon the unfortunate people of Cornwall and Devonshire. Thence the marauders went first to Dorsetshire, then to Hants, then Kent, where the inhabitants opposed them at Rochester, but were routed with terrible slaughter, and the whole of their country was plundered and desolated. Many attempts were made by the braver and wiser among the English to concert such a united defence as would prevail against the enemy; but the weakness of the king and the nobles paralyzed the best efforts of the nobler spirits, and once more the old expedient was resorted to, and twenty-four thousand pounds were now paid as the price of the absence of the Danes, whose demands very naturally became higher with their increased experience of the certainty of their being complied with. It was probably with some vague hope that even an indirect connection with these formidable northmen would cause them to respect his dominions, that Ethelred, having lost his first wife, this year espoused Emma, sister of Richard, the second duke of Normandy.

Long as the domestic Danes had now been established in England, they were still both a distinct and a detested race. The old English historians accuse them of effeminacy and luxuriousness, but as they instance as evidence of the truth of these charges, that the Danes combed their hair daily and bathed once a week, we may fairly enough acquit the Danes of all guilt on this head, and conclude that, rude and bad as the race was in many respects, they assuredly were superior to the English of that day in the very important matter of personal decency. But a dislike to men's personal habits, be it well or ill founded, is a very powerful motive in the increasing and perpetuation of hatred founded upon other feelings, and that hatred the English deeply felt for the Danes on account of the origin of their settlement among them, their great propensity to gallantry, and their great skill in making themselves agreeable to the English women; above all, on account of their constant and shamefully faithless habit of joining their invading fellow-countrymen in their violence and rapine. Ethelred, like all weak and cowardly persons, was strongly inclined towards both cruelty and treachery, and the general detestation in which the Danes were held by the English encouraged him to plan the universal massacre of the former. Orders were secretly dispatched to all the governors and chief men of the country to make all preparations for this detestable cruelty, for which the same day, November the 13th, being St. Brithric's day, a festival among the Danes, was appointed for the whole kingdom.

The wicked and dastardly orders of the king were but too agreeable to the temper of the populace. On the same day, and at the same hour, the unsuspecting Danes were attacked. Youth and age, without distinction of sex, were alike attacked with indiscriminate fury, and they were the most fortunate among the unhappy Danes whose butchers were so eager to destroy them that they omitted first to subject them to tortures terrible even to read of. So unsparing was the rage against them, and so blind to consequences were both high and low among the infuriated and tem-

porarily triumphant English, that the princess Gunilda, sister of the redoubtable king of Denmark, was put to death, after seeing her husband and children slaughtered, though her personal character was excellent and though she had long been a Christian. As she expired, this unfortunate lady, whose murder was chiefly caused by the advice of Edric, earl of Wilts (which advice was shamefully acted upon by the king, who ordered her death), foretold that her death would speedily be avenged by the total ruin of England. In truth, it needed not the spirit of prophecy to foretel that such wholesale slaughter could scarcely fail to call down defeat and ruin upon a people who had so often been glad to purchase the absence of the Danes when no such cowardly atrocity had excited them to invasion, or justified them in unsparing violence. The prophecy, however, was speedily and fearfully realized. Though the persuasions and example of Olave, and his positive determination to fulfil his part of the agreement made with Ethelred had hitherto saved England from any repetition of the annoyances of Sweyn, king of Denmark, that fierce and warlike monarch had constantly felt a strong desire to renew his attack upon a people who were so much more ready to defend their country with gold than with steel. The cowardly cruelty of Ethelred now furnished the Dane with a most righteous pretext for invasion, and he hastened to avail himself of it. He appeared off the western coast with a strong fleet, and Exeter was delivered up to him without resistance; some historians say by the incapacity or neglect of Earl Hugh, while others say by his treachery. This last opinion has some support in the fact that Earl Hugh was himself a Norman, and, being only connected with England by the office to which he had but recently been appointed through the interest of the queen, he might, without great breach of charity, be suspected of leaning rather to the piratical race with which he was connected by birth, than to the English. From Exeter, as their head quarters, the Danes traversed the country in all directions, committing all the worst atrocities of a war of retaliation, and loudly proclaiming their determination to have ample revenge for the slaughter of their fellow-countrymen. Aware, immediately after they had perpetrated their inhuman crime upon the domestic Danes, how little mercy they could expect at the hands of the countrymen of their murdered victims, the English had made more than usual preparations for resistance. A large and well furnished army was ready to march against the invaders, but the command of it was committed to that duke of Mercia whose former treason has been mentioned, and he, pretending illness, contrived to delay the march of the troops until they were thoroughly dispirited and the Danes had done enormous mischief. He died shortly after and was succeeded by Edric, who, though son-in-law to the king, proved just as treacherous as his predecessor. The consequence was, that the country was ravaged to such an extent that the horrors of famine were soon added to the horrors of war, and the degraded English once more sued for peace, and obtained it at the price of thirty thousand pounds.

A.D. 1007.—Clearly perceiving that they might now reckon upon Danish invasion as a periodical plague, the English government and people endeavoured to prepare for their future defence. Troops were raised and disciplined, and a navy of nearly eight hundred ships was prepared. But a quarrel which arose between Edric, duke of Mercia, and Wolfnoth, governor of Sussex, caused the latter to desert to the Danes with twenty vessels. He was pursued by Edric's brother Brightric, with a fleet of eighty vessels; but this fleet, being driven ashore by a tempest, was attacked and burned by Wolfnoth. A hundred vessels were thus lost to the English, dissensions spread among other leading men, and the fleet which, if concentrated and ably directed, might have given safety to the nation, was dispersed into various ports and rendered virtually useless

The Danes did not fail to take advantage of the dissensions and imbecility of the English, and for some time from this period the history of England presents us with nothing but one melancholy monotony of unsparing cruelty on the part of the invaders, and unmitigated and hopeless suffering on the part of the invaded. Repeated attempts were made to restore something like unanimity to the English councils, and to form a settled and unanimous plan of resistance; but all was still dissension, and when the utmost wretchedness at length made the disputants agree, they agreed only in resorting to the old, base, and most impolitic plan of purchasing the absence of their persecutors. How impolitic this plan was common sense ought to have told the English, even had they not possessed the additional evidence of the fact, that at each new invasion the Danes increased their demand. From ten thousand pounds, which had purchased their first absence, they had successively raised their demands to thirty thousand, and now, when their rapine had more than ever impoverished the country, they demanded, and, to the shame of the English people, or rather of the king and the nobles, were paid the monstrous sum of eight-and-forty thousand pounds!

This immense sum was even worse expended than the former sums had been; for this time the Danes took the money, but did not depart. On the contrary, they continued their desultory plundering, and at the same time made formal demands upon certain districts for large and specified sums. Thus, in the county of Kent they levied the sum of eight thousand pounds; and the archbishop of Canterbury venturing to resist this most iniquitous demand, was coolly murdered. The general state of the kingdom and the butchery of a personage so eminent alarmed the king for his personal safety; the more especially, as many of his chief nobility, having lost all confidence in his power to redeem his kingdom from ruin, were daily transferring their allegiance to Sweyn. Having first sent over his queen and her two children to her brother, the Duke of Normandy, Ethelred himself took an opportunity to escape thither, and thus the kingdom was virtually delivered over to Sweyn and his Danes.

A.D. 1014.—Sweyn, under all the circumstances, would have found little difficulty in causing himself to be crowned king of England; nay, it may even be doubted if either nobles or people would have been greatly displeased at receiving a warlike sovereign instead of the fugitive Ethelred, to whom they had long been accustomed to apply the scornful epithet of the *Unready*. But while Sweyn was preparing to take advantage of the magnificent opportunity that offered itself to him, he was suddenly seized with a mortal illness, and expired at Gainsborough, in Lincolnshire, about six weeks after the flight of Ethelred from the kingdom.

This circumstance gave the weak Ethelred yet one more chance of redeeming his kingly character. The great men of his kingdom, when they informed him of the event which, so auspiciously for him, had occurred, invited him to return. They at the same time plainly, though in a friendly and respectful tone, intimated their hope that he would profit by his experience, to avoid for the future those errors which had produced so much evil to both himself and his people.

Ethelred gladly availed himself of the invitation to resume his throne, but the advice that had accompanied that invitation he wholly disregarded. Among the most glaring proofs which he gave of his continued incapacity to rule wisely, he reinstated his treacherous son-in-law, Edric, in all his former influence. This power Edric most shamefully abused: in proof of this we need give but a single instance of his misconduct. Two Mercian nobles, by name Morcar and Sigebert, had unfortunately given some offence to Edric, who forthwith endeavoured to persuade the king that they were hostile to his rule; and the equally cruel and weak monarch not only connived at their murder by Edric, but gave to that crime a *quasi* legal

sanction by confiscating the property of the victims as though they had been convicted of treason, and he confined Sigebert's widow in a convent. Here she was accidentally seen by the king's son, Edmund, who not only contrived her escape from the convent, but immediately married her.

A.D. 1014.—Ethelred was not allowed to enjoy his recovered throne in peace. Canute, the son of Sweyn, was to the full as warlike as his famous father, and set up his claims to the throne with as much grave earnestness as though his father had filled it in right of a long ancestral possession. He committed dreadful havoc in Kent, Dorset, Wilts, and Somerset; and, not contented with slaughter in and plunder after the battle, he shockingly mutilated his prisoners, and then gave them their liberty, in order that their wretched plight might strike terror into their fellow-countrymen. So much progress did Canute make, that Ethelred would, in all probability, have been a second time driven from his throne and kingdom, but for the courage and energy of his son Edmund. The treacherous Edric deserted to the Danes with forty ships, after having dispersed a great part of the English army, and even made an attempt at seizing upon the person of the brave prince. Undismayed by so many difficulties, which were much increased by the general contempt and distrust felt for the king, Edmund, by great exertions, got together a large force, and prepared to give battle to the enemy. But the English had been accustomed to see their kings in the vanguard of the battle; and, though Edmund was universally popular, the soldiers loudly demanded that his father should head them in person. Ethelred, however, who suspected his own subjects fully as much as he feared the enemy, not merely refused to do this, on the plea of illness, but so completely left his heroic son without supplies, that the prince was obliged to allow the northern part of the kingdom to fall into subjection to the Danes. Still determined not to submit, Edmund marched his discouraged and weakened army to London, to make a final stand against the invaders; but on his arrival he found the metropolis in a state of the greatest alarm and confusion, on account of the death of the king.

A.D. 1015.—Ethelred the Unready had reigned thirty-five years, and his incapacity had reduced the country to a state which would have been sufficiently pitiable and difficult, even had not the fierce and warlike Danes been swarming in its northern provinces. The people were dispirited and disaffected, and the nobles were far less intent upon repelling the common enemy than upon pursuing their own mischievous and petty quarrels; and Edmund had only too much reason to fear that the example of his treacherous brother-in-law would be followed by other nobles. Rightly judging that occupation was the most effectual remedy for the discouragement of the people, and the best safeguard against the treachery of the nobles, Edmund lost no time in attacking the enemy. At Gillingham he defeated a detachment of them, and then marched against Canute in person. The hostile armies met near Scoerton, in Gloucestershire, and in the early part of the battle the English prince had so much success that it seemed probable he would have a decisive and crowning victory. But that calamity of his country, Edric, having slain Osmar, who very much resembled the king in countenance, had his head fixed upon the point of a spear and displayed to the English. A panic immediately spread through the hitherto victorious army. It was in vain that Edmund, heedless of the arrows that flew around him, rode bareheaded among his troops to assure them of his safety. "Save himself who can," was the universal cry; and though Edmund at length contrived to lead his troops from the field in comparatively good order, the golden moment for securing triumph had passed. Edmund was subsequently defeated with great loss, at Assington, in Essex, but with exemplary activity again raised an army and prepared to make one more desperate effort to expel the enemy. But the

leading men on both sides were by this time wearied with strife and carnage, and a negotiation ensued which led to a division of the kingdom, Canute taking the northern portion and Edmund the southern.

It might have been supposed that the infamous Edric would have been satisfied with having thus mainly aided in despoiling his brave but unfortunate brother in-law of a moiety of his kingdom. But as though the very existence of a man so contrary and so superior to himself in character were intolerable to him, this arrangement had scarcely been made a month when he suborned two of the king's chamberlains, who murdered their unfortunate master at Oxford.

A.D. 1017. It does not clearly appear that Canute was actually privy to this crime, though his previous conduct and the fact that he was the person to be benefited by the death of Edmund may justify us in suspecting him. And this suspicion is still further justified by his immediately seizing upon Edmund's share of the kingdom, though that prince had left two sons, Edwin and Edward. It is true that those princes were very young, but the most that Canute ought to have assumed on that account was the guardianship of the children and the protectorate of their heritage. Indeed, some writers represent that it was in the character of guardian that Canute affected to act; but a sufficient answer to that pretence is to be found in the fact that Canute reigned as sole king, and left the kingdom to his son.

Sanguinary and grasping as his whole former course had been, this able, though unprincipled prince was too anxious for the prosperity of the kingdom of which he had possessed himself, not to take all possible precaution to avert opposition. He called a council, at which he caused witnesses to affirm that it had been agreed, at the treaty of Gloucester, that he should succeed Edmund in the southern portion of the kingdom; or, as the writers to whom we have alluded affirm, that he should have the guardianship and protectorate. This evidence, and, perhaps, terror lest the well known fierceness of Canute should again desolate the kingdom, determined the council in his favour, and the usurper peaceably mounted the throne, while the despoiled princes were sent to Sweden. Not content with thus seizing their dominion and exiling them, Canute charged the king of Sweden to put them to death; but that king, more generous than his ally, sent them in safety to the court of Hungary, where they were educated. Edwin, the elder of the princes, married the daughter of the king of Hungary; and Edward, the younger, married Agatha, sister-in-law of the same monarch, and had by her Edgar Atheling, Margaret, subsequently queen of Scotland, and Christina, who took the veil.

The experience which Canute had of the treachery of the English nobility of this period made him, as a matter of policy, show the most unbounded liberality to them at the commencement of his undivided reign. To Thurkill he gave the dukedom of East Anglia, to Yric that of Northumberland, and to Edric that of Mercia, confining his own direct and personal rule to Wessex. But this seeming favour was only the crouching of the 'iger ere he springs. When he found himself firmly fixed upon his throne, and from his judicious as well as firm conduct becoming every day more popular among his subjects, he found a pretext to deprive Thurkill and Yric of their dukedoms, and to send them into exile. It would seem that even while he had profited by the treason of the English nobility, he had manliness enough to detest the traitors; for, besides expelling the dukes of East Anglia and Northumberland, he put several other noble traitors to death, and among them that worst of all traitors, Edric, whose body he had cast into the Thames.

Though Canute showed much disposition to conciliate the favour of his subjects, he was at the commencement of his reign obliged, by the state of the kingdom, to tax them very heavily. From the nation at large he

at one demand obtained the vast sum of seventy-two thousand pounds, and from the city of London a separate further sum of eleven thousand. But though it was evident that much of this money was devoted to the reward of his own countrymen, and though in the heavy sum levied upon London there clearly appeared something of angry recollection of the courage the Londoners had shown in opposing him, the people were by this time so wearied with war, that they imputed his demands to necessity, and probably thought money better paid for the support of a Danish king than for the temporary absence of an ever-returning Danish enemy.

To say the truth, usurper though Canute was, he had no sooner made his rule secure, than he made great efforts to render it not merely tolerable but valuable. He disbanded and sent home a great number of his Danish mercenaries; he made not the slightest difference between Danish and English subjects in the execution of the laws guarding property and life, and, still farther to engage the affections of the English, he formally, in an assembly of the states, restored the Saxon customs.

In order also to ingratiate himself with the English, as well as to propitiate the powerful duke of Normandy, who had shown a strong disposition to disturb him in his usurped power, he married that prince's sister, Emma, widow of Ethelred. By dint of this conciliatory policy, he so far succeeded in gaining the affections of the English, that he at length ventured to sail to Denmark, which was attacked by his late ally, the king of Sweden, against whom he felt additional anger on account of his contumacy in refusing to put the exiled English princes to death. He was completely victorious in this expedition, chiefly owing to the energy and valour of the afterwards famous, and more than regally powerful, Earl Godwin, to whom, in reward for his conduct on this occasion, he gave his daughter in marriage.

In 1028 he made another voyage, and expelled Olaus, king of Norway. Powerful abroad and at peace at home, he now devoted his attention to religion; but he did so after the grossly superstitious fashion of the age. He did not recal the exiled princes, or make restitution of any of the property which he had unjustly acquired either in Norway or in England, but he built churches and showered gifts upon churchmen; showed his sorrow for the slaughter of which he still retained the profit, by causing masses to be said for the souls of the slaughtered, and compounded for continuing his usurped rule of England by obtaining certain privileges for Englishmen at Rome, to which city he made an ostentatious pilgrimage.

An anecdote is told of Canute when at the very height of his glory and power, which is highly characteristic of the baseness of the English nobles of that day, and which at the same time shows him to have possessed a certain dry humour as well as sound good sense. It seems that while walking on the sea-shore with some of these degenerate and unworthy nobles, they in the excess of their flattery attributed omnipotence to him. Disgusted by their fulsome eulogy, he ordered a chair to be placed upon the beach, and seating himself he commanded the waves to approach no nearer to him. The astonished courtiers looked on with a feeling of contempt for the king's credulity, which was speedily to be transferred to their own baseness. The tide surged onward and onward to the shore till it began to wet his feet; when he calmly rose and rebuked his flatterers for attributing to him the great characteristic of the Deity, omnipotence.

The Scots in the reign of Ethelred had been taxed one shilling a hide on their fief of Cumberland, for *Danegelt*, or money to be applied to the protection of the kingdom against the Danes. The Scots refused to pay it, and though Ethelred attempted force, he, as usual with him, failed. Malcolm, the thane of Scotland who had thus failed in his vassalage to Ethelred, on the ground that he could defend himself against the Danes, now refused to do homage for Cumberland to Canute, on the ground of

that king not having succeeded to the throne by inheritance. But Canute speedily brought him to his senses; at the first appearance of the English army Malcolm submitted. This was Canute's last expedition: he died about four years after, in the year 1035.

CHAPTER X.

THE REIGNS OF HAROLD AND HARDICANUTE.

Canute left three sons, Sweyn and Harold by his first wife, Alfwen, daughter of the earl of Hampshire; and Hardicanute by his second wife, Emma, the widow of Ethelred.

On the marriage of Canute and Emma the former had formally agreed that his children by her should inherit the throne. But as her brother, the duke of Normandy, died before Canute, the latter thought fit to depart from this agreement, and to leave the English throne to Harold, his second son by the first wife, rather than entrust it, with its abounding difficulties, to the weak hands of so young a prince as Hardicanute, his son by Emma. By his last will, therefore, Canute left Norway to Sweyn, his eldest son, and England to Harold, his younger son by the first marriage; and to Hardicanute, his son by Emma, he left his native Denmark.

The difference between the arrangement made by the king's will and that which was agreed upon by his treaty of marriage with Emma, placed the kingdom in no small danger of a long and sanguinary civil war. Harold, it is true, had the express last will of his father in his favour, and being upon the spot at the moment of his father's death, he seized upon the royal treasures, and thus had the means of supporting his claim either by open force or corruption. But Hardicanute, though in Denmark, was the general favourite of the people, and of not a few of the nobility; being looked upon, on account of his mother, in the light of a native English prince. To his father's last will, upon which it would have been easy to throw suspicion, as though weakness of mind had been superinduced by bodily suffering, he could oppose the terms of the grave treaty signed by his father while in full possession of his vigorous mind, and in full possession, too, of power to resist any article contrary to his wish. And, above all, Hardicanute had the favour and influence of the potent Earl Godwin. With such elements of strife in existence, it was extremely fortunate that the most powerful men on both sides were wisely and really anxious to avert from the nation the sad consequences inseparable from civil strife. Conferences were held at which the jarring claims of the two princes were discussed with unusual candour and calmness, and it was at length agreed that, as each had a plea too powerful to be wholly done away with by his competitor's counterplea, the kingdom should once more be divided. London and the country north of the Thames fell to the lot of Harold, the country south of the Thames to Hardicanute, in whose name Emma took possession, and fixed her residence at Winchester till he should reach England to govern for himself.

The two young princes, Alfred and Edward, the sons of Emma by Ethelred, had hitherto remained at Normandy; but finding themselves, from the circumstances of that court, less welcome than they had been, they resolved to visit their mother, whose high state at Winchester promised them all possible protection and comfort, and they accordingly landed in England with a numerous and splendid suite. But the appearances by which they had been allured to take this step were exceedingly deceitful. Godwin, whose ambition was restless and insatiable, had been skilfully tampered with by the crafty Harold, who promised to marry the earl's daughter. The idea of being father-in-law to the sole king of England put an end to all Godwin's moderate notions, and to all the favour with

which he had previously looked upon the expedient of partitioning the kingdom, and he now very readily and zealously promised his support to Harold in his design to add his brother's possessions to his own, and to cut off the two English princes, whose coming into England seemed to indicate a determination to claim as heirs of Ethelred. Alfred was, with many hypocritical compliments, invited to court, and had reached as far as Guildford, in Surrey, on his way thither, when an assemblage of Godwin's people suddenly fell upon the retinue of the unsuspecting prince, and put upwards of six hundred of them to the sword. Alfred was himself taken prisoner—but far happier had been his fate had he died in the battle. His inhuman enemies caused his eyes to be put out, and he was then thrust into the monastery of Ely, where he perished in agony and misery. His brother and Queen Emma readily judged, from this horrible affair, that they would be the next victims, and they immediately fled from the country, while Harold forthwith added the southern to the northern division of the kingdom.

Commencing his sole reign over England by an act of such hypocrisy and sanguinary cruelty, Harold would probably have left fearful traces of his reign if it had been a lengthened one. Happily, however, it was but short; he died unregretted, about four years after his accession, leaving no trace to posterity of his having ever lived, save the one dark deed of which we have spoken. He was remarkable for only one personal quality, his exceeding agility, which, according to the almost invariable practice at that time adopted of designating persons by some trait of character or physical quality for which they were remarkable, procured him the appellation of Harold Harefoot.

A. D. 1039.—Although Hardicanute had been deemed by his father too young to sway the English sceptre, he himself held a different opinion, and he had occupied himself in his kingdom of Norway in preparing a force with which to invade England and expel his brother. Having completed his preparations, he collected a fleet under the pretence of visiting Queen Emma, who had taken refuge in Flanders, and was upon the point of sailing when he received intelligence of Harold's death, upon which he immediately sailed for London, where he was received with the warmest welcome. He commenced his reign, however, very inauspiciously, by the mean and violent act of having Harold's body disinterred and thrown into the Thames. Being found by some fishermen, the royal body was carried to London and again committed to the earth; but Hardicanute obtaining information of what had occurred, ordered it to be again disinterred and thrown into the river. It was once more found—but this time it was buried so secretly that the king had no opportunity to repeat his unnatural conduct.

The part which Godwin had taken in the murder of the unfortunate Alfred, led Prince Edward, who was invited over to the English court by Hardicanute, to accuse him of that crime, and to demand justice at the hands of the king. But Godwin, who had already exerted all the arts of servility to conciliate the king, made him a present of a magnificent galley, manned with sixteen handsome and gorgeously appointed rowers, and the king was so well pleased with the present, that he merely required that Godwin should swear to his own innocence, which that personage made no scruple of doing.

The reign of Hardicanute was short, yet his violent temper and cupidity caused it to be marked by a revolt. He had the injustice and imprudence to renew the tax known by the name of *Danegelt*, and charged a very heavy sum for the fleet which had conveyed him from Denmark. Complaints and resistance arose in many parts, and in Worcester the people not only refused to pay the tax, but actually put two of the collectors to death. Godwin, with Siward, duke of Northumberland, and

Leofric, duke of Mercia, were immediately sent to Worcester with a powerful force, and with orders to destroy the city. They actually did set fire to it and gave it up to the pillage of the soldiery, but they saved the lives of the inhabitants until the king's anger was cooled, and he gave them a formal pardon.

Though possessed of uncommon bodily strength, Hardicanute was an ultra Northman in the habit of drinking to excess, and he had scarcely reigned two years, when, being at the wedding-feast of a Danish nobleman, he indulged to such an extent that he died on the spot.

CHAPTER XI.

THE REIGN OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.

A. D. 1042.—Sweyn, the remaining son of Canute, was in Norway when Hardicanute thus suddenly died, and as there was no one whom the Danes could set up in his place, or as his representative, the English had a most favourable opportunity to place upon the throne a prince of their own race. The real English heir was undoubtedly the elder son of Edmund Ironside; but that prince and his brother were in Hungary, and Edward, the son of Ethelred, was at the English court, and the necessity of instant action to prevent the Danes from recovering from their surprise was too obvious to allow the English to affect upon this occasion a punctiliousness upon direct succession which they had not yet learned to feel.

There was but one apparent obstacle of any magnitude to the peaceable succession of Edward, and that was the feud existing between him and the powerful Earl Godwin relative to the death of Prince Alfred. So powerful was Godwin at this time, that his opposition would have been far too great for Edward's means to surmount. But Godwin's power lay principally in Wessex, which was almost exclusively inhabited by English, among whom Edward's claim was very popular; and as Edward's friends induced him to disavow all rancour against Godwin, and even to consent to marry his daughter Editha, the powerful and crafty earl easily consented to insure his daughter a throne. He forthwith summoned a council, at which he so well managed matters, that while the majority were English, and in favour of Edward, the few Danes were fairly silenced, and the more easily because whatever warmth might be in their individual feelings towards the absent Sweyn, they had no leader of influence to unite them, or of eloquence to impress and support their wishes.

The joy of the English on finding the government once more in the hands of a native prince was excessive, and would have been attended with extensive ill consequences to the Danes, had not the king very equitably interposed on their behalf. As it was, they suffered not a little in property, for one of the first acts of the king's reign was to revoke all the grants of his Danish predecessors, who had heaped large possessions upon their fellow-countrymen. In very many cases it may be assumed that the grants had been made unjustly; but the English made no distinction between cases, and heartily rejoiced to see the resumption of the grants reducing many of the hated Danes to their original poverty. To his mother, the queen Emma, Edward behaved with an unpardonable severity; unpardonable, even admitting that he was right when he affirmed that, having been so much better treated by Canute than by Ethelred, she had always given the preference to Hardicanute, and held her children by Ethelred in comparative contempt or indifference. He not only took from her the great riches which she had heaped up, but also

committed her to close custody in a nunnery at Winchester. Some writers have gone so far as to say that he accused her of the absurdly improbable crime of having connived at the murder of the prince Alfred, and that Emma purged herself of this guilt by the marvellous ordeal of walking barefooted over nine red-hot ploughshares; but the monks, to whom Emma was profusely liberal, needed not to have added fable to the unfortunate truth of the king's unnatural treatment of his twice widowed mother.

Apart from mere feelings of nationality, the desire of the English to see their throne filled by a man of their own race was, no doubt, greatly excited by their unwillingness to see lands and lucrative places bestowed by stranger kings upon stranger courtiers. In this respect, however, the accession of Edward was by no means so advantageous to the English as they had anticipated. Edward had lived so much in Normandy that he had become almost a Frenchman in his tastes and habits, and it was almost exclusively among Frenchmen that he had formed his friendships, and now chose his favourites and confidants. In the disposal of civil and military employments the king acted with great fairness towards the English, but as the Normans who thronged his courts were both more polished and more learned, it was among them principally that he disposed of the ecclesiastical dignities, and from them that he chiefly selected his advisers and intimate companions. The favour thus shown to the Normans gave great disgust to the English, and especially to the powerful Godwin, who was too greedy of power and patronage to look with complacency upon any rivals in the king's good graces.

He was the more offended that the exclusive favour of the king did not fall upon him and his family, because, independent of the king having married the earl's daughter Editha, the mere power of Godwin's own family was so princely as to give him high claims, which he was by no means inclined to underrate. He himself was earl of Wessex, to which extensive government the counties of Kent and Sussex were added; Sweyn, his eldest son, had like authority over the counties of Hereford, Gloucester, Oxford, and Berks; while Harold, his second son, was duke of East Anglia, with Essex added to his government.

Possessed of such extensive power, still secretly hating Edward on account of their open feud about the murder of Prince Alfred, and considering that to his forbearance alone, or principally, Edward owed his throne, Godwin, who was naturally haughty, was not inclined to bear the neglect of the king without showing his sense of it, and his ill-humour was the more deep and the more bitterly expressed, because his daughter Editha as well as himself suffered from the king's neglect. The king had married her, indeed, in compliance with his solemn promise, but he would never live with her. His determination on this head was rightly attributed by Godwin to his having transferred to the daughter a part of the hatred he entertained for the father, though the monks, with their usual ingenuity in finding piety where no one else would think of looking for it, attribute this conduct to his religious feeling; and to this conduct it is that he chiefly owed the being honoured by the monks with the respectable surname of The Confessor.

A.D. 1048.—Entertaining strong feelings of both disappointment and discontent, it was not likely that a nobleman of Godwin's great power and great ill-temper too, would fail to find some pretext upon which to break out into open quarrel. Politic as he was ill-tempered, Godwin seized upon the favouritism of the king towards the Normans as a cause of quarrel upon which he was sure to have the sympathy of the English, who were to the full as much prejudiced as himself against the foreigners.

While Godwin was thus anxious to quarrel with the king whom he had done so much to put upon the throne, and only waiting for the occurrence

of an occasion sufficiently plausible to hide his meaner and more entirely personal motives, it chanced that Eustace, count of Boulogne, passed through Dover on his way back to his own country after a visit paid to the English court. An attendant upon the count got into a dispute with a man at whose house he was quartered and wounded him; the neighbours interfered, and the count's attendant was slain; a general battle took place between the count's suite and the townspeople, and the former got so much the worst of the affray, that the count himself had some difficulty in saving his life by flight. The king was not merely angry, but felt scandalized that foreigners who had just partaken of his hospitality should be thus roughly used by his subjects, and he ordered Godwin—to whom, as we have said, the government of Kent belonged—to make inquiry into the affair, and to punish the guilty. But Godwin, who was delighted at an occurrence which furnished him with a pretext at once plausible and popular for quarrelling with his sovereign and son-in-law, promptly refused to punish the Dover men, whom he alledged to have been extremely ill-treated by the foreigners. Edward had long been aware of the hostile feelings of Godwin, but as he was also aware of the very great and widely-spread power of that noble, he had prudently endeavoured to avoid all occasion of open disagreement. But this blank refusal of the earl to obey his orders provoked the king so much, that he threatened Godwin with the full weight of his displeasure if he dared to persevere in his disobedience.

Aware, and probably not sorry, that an open rupture was now almost unavoidable, Godwin assembled a force and marched towards Gloucester, where the king was then residing with no other guard than his ordinary retinue. Edward, on hearing of the approach and hostile bearing of his too potent father-in-law, applied for aid to Siward and Leofric, the powerful dukes of Northumberland and Mercia, and to give them time to add to the forces with which they on the instant proceeded to aid him, he opened a negotiation with Godwin. Wily as the earl was, he on this occasion forgot the rebel maxim—that he who draws the sword against his sovereign should throw away the scabbard. He allowed the king to amuse him with messages and proposals, while the king's friends were raising a force sufficiently powerful to assure him success should the quarrel proceed to blows. As the descendant of a long line of English kings, and himself a king remarkable for humane and just conduct, Edward had a popularity which not even his somewhat overweening partiality to foreigners could abate; and when his subjects learned that he was in danger from the anger and ambition of Godwin, they hastened to his defence in such numbers that he was able to summon him to answer for his treasonable conduct. Both Godwin and his sons, who had joined in the rebellion, professed perfect willingness to proceed to London to answer for their conduct, on condition that they should receive hostages for their personal safety and fair trial. But the king was now far too powerful to grant any such terms, and Godwin and his sons perceiving that in negotiating with the king while he was but slenderly attended they had lost the golden opportunity of wresting the sovereignity from him, hastily disbanded their troops and went abroad; Godwin and three of his sons taking refuge with Baldwin, earl of Flanders, and his other two sons taking shelter in Ireland.

Having thus for the time got rid of enemies so powerful, the king bestowed their estates and governments upon some of his favourites; and as he no longer thought himself obliged to keep any terms with his imperious father-in-law, he thrust Queen Editha, whom he had never loved, into a convent at Wherwell.

But the ruin of the powerful Godwin was more apparent than real; he had numerous friends in England, nor was he without such foreign alliances as would still enable him to give those friends an opportunity of serving him. His ally, the earl of Flanders, who was the more interested

in his behalf on account of Godwin's son Tosti having married the earl's daughter, gave him the use of his harbours in which to assemble a fleet, and assisted him to hire and purchase vessels; and Godwin, having completed his preparations, made an attempt to surprise Sandwich. But Edward had constantly been informed of the earl's movements, and had a far superior force ready to meet him. Godwin, who depended fully as much upon policy as upon force, returned to Flanders, trusting that his seeming relinquishment of his design would throw Edward off his guard. It turned out precisely as Godwin had anticipated. Edward neglected his fleet and allowed his seamen to disperse, and Godwin, informed of this, suddenly sailed for the Isle of White, where he was joined by an Irish force under Harold. Seizing the vessels in the southern ports, and summoning all his friends in those parts to aid him in obtaining justice, he was able to enter the Thames and appear before London with an overwhelming force. Edward was undismayed by the power of the rebel earl, and as he was determined to defend himself to the utmost, a civil war of the worst description would most probably have ensued but for the interference of the nobles. Many of these were secretly friends of Godwin, and all of them were very desirous to accommodate matters, and the results of their timely mediation was a treaty, by which it was stipulated on the one hand that the obnoxious foreigners should be sent from the country, and on the other, that Godwin should give hostages for his future good behaviour. This he did, and Edward sent the hostages over to Normandy, being conscious that he could not safely keep them at his own court.

Though a civil war was undoubtedly for the present averted by this treaty between the king and Godwin, yet the ill example thus given of the necessities of the king compelling him to treat as upon equal terms with his vassal, would probably have produced farther and more mischievous acts of presumption on the part of Godwin, but for his death, which suddenly occurred as he was dining with the king shortly after this hollow reconciliation had been patched up between them.

Godwin was succeeded both in his governments and in the very important office of steward of the king's household by his son Harold, who had all his father's ambition, together with a self-command and seeming humility far more dangerous, because more difficult to be guarded against, than his father's impetuous violence. Although unavoidably prejudiced against him on account of his parentage, Edward was won by his seeming humility and anxiety to please. But though Edward could not refuse him his personal esteem, his jealousy was awakened by the anxiety and success with which Harold endeavoured to make partizans; and, in order to curb his ambition, he played off a rival against him in the person of Algar, son of Leofric duke of Mercia, upon whom was conferred Harold's old government of East Anglia. But this notable expedient of the king wholly failed. Instead of the power of Algar balancing that of Harold, the disputes between the two rivals proceeded to actual warfare, in which, as usual, the unoffending people were the greatest sufferers. The death of both Algar and his father put an end to this rivalry, or probably the very means which the king had taken to preserve his authority would have wholly and fatally subverted it.

A.D. 1055.—There was now but one rival from whom Harold could fear any effectual competition; Siward, duke of Northumberland; and his death speedily left Harold without peer and without competitor. Siward had greatly distinguished himself in the only foreign expedition of this reign, which was undertaken to restore Malcolm, king of Scotland, who had been chased from that kingdom after the murder of his father, King Duncan, by a traitorous noble named Macbeth. In this expedition Siward was fully successful; but unfortunately, though he defeated and slew the usurper, Macbeth, he in the same action lost his eldest son, Osborne, who

had given high promise of both will and power to uphold the glory of his family.

Siward's character had much of the Spartan resolution. He was consoled for the death of his gallant son when he learned that his wounds were all in front; and when he felt the hand of death upon himself he had his armour cleaned and a spear placed in his hand, that, as he said, he might meet death in a guise worthy of a noble and a warrior.

Owing to the health of the king being fast declining, and his having no children, he grew anxious about the succession; and as he saw that Harold was sufficiently ambitious to seize upon the crown, he sent to Hungary for his elder brother's son Edward. That prince died almost immediately after his arrival in England; and though the title of his son Edgar Atheling would have been fully as good and indisputable as his own, Edgar did not, to the anxious eyes of the king, seem either by years or character a competent authority to curb the soaring ambition of Harold. Willing to see any one rather than Harold secure in the succession, the king turned his attention to William, duke of Normandy. This prince was the natural son of William, duke of Normandy, by Harlotta, the daughter of a tanner of the town of Falaise; but illegitimacy in that age was little regarded. He had shown great vigour and capacity in putting down the opposition made to his succession to the dukedom, and though he was of very tender age when his father died, his conduct, both at that difficult crisis and in his subsequent government, fully justified the high opinion of him which had induced his father to bequeath to him the dukedom, to the prejudice of other branches of the ducal family. He had paid a visit to England and gained much upon the good opinion of Edward, who had actually made known to him his intention of making him his heir even before he sent to Hungary for Prince Edward and his family.

Harold, though by no means ignorant of the king's desire to exclude him from all chance of succeeding to the throne, steadfastly pursued his plan of conciliating the powerful, and making himself noted as the friend and protector of the weak. In this respect he was eminently successful, but there was an obstacle in the way of his final triumph from which he anticipated very great difficulty. Among the hostages given by his father, Earl Godwin, were a son and a grandson of that nobleman; and when Harold perceived that Duke William, to whose custody the hostages were committed, had hopes of being left heir to the English crown, he naturally became anxious about the consequences of his intended rivalry to relatives so near. To get them out of the duke's power previous to the death of the king was of the utmost importance; and he applied to the king for their release, dwelling much upon the constant obedience and dutifulness of his conduct, upon which he argued it was in some sort an injurious reflection longer to keep the hostages. As his conduct really had been to all appearances of unbroken faith and undeviating loyalty, the king was unable to make any solid reply to his arguments, and at length yielded the point and empowered Harold to go to Normandy and release them. He hastened to fulfil this very agreeable commission, but a violent tempest arose while he was at sea and drove him ashore upon the territory of Guy, count of Ponthieu, who made him prisoner in the hope of extorting a very large sum from him by the way of ransom. Harold sent to the duke of Normandy for aid in this dilemma, representing that the duke's honour as well as his liberty was infringed by this imprisonment of a nobleman bound to the court of Normandy. Nothing could have happened more agreable to the wishes of William, who, if of a more hasty temperament than Harold, was no less politic; and he at once clearly perceived that this unexpected incident would give him the means of practising upon his only formidable competitor for the English throne. He immediately dispatched a messenger to demand the liberty of Harold; and the count of

Ponthieu complied on the instant, not daring to irritate so warlike and powerful a prince as Duke William. Harold then proceeded to William's court at Rouen, where he was received with every demonstration of the warmest good will. William professed the greatest willingness to give up the hostages, and at the same time took the opportunity—as if ignorant of Harold's own secret intentions—to beg his aid in his pretensions to the crown of England, assuring him in return of an increase to the grandeur and power already enjoyed by his own family, and offering him a daughter of his own in marriage. Though Harold had the least possible desire to aid in his own defeat, he clearly enough saw that if he were to refuse to promise it he would be made a prisoner in Normandy for the remainder of his life. He agreed, therefore to give William his support. But a mere promise would not serve William's turn, he required an oath, and as oaths sworn upon reliques were in that age deemed of more than usual sanctity, he had some reliques of the most venerated martyrs privately hidden beneath the altar on which Harold was sworn; and, to awe him from breaking his oath, showed them to him at the conclusion of the ceremony. Harold was both surprised and annoyed at the shrewd precaution of the duke, but was too politic to allow his concern to appear.

Imagining that he had now fully secured the support of Harold instead of having to fear his opposition, William allowed him to depart with many expressions of favour and friendship. But Harold had no sooner obtained his own liberty and that of his relatives, than he began to exert ert himself to suggest reasons for breaking the oath which actual though nominal durance had extorted from him, and the accompaniment of which had been brought about by an overt fraud. He shut his eyes upon the fact that, having consented to take the oath, it really mattered little whether he was aware or not of the presence of the reliques; had they not been there his oath would still be in full force, and he could only act in contravention of it by gross perjury. Determined to have the crown if possible, even at this fearful price, he now redoubled his efforts at gaining public favour, hoping that his superior popularity would deter the king from making any further advances to Duke William, and relying, in the last resort, upon the armed defence of the nation. In pursuance of this plan he headed an expedition against the Welsh, and pressed them to such straits that they beheaded their prince, Griffith, and consented to be governed by two noblemen appointed by Edward.

The popularity he gained in this expedition was greatly enhanced by his politic and ostentatious display of rigid partiality in a case in which his brother, Tosti, duke of Northumberland, was a principal party. Tosti had conducted himself with such tyrannical violence that the Northumbrians expelled him; and the deceased Duke Leofric's grandsons, Morcar and Edward, having sided with the people, the former was by them elected to be their duke. The king commissoned Harold to put down this insurrection, which it was naturally supposed that he would be all the more zealous in doing, as the interests of his own brother were concerned. But Morcar, having demanded a conference with Harold, gave him such proofs of the misconduct of Tosti, and appealed so flatteringly to his own very opposite conduct, that Harold not merely withdrew the army with which he was about to chastise the Northumbrians, but made such a representation of the case as induced the king not only to pardon the Northumbrians but also to confirm Morcar in Tosti's government. Tosti fled to the court of Flanders, but subsequently took an opportunity to show the extent of his dissatisfaction with his brother's decision.

Shortly after this affair Harold married the sister of Morcar, a step which plainly intimated how little he held himself bound to perform the sworn engagements to William of Normandy. In fact he was now so very popular, that he made no secret of his pretension to the throne, but

openly urged that as Edgar Atheling was by all acknowledged to be unfit to wear the English crown, he was the fittest man in the nation to succeed Edward; and though the king was too much opposed to Harold's succession directly and positively to sanction his pretension, he was too weak in both mind and body to take any energetic steps for securing the succession of William.

The king had long been visibly sinking, and yet though conscious of his approaching end, and really anxious to prevent the accession of Harold, he could not muster resolution to invite Duke William, but left chance, policy, or arms to decide the succession at his death, which occured in the sixty-fifth year of his age and the twenty-fifth of his reign. Though both Godwin and Harold excited his dislike by the influence they acquired over him by superior talent and energy, the peaceableness of his reign was, in fact, mainly attributable to their power and influence. Edward was naturally weak and superstitious, and if it had chanced that he had fallen into other hands, it is probable that his reign would have been both troubled and shortened. The superstitious custom of *touching* for the king's evil originated with this prince.

CHAPTER XII.

THE REIGN OF HAROLD THE SECOND.

A.D. 1066.—The death of Edward the Confessor had so long been probable, that Harold had ample time to make his preparations, and in the mere fact of his being on the spot he had a great and manifest advantage over his Norman rival. Not only were his partizans numerous and powerful by their wealth and stations, they were also compactly organized. Neither Duke William nor Edgar Atheling was formally proposed, but it was taken for granted that the unanimous voice of the people was represented by that of the lay and clerical nobles who surrounded Harold; and, without even waiting for the formal sanction of the states of the kingdom, he was crowned by the archbishop of York on the very day after the decease of Edward. Nor, in fact, was the consent of the nation so mere an assumption as it sometimes has been; for Harold was universally popular, and the Normans were as universally hated as foreigners, and feared on account of their fierce and warlike character. But popular as Harold was in England, he was not long allowed to enjoy his elevation in peace. His brother Tosti, who had remained in voluntary banishment at the court of Flanders ever since Harold's memorable decision against him, deemed that his time was now arrived to take revenge. He exerted his utmost influence with the earl of Flanders, and sent messengers into Norway to raise forces, and journeyed personally to Normandy to engage Duke William to join him in avenging both their grievances.

This last step Tosti had not the slightest occasion to take, for Duke William was far too much enraged at Harold's breach of faith to require any urging. He had already determined that Harold should at the least have to fight for the throne; but as it was obviously important to stand as well as possible with the English people, he sent ambassadors summoning Harold to perform the promise he had made under the most solemn form of an oath. Harold replied at some length and with considerable show of reason to the duke's message. As related to his oath, he said, that had been extorted from him under circumstances of durance and well-grounded bodily terror, and was consequently null; and, moreover, he as a private person could not lawfully swear to forward the duke's pretentions. He had himself, he added, been raised to the throne by the unanimous voice of his people, and he would indeed be unworthy of their love and trust

were he not prepared to defend the liberties they had entrusted in his care. Finally, he said, should the duke attempt by force of arms to disturb him and his kingdom, he would soon learn how great is the power of a united people, led by a prince of its own choice, and one who was firmly determined that he would only cease to reign when he should cease to live.

William expected such an answer as this, and even while his messengers were travelling between Normandy and the English court he was busily engaged in preparations for reinforcing his pretensions by arms. Brave, and possessed of a high reputation, he could count not only upon the zealous aid of his own warlike Normans, who would look on the invasion of such a country as England in the light of an absolute godsend, but also of the numerous martial nobles of the continent, who literally made a trade of war, and were ever ready to range themselves and their stalwart men-at-arms under the banner of a bold and famous leader, without expressing any troublesome curiosity as to the rightfulness of his cause. Among these unscrupulous sworders the wealth, fame and a certain blunt and hearty hospitality of William made him extremely popular; and in the idea of conquering such a kingdom as England there was much to tempt their cupidity as well as to inflame their valour. Fortune, too, favoured William by the sudden death of Conan, count of Brittany. Between this nobleman and William there was an old and very inveterate feud, and Conan no sooner learned Duke William's design upon England, than he endeavoured to embarrass and prevent him by reviving his own claim to the duchy of Normandy, which he required to be settled upon him in the event of the duke succeeding in England. This demand would have caused the duke much inconvenience, but Conan had scarcely made it when he died, and Count Hoel, his successor, so far from seeking to embarrass William, sent him five thousand men under command of his son Alain. The earl of Flanders and the count of Anjou permitted their subjects to join William's army, and though the regency of France ostensibly commanded him to lay aside his enterprise, the earl of Flanders, who was at the head of the regency and who was his father-in-law, took care to let the French nobility know that no objection would be offered to their enlisting under William. Still more important aid and encouragement were afforded to William by the emperor Henry IV., who not only assisted him in levying men in his dominion, but also promised to protect the duchy of Normandy during the duke's absence; but the most important protector and encourager of William in his projected enterprise was Pope Alexander III., whom the duke, with shrewd judgment, had completely won to his interests by voluntarily making him the mediator between them. The great anxiety of the papal courts to have an influence as well over the temporal as over the spiritual affairs of the nation would have rendered this one stroke of William's policy quite decisive of Alexander's conduct, but the pontiff was still farther interested in the duke's success by his belief that should the Normans conquer England, they would subject that nation more completely than it had yet been to the papal see.

From the states of his own duchy William at first met with some opposition, the supplies he required being unprecedently and onerously large. But Odo, bishop of Bayeux, William Fitzosborne, count of Breteuil and constable of Normandy, with the count of Longueville and other Norman magnates, so effectually aided him that this difficulty was got over, and the states agreed to furnish him with all the aid, only under protest that their compliance should not be drawn into a precedence injurious to their posterity.

By great activity, perseverance, and address, William at length found himself at the head of a magnificently appointed force of three thousand vessels of various rates, and upwards of 60,000 men; and so popular had

his purpose now become among the warriors of the continent, that he could probably have nearly doubled the number of men had he thought it necessary to do so. Nor was it merely by dint of numbers that his force was imposing. His veteran and disciplined men-at-arms were led by some of the most famous champions of even that age of knights and true warriors; among whom he could reckon Eustace, count of Boulogne, William de Warenne, Roger de Beaumont, Hugh d' Estaples, and the far-famed Charles Martel.

While William excited the ardour of these and other gallant leaders by promising them rich spoils from the land they were about to conquer for him, Tosti, the infuriated brother of Harold, was busied by William's instructions in ravaging the coasts of England, and distracting the attention of Harold and his subjects from their more redoubtable enemy's preparations. In conjunction with Harold Halfager, king of Norway, Tosti led a powerful fleet into the Humber, and began to despoil the country. Morcar, duke of Northumberland, and Edwin, duke of Mercia, got together such forces as time would allow, and endeavoured to beat back the marauders, but were put to the rout by them. But though the effort of these noblemen was in itself disastrously unsuccessful, it gave Harold time to raise a compact force and hasten to meet the invaders in person. He met them at Stanford, in Linconshire, and in the action that ensued the invaders were completely defeated, and both Tosti and the king of Norway perished on the field. Prince Olave, son of the king of Norway, was taken prisoner, and the whole of the Norwegian fleet was captured; but Harold, with great generosity, gave the young prince his freedom, and allowed him to take twenty ships and depart to his own country.

Though this victory and Harold's moderation after it gave the English great reason to be satisfied with the choice they had made of a king, it was, in fact, very disastrous to Harold, as it cost him a great number of his best men and officers at the precise time when he most needed their services; and even his returning the spoils, though he was actuated by a desire to spare his people as much as possible in the approaching contest with Duke William, gave so much disgust to his soldiery, that many of them actually deserted, and the rest were discontented. His brother Gurth, apprehending some fatal consequences from this really unreasonable discontent, endeavoured to dissuade Harold from risking his own person in the field against William. He urged that it would be unwise to risk all upon one battle, when by retiring before the enemy he who could depend upon the loyalty and affection of his subjects for abundant supplies could weary out the invaders, and starve them into submission or retreat; and he added, that as Harold had, however unwittingly, sworn upon the reliques to support instead of opposing the duke, it would be far better for him to refrain from taking any personal part in the approaching contest. But Harold would heed no reasoning and no remonstrance; he was determined literally to fulfil the terms of his reply to William's summons, and to cease to reign only in ceasing to live.

After some difficulties from bad weather and contrary winds, in which the Duke lost some small vessels, the Norman fleet appeared off the coast of Sussex, and the army landed at Pevensy without opposition. The duke in his hurry to leap ashore stumbled and fell to the ground; but he with great presence of mind prevented his soldiers from interpreting this accident into an evil omen, by loudly exclaiming that he had now taken possession of the country.

Harold, who had approached with his army, sent a monk to Duke William to offer to settle their dispute by the payment of a sum of money to him. William, who was equally confident of success, replied that he would, if Harold chose, put the issue upon a single combat, and thus spare the effusion of blood; but Harold declined this proposal, and said that the od of battles would soon decide between them.

The eve of the momentous day of strife was passed by the Normans in prayer, and in confessing their sins to the host of monks by whom they were accompanied; but the English, more confident or more reckless, gave themselves up to wassail and merriment.

Early in the morning the Duke addressed the principal leaders. He represented to them that they had come to conquer a fine country from the hands of a usurper whose perjury could not fail to call down destruction upon his head; that if they fought valiantly their success was certain, but that if any, from cowardice or treachery, should retreat, they would infallibly perish between a furious enemy and the sea towards which he would drive them. His address finished, the duke formed his immense force into three divisions. His choice and heavy-armed infantry was commanded by Charles Martel, the archers and light-armed infantry by Roger de Montgomery, and the cavalry, which flanked both those divisions, was under his own immediate leading.

Harold had chosen his situation with great judgment. His force was disposed upon the slope of a rising ground and the flanks were secured against cavalry, in which he was but weak, by deep trenches. In this position he resolved to await the attack of the enemy, and he placed himself on foot, accompanied by his brothers Gurth and Leofwin, at the head of his infantry. The first attack of the Normans was fierce, but the steadiness with which they were met and the great difficulty of the ground compelled them to retire, and the English pursued and threw them into a disorder which threatened to degenerate into actual rout. Duke William, who saw that all his hopes were at this moment in jeopardy, led on the flower of his cavalry, and speedily compelled the English to relinquish their hard-earned advantage, and retire to their original position. William now ordered up additional troops to the attack, but finding the English stand firm he made a feint of retreat. With far more bravery than judgment, the English abandoned their advantageous post to pursue the flying and seemingly terrified enemy, when the Norman infantry suddenly halted and faced the English, whose flanks were at the same instant furiously charged by the Norman cavalry. William was admirably obeyed by his troops, and the English fell in vast numbers; but the survivors by great exertion regained the hill, where the aid and example of Harold enabled them to defend themselves with greater advantage. Extraordinary as it may seem, the ardour of the English enabled William to put the same feint into execution a second time, and with equal advantage to himself, though the main body of Harold's army still remained firmly entrenched upon the hill. But galled by the incessant play of William's archers, who discharged their deadly missiles over the heads of the advancing heavy-infantry, the English were at length broken by the furious yet steady charges of these latter, and, Harold and both his brothers being slain, they fled and were pursued with terrible slaughter by the victorious Normans.—William did not gain this important victory without vast loss, the battle having been continued with almost unabated fury on both sides from morning until evening. The dead body of the ill-fated Harold was found, and, by the orders of the duke, restored to his mother; and the Normans having solemnly returned thanks for their signal triumph, marched onward to pursue their advantage.

Had the English still possessed a royal family of the high courage and popularity of Harold, Duke William, in spite of his first brilliant success, might for years have been harassed by the necessity of continually fighting small and indecisive battles in every province of the kingdom. But Edgar Atheling, the only Saxon heir to the crown, had neither the capacity nor the reputation which would enable him to organize and direct a resistance of this stern and stubborn description. But his mere lineage went for much in the circumstances of the kingdom, and the dukes Morcar

and Edwin, now the most powerful and popular men left to the English, proclaimed Edgar, and called upon the people to support their Saxon sovereign against the Norman invader. In this measure the dukes were zealously assisted by Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, whose wealth and influence made him of great service to them.

William in the meantime, took possession of Romney and then of Dover, thus securing himself a communication with his duchy in the event of any adverse turn of fortune. Having given his troops a week's rest at Dover, the duke availed himself of the time to publish to the people the pope's bull in favour of his enterprise, it being a document which he well knew would have a great effect upon the superstitious minds of the multitude, and thus disincline them to aid the resistance planned by their leaders, he marched towards London. A large body of Londoners attempted to arrest his course, but they were routed with terrible slaughter by about five hundred horse of the Norman advance; and this new disaster, together with the little confidence and enthusiasm excited by Edgar, so completely dispirited the people, that even Morcar and Edwin now despaired of success, and retired to their respective governments. All Kent submitted; Southwark attempted some resistance, and was set on fire; and the Normans seemed so wholly irresistible that Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, Edgar Atheling, and other leading men of the kingdom, tendered William the crown and made their submission to him. With a degree of hypocrisy, which the vast preparations he had made and the great toils he had undergone for the purpose of obtaining the crown made ridiculous, the duke pretended to have scruples about accepting the crown without some more formal consent of the English people. But his own friends, ashamed of his gratuitous simulation, or afraid that his affected scruples might give rise to some adverse turn of events, remonstrated so plainly with him that his feigned reluctance was laid aside, and orders were given for the necessary preparations for his immediate coronation. Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, was, according to etiquette, the proper person to have crowned William. But the alacrity that prelate had shown in defending his country made him an object of the Conquerer's dislike, who refused to be crowned by him, on the plea that his pall had been irregularly obtained; and the melancholy office fell upon Aldred, archbishop of York.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE REIGN OF WILLIAM I., USUALLY STYLED "WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR."

The principal English and Norman nobility being assembled in Westminister abbey (Dec. 25, 1066), Aldred asked them if they were willing to have William for their king, and being answered by affirmative acclamations, he admonished him to uphold the church, love justice, and execute justice with mercy; and then put the crown on his head amid the loud applause of the spectators of both nations. A strong guard of Normans surrounded the abbey, and hearing the shouts within, they imagined that the duke was attacked; upon which they immediately fell upon the populace and fired the houses around, and it was only by great exertion and his personal presence that William was enabled to put an end to the outrage and disturbance.

Though he had experienced so much good will from the principal English, William even yet felt doubtful how far he might rely upon the peaceable conduct of his new subjects, especially the sturdy Londoners, and he showed the jealousy he felt by causing strong fortresses to be erected to overawe the English and serve as places of refuge for his own people.

A. D. 1067.—His jealousy of his new subjects was still further shown by his retiring from London to Barking, in Essex, where he held a court for the purpose of receiving the homage of those English nobles who had not been presented at the coronation. Edric, surnamed the Forester, the brave Earl Coxo, Edwin and Morcar, who had so zealously though inef fectually endeavoured to prevent him from enslaving their country, and a crowd of nobles of smaller note waited upon him there, made their submission in form, and were confirmed by him in their authority and pos sessions, and though the new reign had commenced in war and usurpation there was thus far every appearance of its being both a just and a tranquil one.

Having received the submission of all his principal English subjects, William now busied himself in distributing rewards among the Norman soldiery to whom he owed his new crown. He was enabled to behave the more liberally towards them, because, in addition to the large treasure of the unfortunate Harold which had fallen into his hands, he was enriched by great presents made to him by numerous wealthy English who were desirous of being among the earliest to worship the rising sun, that they might enlarge, or at the least preserve their estates. As the clergy had greatly assisted him he made rich presents to them also; and he ordered an abbey to be erected near the site of the late battle, and to be called after it.

An anecdote is related, in connection with this abbey, that William was informed, after the foundations were laid, that the workmen could not find any spring of water for the supply of the intended edifice. "Let them work on," replied William, "let them work on, by the blessing of God, wine shall be more plentiful in that abbey than water in any other in England."

William doubtless built this magnificent abbey partly for the sake of placing there his most zealous friends among the Norman monks, and partly as a splendid and durable monument of his great triumph; but he affected to dedicate it chiefly to the saying of masses for the repose of that unfortunate prince whom he had deprived of both kingdom and life.

Though William had obtained his throne strictly by conquest and usurpation, he commenced his reign in a manner the best calculated to reconcile his subjects to their change of sovereigns. The pride of conquest did not blind him to the necessity of conciliation, and while he was in reality the most busy in placing all power and influence in Norman hands, he lost no opportunity of showing apparent favour to and confidence in the leading Saxons. Though he confiscated not only the estates of Harold, but also those of many of the leading men who had sided with that unfortunate prince, he in numerous cases availed himself of slender excuses for restoring the properties to their rightful owners. Satisfied that the imbecility of Edgar Atheling secured the peaceable behaviour of that prince, he confirmed him in the earldom of Oxford with which he had been invested by the deceased king; and, by the studied kindness of his demeanour towards the Saxon nobles who approached him, he strove to add to their gratitude for the solid favours he conferred upon them, a feeling of personal kindness and affection. Nor did he omit to secure the goodwill of the people at large by maintaining among his troops that strict discipline for which he had been remarkable in Normandy. Victors though they were, and both ordered and encouraged to keep the Saxon population in strict obedience to the new government, they were not allowed to add insolence to authority, and the slightest disorder or invasion of property was promptly and strictly punished. His conciliating policy extended to the metropolis. That city had been warmly opposed to him, but his anger for the past opposition was kept down by a prudent consideration of the important part so powerful a city might at some future

time take for or against him; and he therefore confirmed its charter and privileges as early and with as much apparent good-will as he did those of the other cities of the kingdom.

These instances of justice and moderation produced the greater effect on account of the warlike fame and generally stern character of the king, and while his imposing presence and brilliant reputation caused him to be looked upon with awe wherever he appeared, as he took care to do in those parts of which he most suspected the loyalty, his studied courtesy to the high and benignity to the lowly obtained him very general liking.

But at the same time that he was thus conciliating his new subjects by justice and moderation, which latter, under all the circumstances, might in some cases be called by the stronger name of mercy, he took abundant care to keep the one thing needful, *power*, in his own hands. While he confirmed the privileges of the prosperous and populous cities, he built fortresses in many of them and carefully disarmed them all. He thus commanded all the best military posts in the kingdom, and had them constantly occupied by his veteran soldiers, while by bestowing upon the leaders, to whose valour and conduct he owed so much, the confiscated possessions of the Saxon nobility and gentry, he created numerous minor despotisms dependant upon his sway, and vitally interested in its prosperity.

His politic mixture of rigour and mildness had all the success he could have anticipated or even wished, and the kingdom settled down so calmly under his authority, and so implicitly obeyed his orders, that he even considered it safe to pay a visit to France. On this occasion, however, he exhibited his usual policy; while he entrusted the government of England to William Fitzosborne and his own half-brother, Odo, bishop of Bayeux, whom he knew that he could safely trust both as to ability and fidelity, he *invited* the principal Saxons to accompany him on his journey, thus making them hostages while seeming to make them attendants upon his state and companions in his pleasure. Among the personages whom he thus deprived of the power, even supposing them to have the will, of exciting any disturbances during his absence, were the earls Edwin and Morcar, and Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, of whose faith he was somewhat doubtful on account of their opposition to him when he first invaded their country. He also took with him Edgar Atheling, whose very name he thought likely to prove a spell to tempt the English to rebellion, and numerous personages, who, though of less note, had great influence from wealth or civil or ecclesiastical station.

Though William on arriving in his old dominion played the hospitable host to his English attendants, and though they, anxious to furnish him with every inducement to continue in his gracious and just course, wore joyful and contented countenances, and endeavoured to do honour to their new master by displaying before his ancient subjects their utmost wealth and magnificence, they were in secret much galled and irritated by the insolent superiority which the Norman barons and courtiers did not fail to assume.

The complete submission and order to which William had reduced the kingdom of England, a submission and order so perfect as to encourage a monarch naturally so suspicious and politic to pay a transmarine visit within a quarter of a year from the date of his hostile landing in that kingdom, seems almost incredible, and can only be accounted for by the prodigious power and vindictiveness attributed to him personally. But Normandy is the near neighbour of England; and, on the slightest intimation from Odo and Fitzosborne, William could speedily return in person to exert his dreaded power in repressing rebellion, and to manifest his terrible vindictiveness in punishing the revolted; how then are we to account for the personal absence of the king almost immediately producing revolt in England? Are we to suspect that William absented himself purposely

to encourage revolt, not doubting that the English, deprived of their best and most zealous friends and leaders, who were in close attendance upon him, would easily be put down by his victorious army, and that he would thus, without any risk to his new conquest, acquire a plausible right to make a vast and sweeping transfer of the property of the kingdom from Saxon to Norman hands? Or shall we rather suppose that the Saxon population willingly remained quiet while the personal presence of the stern and strict conqueror prevented his officers and soldiers from trampling and oppressing the conquered, and that the latter were so ill-treated during his absence as to be driven into an utter recklessness of consequences? The first supposition, though anything but honourable to William, tallies indifferently well with his dark and deep policy; the latter is in the very nature of things highly probable. Perhaps, however, the truth lies between. William's wishes and views would, no doubt, govern the chief men among the Normans left in England, as to the greater or less degree of severity they should exercise during his absence in keeping the Norman soldiery in order; and the latter would be abundantly ready to avail themselves of any relaxation in the strictness of discipline to which they had been accustomed, without greatly troubling themselves to dive into the politic motives in which that relaxation had its origin. And this view of the case is the more reasonable, because, while policy obliged William to conciliate the Saxons at the commencement of his reign, the vastness and the number of the Norman claims upon him must have made him much in want of more extended means to satisfy them than his early ostentation of lenity had left him; and certainly the Norman knights and leaders, who were so sure to profit by new confiscations of Saxon property, would not be slow to provoke the Saxon population, by every insult and injury in their power, to such conduct as would lead to confiscation. This view of the case, finally, is much strengthened by the improbability that so suspicious and politic a person as William would so early have exposed his new conquest to danger, however guarded against by the trustiness of those left to rule for him, in mere childish impatience to dazzle the eyes of his ancient subjects with his new splendour, and without some deep and important ulterior view.

From whatever cause, however, it is quite certain that very soon after the conqueror's departure from Normandy the English began to exhibit symptoms of impatience under their yoke. Kent, which had been the first to submit to him after the great battle of Hastings, was now also the first to take advantage of his absence and rebel against his authority. Headed by Eustace, count of Boulogne, they not only did much damage in the open country, but even had the boldness to attempt the capture of Dover castle, and almost at the same time Edric, the Forester, whose possessions lay towards the Welch border, leagued himself with some discontented Welch chieftains, being induced to do so by the wanton insolence with which some of the Norman leaders in the neighbourhood had spoiled his property. These attempts at openly opposing the Normans were too hastily and loosely made to be successful, but they served to fan into a flame the smouldering fires of discontent which secretly, but no less steadily, burned in the hearts of the people. Not merely to revolt against the Norman rule, but to rise on the same day in every village and town in the nation and massacre the Normans to a man, was now made the object of a general conspiracy among the Saxon population; and so general and so determined was the frenzied desire to carry this object into effect, that Earl Coxo having refused to place himself at the head of his numerous serfs, was actually put to death as an enemy to his country and an ally of the Norman oppressors.

Information of the rebellious state of his new kingdom was speedily conveyed to William, who hastened over and applied himself to the task

of punishing those who had openly revolted, and of intimidating those who, though still in outward appearance loyal, might be contemplating similar course. The estates of the revolted were, as a matter of course confiscated; and William thus obtained a large increase of sure means to gratify the rapacity of his myrmidons and to insure their zeal and fidelity. But while he thus availed himself to the utmost of a plausible reason for confiscation or plunder, and at the very moment when he at once insulted and oppressed the Saxon people by reimposing the tax of *danegelt*, so es pecially onerous and odious to them, he with consummate art preserved an appearance of moderation and of strict adherence to justice, by ordering the restoration to their possessions of Saxons who had been violently and unjustly dispossessed during his absence in Normandy. By this plausible measure he at once taught his subordinates that he would allow no wrong to be done but with his own sanction, procured a certain popularity among the Saxons, and obtained a sort of anticipative counter plea against the complaints that might be made of his subsequent injustice, even though it should be displayed towards the very proprietors whom he now restored.

A.D. 1068.—The activity, watchfulness, and severity of William rendered the general rising of the Saxons wholly impracticable; but the desire for it had spread too widely to pass away without some appeals to arms, however ill-concerted and partial. The inhabitants of Exeter, a city which had always been among the greatest sufferers from invaders, and in which great influence was possessed by Githa, mother of the deceased Harold, ventured openly to brave the resentment of William by refusing to admit a Norman garrison within its walls; and when the men of Exeter armed in support of this determination, they were instantly joined by a vast number of Devonshire and Cornwall men. But the more prudent among their leaders, greatly influenced, no doubt, by selfish considerations, no sooner heard that William was approaching them with a vast body of his disciplined and unsparing troops, than they counselled submission, and induced their followers to send the king hostages for their good behaviour. But as it is ever far easier to excite the multitude to revolt than to lay the spirit of violence when once raised, the people broke out anew even after the delivery of the hostages. They soon found they had to do with one who had little inclination to halt at half measures. He immediately drew up his force under the walls of the place, and by way of showing the revolted people how little mercy they had to expect from him, he barbarously caused the eyes of one of the hostages to be put out. This stern and savage severity had all the effect he expected from it; the people instantly submitted themselves to his mercy, and he contented himself with placing a strong guard in the city. Githa, whose wealth would have furnished a rich booty for William and his followers, was fortunate enough to escape to Flanders with the whole of her treasures. The submissive example of Exeter was speedily followed by Cornwall, and William, having strongly garrisoned it, returned with his army to Winchester, where he then held his court, and being now joined by Queen Matilda, who had not previously thought it safe to visit her new kingdom, he caused her coronation to be solemnized with much pomp. Soon after this ceremony the queen presented her husband with their fourth son, Henry; the three elder brothers of this prince, Robert, Richard, and William, were born and still remained in Normandy. The signal success and ease with which the king had quelled the revolt in the west did not prevent disturbances arising in other parts of the country. In fact, such disturbances were almost inevitable, for the Norman chiefs who were posted in various parts of the kingdom were far too much interested in causing confiscations, to imitate even the pretences made to moderation by their prince, and their exactions and insolence were such as to be well calculated to excite the discontent and resistance of a far more patient and orderly people than the Saxons.

In the north where, being remote from the king's immediate authority, the Norman nobles had probably carried their license to an intolerable extent, the people were enraged to so bold a temper, that Edwin and Morcar thought it not impolitic to place themselves at their head; anticipating, it would seem, an effectual opposition to the hated rule of the invader. Their cause seemed the more likely to be successful, because, in addition to the number and resolution of the Saxons in revolt, they had the promise of support from Malcolm, king of Scotland, Blethyn, prince of Wales, who was related to them, and Sweyn, king of Denmark, who had a personal and peculiar interest in the success of the Saxon cause.

The conduct of Edwin and Morcar on William's first invasion, when they only withdrew their opposition on perceiving that they could no longer rely upon the zealous co-operation of the people, sufficiently attests their sincere love of country. But we must not omit to state that on this occasion of rising in the north the noblemen in question were to a considerable extent influenced by private animosity. How seldom, alas! is even the purest patriotism free from all taint of selfish and personal feeling!

To high-spirited nobles like Edwin and Morcar, the mere indications of distrust which William could not, with all his policy, wholly avoid giving, would have been highly offensive in themselves. But as regarded Edwin, the distrust manifested by the king assumed a deeper tint of offence, inasmuch as he manifested it by an arbitrary and capricious refusal to perform the promise he had made on ascending the throne, to give to that nobleman the hand of his daughter in marriage. This affront, implying so much distrust, and certainly giving the rejected suitor and his brother good reason to infer the foregone determination of still further and more direct proofs of the king's ill-will, undoubtedly had its influence in causing the brothers openly to put themselves at the head of the present revolt.

However little reason William had to expect a new outbreak so soon after the example he had made in the west, he was not, in the military sense of the word at least, surprised. His troops were constantly kept in marching order, and though from their vast number they were distributed over a large space of country, their lines of communication were so arranged that a vast number could on the shortest notice be assembled in one compact body. The instant, therefore, that he was informed of this new revolt, he set out for the north by forced marches, caused Warwick and Nottingham castles to be strongly garrisoned under the respective command of Henry de Beaumont and William Peveril, and reached York with such unexpected celerity, that he appeared in front of the astonished insurgents before they had received any of the foreign aid upon which they had so greatly reckoned when forming their plans. Edwin and Morcar, together with another very powerful noble who had taken part with them, wisely gave up all thought of making any resistance with their very inferior force, and were received into the king's peace and pardon. He not only spared them in person, but in their possessions also; still confiscations were too essential a part of his means of consolidating and perpetuating his power, to be generally dispensed with. While the leading men were thus allowed to escape impoverishment as well as the more severe punishment of rebellion, their humbler and, comparatively, unoffending followers were mulcted with the most merciless severity. The whole secret of his clemency to the three powerful leaders whom we have named seems to have been his doubt whether he could just then crush them without a risk more than proportioned to the gain.

The failure of this rebellion at the north, and the peace made between William and Malcolm of Scotland, which seemed to cut off all hope of future aid from that monarch, impressed the whole nation with a hopeless sense of complete and unfriended subjection. The multitude muttered the

deep curses to which they dared not give louder utterance, and prepared to toil on in their ordinary routine, and bear more or less oppression as the caprice or the policy of their tyrants might determine. But the hopelessness of braver and more passionate spirits was of a less passive kind. Unable to free their land from the rule of the oppressor, they at least had philosophy enough to abandon it and seek freer homes in stranger climes, whence they could return should a brighter day beam upon England. Among those who thus voluntarily went into exile was Edgar Atheling, who, with his sisters Margaret and Christina, sought peace in Scotland. Malcolm not only showed every kindness to the unfortunate exiles, but married Margaret; and partly on account of the connection he thus formed with the most illustrious of the Saxon families, though mainly, perhaps, with the politic view of strengthening his kingdom, he gave ready shelter to all Saxons, of whatever rank, who sought it in his dominions.

If many of the English were driven into exile by despair of being able to free their country, not a few of the Normans began to grow weary of living in a land so frequently disturbed, and among a people to whom they felt that they were so thoroughly hateful that their lives as well as possessions would infallibly be forfeited should that people get the upper hand of them even for a single day. This weariness, moreover, was by no means exclusively confined to the meaner sort. Many of the higher chieftains, and among them Humphrey de Teliol and Hugh de Gratesmil, requested their dismissal and permission to return home. The king could scarcely refuse compliance with such a request, but he revoked his grants in the case of all who made it, telling them that the land and its defenders must go together. And though some of his bravest leaders left him upon these unfriendly terms, he had little occasion to regret them, for his liberality and ample means of displaying it insured him abundance of new adventurers, not merely willing but eager to enlist under his banner.

A. D. 1069.—The departure of so many malcontents from England had by no means the effect, as it might seem certain to have, of diminishing the chances of disturbances. The voluntary exiles carried their griefs and their rancour with them, and lost no opportunity of making friends for England and foes for England's Norman tyrants. Nor did they want for a rallying point. When Harold fell, bravely battling against the invaders, his three sons, Godwin, Edmond, and Magnus, sought shelter in Ireland. They were well received by the princes and chiefs of that wild country, and soon became very popular among them. Enraged at the cause of their exile from England, and constantly surrounded by such practical lovers of strife as the Irish princes of that time, they naturally began to contemplate a descent upon England, and to calculate what aid they could rely upon beyond that which Ireland's own wild chieftains and strife-loving kerns could afford them. Denmark they could with tolerable certainty depend upon; and they hoped that both Scotland and Wales would be induced to aid them when the strife should once fairly be afoot. Encouraged by these confident expectations of aid, they landed with a considerable but disorderly force upon the coast of Devonshire. But instead of finding the English peasantry flocking around them, grateful for their coming and eager to join in their enterprise, they on the contrary, had scarcely set foot upon the shore when they found themselves vigorously assailed by the trained hirelings of the Norman, under the command of Brian, son of the count of Brittany, who worsted them in several petty battles, and at length drove them back, with much loss and some disgrace to their vessels.

Unsuccessful as this attempt of the sons of Harold was in itself, it served as a signal for the numerous risings, especially in the northern part of the kingdom. The Northumbrians rose, took Durham by surprise, and slew upwards of seven hundred men, among whom was the governor

Robert de Comyn, to whose negligence the Saxons were said to have been mainly indebted for their success. From Durham the inclination to revolt spread to York. There the governor, Robert Fitz-Richard, and many of his people were slain; and the second in command, William Mallet, secured the castle, to which the rebels promptly laid seige.—They were aided in this bold attempt by the Danes, who now landed from three hundred ships, and by the appearance among them of Edgar Atheling, who was accompanied by several Saxon exiles of rank and some influential Scots, who promised the aid of large numbers of their countrymen. The castle of York was so strong and so well garrisoned, that it is probable it might easily have held out against all the rude and unscientific attacks that the revolted Northumbrians and their allies could have made upon it, but for an accident. William Mallet, the gallant defender of the castle, perceiving that some houses were situated so near as to command a portion of the walls, ordered them to be fired lest they should serve as works for the besiegers. But fire is a servant as uncertain and uncontrollable as it is swift. A brisk wind carried the flames beyond the nouses which were specially devoted to their destroying ministry; everywhere the flames found abundant fuel, nearly all the buildings being of wood, and the conflagration, defying the inadequate means by which the people tried to stop it, destroyed nearly the whole of the city, which even at that time was very populous. The alarm and confusion which were caused by this event enabled the rebels to carry the castle by storm; and scarcely a man of the garrison, numbering nearly three thousand, was spared alive. Hereward, an East Anglian nobleman, at the same time wrought much confusion and difficulty to the Normans; cutting off their marching parties and retiring with their spoils to the Isle of Ely. Somerset and Dorset were in arms to a man, and Devon and Cornwall also rose, with the exception of Exeter, which honourably testified its sense of the clemency twice shown to all its population, save one unfortunate hostage, and held its gates closed for the king even against its nearest neighbours. Edric the Forester, who had many causes of quarrel with the Normans, allied himself with a numerous body of Welsh, and not only maintained himself against the Norman force under Fitzosborne and Earl Briant, but also laid seige to the castle of Shrewsbury.

When to these instances of open and powerful rebellion we add innumerable petty revolts in other parts and the universal hostility and restlessness of the Saxons, it will be admitted that there was enough in the state of the country to have made the boldest of monarchs anxious. And William was anxious, but undismayed. To his eagle eye a single glance revealed where force was absolutely requisite, and where bribery would still more readily succeed. To the Danes, who were headed by Osborne, brother of the king of Denmark, and by Harold and Canute, sons of that monarch, he well knew that the freedom of the country was a mere pretext, and that their real incentive to strife was desire of gain. These he at once resolved to buy off; and he quickly succeeded in getting them to retire to Denmark, by paying them a sum of money and giving them leave to plunder the coast on their way. Deserted by so considerable an ally the native leaders became alarmed, and William found no difficulty in persuading Waltheof, who had been made governor of York by the Saxons on their taking the castle by storm, to submit on promise of favour; a promise which the king strictly kept. Cospatric followed the example and was made earl of Northumberland; and Edric the Forester also submitted and was taken into favour. Edgar Atheling had no course open to him but to hasten back to Scotland, for, while the loss of all his allies rendered any struggle on his part so hopeless that it would have been ridiculous, he feared, and with great apparent reason, that his Saxon blood royal would incite William to put him to death. The king of Scot-

YORK FROM THE ANCIENT RAMPARTS.

land, to whose tardy coming the confederates in some degree owed their ill success, seeing that the northern confederacy was broken up, marched his troops back again. The failure in the north struck terror into the rebels throughout the kingdom, and William saw all his late opponents subject to him, save Hereward, who still maintained his partizan war fare—not quite exclusively preying upon the Normans it is to be feared—owing his protection to the difficulty of access to his swampy retreat

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CHAPTER XIV.

THE REIGN OF WILLIAM I. (CONTINUED.)

A. D. 1070.—Having by force and policy dissipated the confederacy which had threatened him, William now determined to show that whatever kindness and favour he might extend to individual Saxons, whether from genuine good feeling or from deep policy, the great body of the people had no mercy to hope from him. And as the north had been especially troublesome to him, so he selected that part to be the first to feel how terrible his wrath could be. Between the rivers Humber and Tees, a vast expanse of sixty miles of country as fertile as it was beautiful was by his stern order utterly laid waste. The cattle and such other property as could be conveyed away became the booty of the Norman soldiery; the houses were burned to the ground and the wretched inhabitants left to perish upon their desolated lands, without shelter, without food and without hope or pity. Vast numbers of them made their way into the lowlands of Scotland, but many there were who could not do so, or were so attached to the site of their once happy homes, that they remained in the woods, and perished slowly by hunger or the terrible diseases produced by exposure to the elements. It is calculated that by this one act of merciless severity not fewer than a hundred thousand Saxons miserably perished!

Though the north was thus especially marked out for the exterminating rigour of the Conqueror, the rest of the country was by no means allowed to escape. The unsuccessful revolts had placed nearly all the great landholders of the nation at his mercy; for they being especially interested in throwing off his yoke, had nearly to a man been implicated either by personal appearance in the field or by furnishing supplies. Hitherto the king, as a matter of policy, had affected something like moderation and mercy in putting the laws of attainder and ferfeiture into effect. But now he no longer needed to pursue that wily policy; the unsuccessful attempts to shake off his authority had terminated in making it absolute and even unassailable. The whole nation lay bound hand and foot at his pleasure, and he proceeded so to dispose of the lands that he in fact became the one great landlord of the nation. No one knew better than he did that the property of a nation is its power; and that power of the Saxons he now transferred to the Normans in addition to their terrible power of the sword. No antiquity of family, no excellence of character, even, could save the Saxon proprietor from being despoiled of his possessions. The more powerful and popular the family, the more necessary was its abasement and impoverishment to the completion of William's purpose; he who had taken any share in the revolts was mulcted of his property, and assured that he owed it to the king's great lenity that his life was spared; and he who had taken no such part, but was convicted of the crime of being wealthy, was equally despoiled, lest his wealth should at some future time lead him into rebellious practices.

Having thus effected the utter spoilation of the noble and wealthy Sax-

ons, William's next care was to dispose of the lands of England in such wise as to give himself the most absolute power over them; and here he had no need of any inventive genius; he had merely to apply to England the old feudal law of France and his native Normandy. Having largely added to the already large demesnes of the crown, he divided all the forfeited lands—which might almost without hyperbole be said to be all the lands of England—into baronies, which baronies he conferred upon his bravest and most trusty leaders, not in fee simple, but as fiefs held upon certain payments or services, for the most part military. The individual grants thus made were infinitely too vast to be actually held in use by the individual grantees, who, therefore, parcelled them out to knights and vassals, who held of them by the same suit and service by which they held from their lord paramount, the king. And that the feudal law might universally obtain in England, and that there might be no exception or qualification to the paramount lordship of the king over the whole land, even the few Saxon proprietors who were not directly and by attainder deprived of their lands were compelled to hold them by suit and service from some Norman baron, who in his turn did suit and service for them to the king.

Considering the superstition of the age, it might have been supposed that the church would have been exempted from William's tyrannous arrangement. But though, as we shall presently have an occasion to show, he was anxious to exalt the power of Rome, he was not the less determined that even Rome should be second to him in power in his own dominions. He called upon the bishops and abbots for quit-rents in peace, and for their quota of knights and men-at-arms when he should be at war, in proportion to their possessions attached to sees or abbeys, as the case might be. It was in vain that the clergy bewailed the tyranny of the king, which, now that it affected themselves, they discovered to be quite intolerable; and it was equally in vain that the pope, who had so zealously aided and encouraged William in his invasion, remonstrated upon his thus confounding the clergy with the laity. William had the power of the sword, and wailings and remonstrances were alike ineffectual to work any change upon his iron will. As by compelling the undeprived lay Saxons to hold under Norman lords he so completely subjected them as to render revolt impracticable, so he took care that henceforth all ecclesiastical dignities should be exclusively conferred upon Normans, who, indeed were by their great superiority in learning far more fitted for them, as was shown by the great number of Norman compared to Saxon bishops even before the invasion.

But there was one Saxon, Stigand, the archbishop of Canterbury, whose authority was too great not to be obnoxious to the suspicions and fears of William, the more especially as Stigand had both wealth and powerful connections in addition to his official dignity, and was a man of both talent and courage. These considerations, while they made William desirous of ruining the primate, at the same time made him dissemble his intentions until he could securely as well as surely carry them into effect. He consequently seemed, by every civility, to endeavour to efface from the primate's recollection the affront offered to him at the coronation; and a superficial observer, or one unacquainted with the king's wily as well as resolute nature, would for a long time have imagined Stigand to have been one of his prime favourites—for a Saxon. But when William had subdued the rest of the nation so completely that he had no fear of his attempt upon Stigand eliciting any powerful or perilous opposition, the ruin of the primate was at once determined upon and wrought. And circumstances furnished him with an instrument by whose means he was able to accomplish his unjust work with at least some appearance of judicial regularity.

Pope Alexander II., whose countenance and encouragement had rendered William good service in his invasion, anxious to leave no means untried of increasing the papal influence in England, had only awaited William's seeming perfect establishment upon the throne, and he now sent over Ermenfroy, a favourite bishop, on his legate. This prelate, who was the first legate ever sent to England, and the king served each others' ends to admiration. William, by receiving the legate at once, confirmed the friendly feeling of the papal court, and secured the services of an authority competent to deal with the primate and other prelates in ecclesiastical form, and nominally upon ecclesiastical grounds, while in reality merely wreaking the vengeance of the temporal monarch; and the legate, while serving as an instrument of the king's individual purposes, exalted both his own power and that of the pope in the eyes of the people. Having formed a court of bishop and abbots, with the assistance of the cardinals John and Peter, he cited Stigand to answer to three charges; viz: of holding the bishopric of Winchester together with the primacy of Canterbury; of having officiated in the pall of his predecessor; and of having received his own pall from Benedict IX., who was alledged to having intruded himself into the papacy. The substance of this last charge the reader will doubtless recognize as the pretext upon which William refused to be crowned by Stigand; and all the charges are so trivial that the mere men tion of them must sufficiently show the animus in which they were made. Even the most serious charge, that of being a pluralist, was then comparatively trivial; the practice being frequent, rarely noticed at all, and never visited by any more severe condemnation than of being compelled to resign one of the sees.

When so powerful and wilful a monarch as William had determined upon the ruin of a subject, however, it matters but little how trivial may be the charge or how inconclusive the evidence; Stigand was degraded from his dignity by the obsequious legate, and thus thrown helpless into the hands of the king, who not merely confiscated all his possessions, but also committed him to prison, where he lingered in most undeserved suffering and neglect for the rest of his life.

Having thus easily crushed the chief and by far the most important Saxon personage of the hierarchy, William proceeded to bestow the same hard treatment upon bishops Agelric and Agelware, who, being formally deposed by the obsequious legate, were imprisoned by the king Egelwin, bishop of Durham, was marked out for the same fate, but he had timely warning and escaped from the kingdom. Aldred, archbishop of York, was so grieved that in having performed the ceremony of William's coronation he had even incidentally aided in raising up so unsparing an enemy of his brethren of the hierarchy, that his mental sufferings produced a mortal disorder, and it is said that with his dying breath he called down Heaven's vengeance upon William for his general tyranny, and for his especial misconduct towards the church in direct violation of of his coronation oath.

Apparently regardless of the curses of the archbishp or of the deep hatred of the Saxons in general, William steadily pursued his course. He took care to fill all ecclesiastical vacancies with foreigners, who, while doing their utmost to promote the papal authority and interests in England, were at the same time zealous supporters of the authority of the king, whom they especially aided in that surest of all means of destroying a conquered people's nationality, the introduction of the language of the conquerors in general, but more especially into legal use.

In the recent general and signally unsuccessful revolts, the earls Morcar and Edwin had taken no part. But now that the Conqueror had no longer any temptation to hypocritical and politic mildness, the situation of these noblemen was a truly perilous and difficult one. Their very lineage

and the popularity they enjoyed among the men of their own race made them hateful to the king, who felt that they were constantly looked up to as leaders likely at some period to aid the Saxons in throwing off his yoke. Their wealth, on the other hand, exposed them to the envy of the needy and grasping among the Norman nobles, who eagerly longed to see them engaged in some enterprise which would lead to their attainder and forfeiture. Being convinced that their ruin was only deferred and would be completed upon the first plausible occasion that might present itself, they determined openly to brave the worst, and to fall, if fall they must, in the attempt to deliver both themselves and their country. Edwin, therefore, went to his possessions in the north to prepare his followers for one more struggle against the Norman power; and Morcar, with such followers as he could immediately command, joined the brave Hereward who still maintained his position among the almost inaccessible swamps of the Isle of Ely. But William was now at leisure to bring his gigantic power to bear upon this chief shelter of the comparatively few Saxons who still dared to strive against his tyranny. He caused a large number of flat-bottomed punts to be constructed, by which be could land upon the island, and by dint of vast labour he made a practicable causeway through the morasses, and surrounded the revolted with such an overwhelming force, that a surrender at discretion was the only course that could be taken. Hereward however, made his way through the enemy, and having gained the sea, continued upon that element to be so daring and effective an enemy to the Normans, that William, who had enough generosity remaining to value even in an enemy a spirit so congenial to his own, voluntarily forgave him all his acts of opposition, and restored him to his estate and to his standing in the country. Earl Morcar, and Egelwin, the bishop of Durham, were taken among the revolted, and thrown into prison, where the latter speedily perished, either of grief or of the severities inflicted upon him. Edwin, on the new success of the king in capturing the garrison of the Isle of Ely, set out for Scotland, where he was certain of a warm welcome. But some miscreant who was in the secret of his route, divulged it to a party of Normans, who overtook him before he could reach the border, and in the conflict that ensued he was slain. His gallantry had made him admired even by his enemies, and both Normans and Saxons joined in lamenting his untimely end. The king of Scotland, who had lent his aid to the revolted, was compelled to submit to the victorious William; and Edgar Atheling, no longer able to depend upon safety even in Scotland, threw himself upon William's mercy. The Conqueror, who seems to have held the character of that prince in the most entire contempt, not only gave him life and liberty, but allowed him a pension to enable him to live in comfort as a subject in that land of which he ought to have been the sovereign.

Upon this occasion, as upon all others, William's policy made clemency and severity go hand in hand. While to the leading men of the revolted he showed either comparative or positive lenity, he visited the common herd with the most frightful rigour, putting out the eyes and cutting off the hands of many of them, and sending them forth in this horrible condition as a warning to their fellow-countrymen.

A.D. 1073.—From England William was obliged to turn his attention to France. The province of Maine in that country had been willed to him before he became king of England, by Count Herbert. Recently the people, encouraged by William's residence in England, and rendered discontented by the vexatious opppression of the Normans, to whom he had entrusted the government, rose and expelled them; to which decisive course they were encouraged by Fulke, count of Anjou, who, but for Count Herbert's will, would have succeeded to the province. The complete subjection of England furnished the king with leisure to chastise the peo-

ple of Maine, and he accordingly went over with a large force, chiefly composed of English from the districts most prone to revolt. With these troops, who exerted themselves greatly in the hope of winning the favour of a monarch whose power they had no longer any means of shaking off, and with a sufficient number of natives of Normandy to insure him against any treachery on the part of the English, he entered Maine, and compelled the submission of that province, and the relinquishment by the earl of Anjou of all pretensions to it.

A.D. 1074.—While William was thus successful in France, England was disturbed, not by the English, but by the most powerful of the king's own favourite Normans. Obedient to their leader in the field, the Norman barons were accustomed in civil life to deem themselves perfectly independent; and these feudal chiefs having in their own territory absolute power, even to the infliction of death upon offenders, were too sovereign to brook without reluctance the arbitrary way in which William was accustomed to issue and enforce his orders. The consequence was a very general, though hitherto a secret, discontent among the Norman barons of England. The long smouldering discontent was brought to light by the arbitrary interference of the king in the domestic affairs of Roger, son of his favourite Fitzosborne. Roger, who had been created earl of Hereford, wished to give his sister in marriage to Ralph de Guader, earl of Norfolk, and, rather as a respectful formality than in the expectation that the king would interpose any obstacle, had requested his sanction, which William arbitrarily and without assigning a reason refused. Surprised, and still more indignant at the king's refusal, both the earls determined that the marriage should proceed notwithstanding. They accordingly assembled the friends of their respective houses, and at the banquet which followed the ceremony they openly and warmly inveighed against the caprice of the king, and especially against the rigour of the authority which he seemed so much determined to exercise over those nobles to whose gallantry he owed the richest of his territories and the proudest of his distinctions. The company, after the Norman fashion, had drunk deeply; and to men warmed with wine any arguments will seem cogent. And certainly many of the arguments which were now used to induce some of the most powerful of the Norman nobility to rebel against the king required all the aid of wine and wassail to enable them to pass muster before even the most superficial judges. Though every Norman present owed all that he had of English wealth or English rank to the ruin of the rightful Saxon owners, the cruelty of the king towards the Saxons was inveighed against with the most hypocritical and loathsome cant, merely because Waltheof, earl of Northumberland, who was present, was a Saxon by birth and well known to be still Saxon in heart, though he was a prime favourite of the king, who had given him his niece Judith in marriage. Again, the legitimacy of William's birth was dwelt upon as a reason for revolting against his authority, though it had from his very childhood been not the slightest bar to his succession to his father's dukedom, though it was considered no dishonour in any country in Europe, and though William himself made so little secret of his irregular birth, that he very commonly, as duke of Normandy, signed himself *Gulielmus Bastardus*.

The malcontent Normans, as it turned out, had far better have left Waltheof out of their calculation. The enthusiasm of a festive meeting, acting upon his strong though deeply concealed sympathy with his unfortunate fellow-countrymen, caused him to enter very readily into the conspiracy that was now formed against the authority of William. But with cooler moments came other feelings. Tyrant though William was to others, to him he had been a most gracious monarch and liberal friend; there was danger, too, that any conspiracy against a king so watchful and so powerful would be ruinous only to the conspirators themselves

and finally, setting aside both personal gratitude and personal fears, was it not probable that in aiding to overthrow William, he would, in fact, be aiding to overthrow a single and not invariably cruel tyrant, only to set up a multitude of despots to spoil and trample the unhappy people? Whichever way his reflections turned he was perplexed and alarmed; and having confidence equally in the affection and in the judgment of his wife, he entrusted her with the secret of the conspiracy, and consulted her as to the course that it would best befit him to take. But Judith, whose marriage had been brought about with less reference to her inclination than to the king's will, had suffered her affections to be seduced from her husband, and in the abominable hope of ridding herself of him by exposing him to the fatal anger of the king, she sent William all the particulars which she had thus confidently acquired of the conspiracy. Waltheof, in the meantime, growing daily more and more perplexed and alarmed, confided his secret and his consequent perplexities to Lanfranc, whom, from being an Italian monk, the Conqueror had raised to the archbishopric of Canterbury, on the degradation and imprisonment of the unfortunate Stigand. Lanfranc advised him faithfully and well, pointing out to him how paramount his duty to the king and his own family was to any consideration he could have for the conspirators, and how likely it was that even by some one of them the conspiracy would be revealed to the king, if he did not by speedy information at once secure himself from punishment, and obtain whatever merit William might attach to the earliest information upon so important a subject. These arguments coincided so exactly with Waltheof's own feelings, that he no longer hesitated how to act, but at once went over to Normandy and confessed everything to the king. With his usual politic tact, William gave the repentant conspirator a gracious reception, and professed to feel greatly obliged by his care in giving him the information; but knowing it all already by means of Waltheof's treacherous wife, William inwardly determined that Waltheof, especially as he was an Englishman, should eventually profit but little by his tardy repentance.

Meanwhile, Waltheof's sudden journey to the king in Normandy alarmed the conspirators; not doubting that they were betrayed, yet unwilling to fall unresisting victims to the king's rage, they broke into open revolt far more prematurely than otherwise they would. From the first dawning of the conspiracy it had been a leading point of their agreement that they should make no open demonstration of hostility to the king until the arrival of a large fleet of the Danes, with whom they had secretly allied themselves, and whose aid was quite indispensible to their combating, with any reasonable chance of success, the great majority of the nobility, who, from real attachment to the king or from more selfish motives, would be sure to defend their absent sovereign. But now that they were, as they rightly conjectured, betrayed by Waltheof, they could no longer regulate their conduct by the strict maxims of prudence. The earl of Hereford, as he was the first of the conspirators, so also was the first openly to raise his standard against the king. He, however, was hemmed in, and prevented from passing the Severn to carry rebellion into the heart of the kingdom, by the bishop of Worcester and the mitred abbot of Evesham in that county, aided by Walter de Lacy, a powerful Norman baron. The earl of Norfolk was defeated at Tragadus in Cambridgeshire, by Odo, the king's half-brother, who was left as regent of the kingdom, and Richard de Bienfaite and William de Warenne, the lords justiciaries. The earl of Norfolk was fortunate enough to escape to Norfolk, but those of his routed followers who were so unfortunate as to be made prisoners and not slain immediately after the action, were barbarously condemned to lose their right feet. When news of this rigour reached the earl in his Danish retreat, he gave up all hope of being able, as it would seem he had still in-

ended, to raise any further disturbance in England; he therefore proceeded to his large possessions in Brittany.

A.D. 1075.—When the news reached William of the conspiracy having actually broken out into open revolt he hastened over to England, where, however, so speedily was the premature and ill-managed outbreak put an end to, he only arrived in time to signalize his severity once more by the punishments which he inflicted upon the common herd of the rebels. Many of these unhappy wretches had their eyes put out, and still more were deprived of their right hands or feet, and thus made a perpetual and terrific warning against arousing the terrible anger of the king. The earl of Hereford, who was taken prisoner, and upon whom, as the primary cause of the revolt and the consequent misery and suffering, it might have been anticipated that the king's wrath would have fallen with deadly severity, escaped far better than the wretched peasants whom his imprudence had led into ruin. He was deprived of his estate and condemned to imprisonment during the king's pleasure. But the king gave evident signs of an intention to release the prisoner, whom he, in that case, would most probably have restored to his estate and to favour, but the impolitic and peculiarly ill-timed hauteur of the earl gave fresh offence to the fiery-tempered monarch, and the sentence of imprisonment was made perpetual.

Thus far Waltheof had felt no fear for himself. He had been guilty of no overt act of treason, and he had not only repented of the crime of conspiracy almost as soon as he had committed it, but had hastened to warn the king, who had received his information with great apparent thankfulness. But Waltheof left out of his calculation one very important point; he forgot to take into consideration the fatal fact of his being an Englishman. Moreover, he had the pleadings against him of his infamous wife Judith. The influence she had over her uncle would scarcely, perhaps, have sufficed to save her husband, unless powerfully backed by some other circumstances; but it was quite powerful enough, when added to that of the numerous courtiers who looked with greedy eyes upon the great property of Waltheof, to close the king's ears to the voice of mercy, and the unhappy Waltheof was tried and executed. We have not said that he was condemned; having said that he was tried, his condemnation need not be mentioned; for who, when the king wished his ruin, could in that age be tried and not condemned?

Waltheof, being universally considered the last Englishman of rank from whose exertions his unhappy fellow-countrymen could have hoped for any amelioration of their sufferings, was greatly lamented; nay, to such an extent was the popular grief carried, and so much was it mixed up with the superstition of the age, that his remains were supposed to be endued with the power of working miracles, and of thus indirectly, at least, bearing testimony to his sanctity and to the injustice of his execution. In proportion to the regret felt for the deceased earl was the public detestation of his widow. To that detestation retributive fortune soon added the loss of the king's favour, and the whole remainder of her life was spent in obscure and unpitied misery.

Having completely put an end to all disturbance in England, William now hastened over to Normandy to prepare to invade the possessions of Ralph de Gauder, earl of Norfolk. But that nobleman was so well supported by the earl of Brittany and the king of France, that he was able to maintain himself in the fortress of Dol against all the force that William could array against him. It was no part of William's policy to have any permanent or serious quarrel with the king of France; and finding that both that monarch and the earl of Brittany were resolutely bent upon supporting Ralph de Gauder, at whatever consequences, he wisely made a peace with all three.

A.D. 1076.—Lanfranc, raised by William to the archbishopric of Canter-

bury, was at once an ambitious man and a faithful and zealous servant of the papacy. Though he had been raised to his high station by the favour of the king, to whom he was really and gratefully attached, he would not allow the rights of the church to be in any wise infringed upon. On the death of Aldred, by whom it will be remembered that William had chosen to be crowned, Thomas, a Norman monk, was appointed to succeed him in the archbishopric of York. The new archbishop, probably presuming upon the king's favour, pretended that the archiepiscopal see of York had precedence and superiority to that of Canterbury. The fact of Aldred, his predecessor, having been called upon to crown the king, most probably weighed with the prelate of York; in which case he must have forgotten or wilfully neglected the circumstances of that case. Lanfranc did neither one nor the other; and, heedless of what the king might think or wish upon the subject, he boldly commenced a procession to the papal court, which, after the delay for which Rome was already proverbial, was terminated most triumphantly for Lanfranc. It will readily be supposed that under such a prelate the people of England were not allowed to lose any portion of their exorbitant respect for the papacy. William, indeed, was not a monarch to allow even the church, potent as it was, to master him. Very early in his reign he expressly forbade his subjects from acknowledging any one as pope until authorized to do so by the king; he required all canons of the synods to be submitted for his approval; and though even he did not deem it safe to dispute the right of the church to excommunicate evil-doers, he very effectually curbed that right, as applied to his own subjects, by ruling that no papal bull or letter should be held to be an authoritative or even an authentic document, until it should have received his sanction. It was rather, therefore, in imbuing the minds of the people with a solemn awe and reverence of the pope and the church, that Lanfranc was engaged during this reign; and in this he was so successful, that subsequent monarchs of less ability and firmness than William were grievously incommoded.

Gregory VII. probably pushed the power of the papacy over the temporal concerns of the kingdoms of Europe further than any previous pope. He excommunicated Nicephorus, the emperor of the east, and Robert Guiscard, the Norman conqueror of Naples; he took away from Poland her very rank as a kingdom; and he pretended to the right of parcelling out the territory of Spain among those adventurers who should conquer it from the Moors. Though he was boldly and ably opposed by the emperor Henry IV., he was not a whit deterred in his ambitious course; and even the warlike, able, and somewhat fierce character of William did not shield him from being assailed by the extravagant demands of Rome. Gregory wrote to him to demand the payment of Peter's pence, which Rome had converted into a rightful tribute, though a Saxon prince had originally given the contribution, so called, merely as a voluntary donation; and he had at the same time averred that William had promised to do homage to Rome, for his kingdom of England. William sent the money, but he plainly and somewhat tartly told the pope at the same time, that he had neither promised nor ever intended to do homage to Rome. The pope wisely forbore to press the subject; but though in addition to this plain refusal to comply with an unreasonable demand, William still further showed his independence by forbidding the English to attend a council which Gregory had summoned, he had no means, even had he himself been more free from superstition than he appears to have been, of preventing the progress of the clergy in subjecting the minds of the people. The greatest efforts were made to render the celibacy of the clergy general, and to give the appearance of additional sanctimoniousness to their outward life, in order the more deeply to impress the people with the notion of the genuine sanctity of their character

Prosperous as William was in his public affairs, he had much domestic trouble. He was obliged to remain for some years in Normandy, though as a residence he greatly preferred England. But his eldest son Robert, surnamed Courthose, on account of the shortness of his legs, made his father fear for the safety of Normandy. It appears that when Maine submitted to William, he promised the people of that province that they should have Robert for their prince; and when he set out to conquer England, he, in compliance with the wish of the French king, whom it was just then his especial interest and desire to satisfy, named Robert as his successor in the duchy of Normandy. He was well aware that doing this was his sole means of reconciling France to his conquest of England, but he had not the slightest intention of performing his promise Indeed, when he was subsequently asked by his son to put him in possession of Normandy, he ridiculed the young man's credulity by replying, in the vulgar proverb, that he did not intend to undress till he went to bed. The disappointment enraged the naturally bad temper of Robert; some quarrels with his brothers William and Henry, whom he hated for the superior favour they enjoyed with their father, inflamed him still farther, and he factiously did all that he could to thwart his father's wishes and interest in Normandy; nay, he was more than suspected of having, by his intrigues, confirmed the king of France and the earl of Brittany in their support of his rebellious vassal, the earl of Norfolk.

So thoroughly bent was Robert upon undutiful opposition to his father, that he seized upon the opportunity afforded by an extremely childish quarrel between himself and his brothers, in which he accused his father of partially siding against him, and hastened to Rouen, where he endeavored to surprise and seize the citadel. He was prevented from succeeding in this treason by the suspicion and activity of the governor, Roger de Ivery. Still bent upon this unnatural opposition, Robert retired to the castle of Hugh de Neuchatel, who not only gave him a hospitable reception, but assisted and encouraged him to make open war upon his sovereign and father. The fiery but generous character of Robert made him a very great favourite among the chivalrous Normans, and especially among the younger nobles of Normandy and the neighbouring provinces; and as Robert was supposed to be privately favoured by his mother, he had no difficulty in raising forces sufficient to throw his father's hereditary dominions into trouble and confusion for several years.

So troublesome did Robert and his adherents at length become, that William, growing seriously alarmed lest he should actually have the mortification and disgrace of seeing Normandy forcibly wrested from him by his own son, sent over to England for forces. They arrived under some of the veteran chiefs who had helped to conquer England; and the undutiful Robert was driven from the posts he had conquered, and compelled to take refuge in the castle of Gerberoy, which refuge the king of France, who had secretly counselled and abetted his misconduct, had provided for him. He was followed thither by his father in person, but the garrison being strong and well provided, the resistance was obstinate in proportion. Frequent sallies were made, and on one of these occasions Robert was personally opposed to his father, whom, from the king's visor being down, he did not recognize. The fight was fierce on both sides; and Robert, having the advantage of superior agility, wounded and unhorsed his father. The king shouted to one of his officers for aid to remount; and Robert recognizing his parent's voice, was so struck with horror at the narrow escape he had had of slaying the author of his being, that he threw himself upon his knees and entreated forgiveness for his misconduct. But the king was too deeply offended to be reconciled on the instant to his erring and penitent son, and, mounting Robert's horse, he rode to his own camp. The siege was shortly afterwards raised; and Queen Matilda hav-

ing succeeded in bringing about a reconciliation, the king not only allowed Robert to accompany him to England, but also entrusted him with an army to chastise the Scotch for some incursions they had made upon the northern parts of England. The Welsh who, as well as the Scotch, had taken advantage of the king's absence to make incursions, were now also chastised and brought into submission.

A.D. 1081.—Having both his Norman and English dominions now in a state of profound quiet, William turned his attention to the important object of a survey and valuation of the lands of England. Taking for his model the survey which had been made by order of Alfred, and which was deposited at Winchester, he had the extent, tenure, value, and kind of the land in each district carefully noted down, together with the names of the proprietors, and, in some cases, the names of the tenants, with the number, age, and sex of the cottagers and slaves. By good arrangement this important work, in despite of its great extent, was completed within six years, and, under the name of the Domesday Book, it to this day remains to give us the most accurate account of England at that time, with the exception of the northern provinces, which the ravages of war and William's own tyranny had reduced to such a wretched condition, that an account of them was not considered worth taking.

The king's acts were not always of so praiseworthy a character. Attached, like all Normans, to the pleasures of the chase, he allowed that pleasure to seduce him into cruelties more characteristic of a demon than a man. The game in the royal forests was protected by laws far more severe than those that protected the lives of human beings. He who killed a man could atone to the law by the payment of a pecuniary fine; but he who was so unhappy as to be detected in killing a deer, a boar, or even an insignificant hare, in the royal forest, had his eyes put out!

A.D. 1087.—The royal forests which William found on coming to England were very extensive; but not sufficiently so for his more than regal passion for the chase. His usual residence was at Winchester; and desiring to have a spacious forest in the immediate vicinity, he mercilessly caused no less an extent of country than thirty miles to be laid waste to form one. Houses, whole villages, churches, nay, even convents, were destroyed for this purpose; and a multitude of wretched people were thus without any compensation deprived of their homes and property, and cast upon the world, in many cases, to perish of want.

Besides the trouble which William had been caused by the petulance of his son Robert, he towards the end of his reign had two very great trials; the ungrateful conduct of his half brother Odo, bishop of Bayeux, and the death of Queen Matilda, to whom throughout he was most fervently attached. The presumption of Odo had led him not only to aim at the papal throne, but also to attempt to seduce some of William's nobles from their allegiance and accompany him to Italy. William ordered the proud prelate to be arrested; and finding that his officers, deterred by their fear of the church, were afraid to seize the bishop, he went in person to arrest him; and when Odo, mistakingly imagining that the king shared the popular prejudice, pleaded his sacred character, William drily replied, "I do not arrest the Bishop of Bayeux, but the earl of Kent"—which title William had bestowed upon him. He then sent him to Normandy, and there kept him in confinement. William's end, however now approached. Some incursions made upon Normandy by French knights, and a coarse joke passed upon his corpulence by the French king, so much provoked him, that he proceeded to lay waste the town of Mantes, with the avowed intention of carrying his rage still further. But while he watched the burning of the town his horse started, and the king was so severely bruised that he died a few days afterwards at the monastery of St. Ger- v . During his mortal illness he made great grants to churches and

monasteries, by way of atonement for the hideous cruelties of which he had been guilty; but, with the usual inconsistency of superstition, he could hardly be persuaded to accompany this ostentatious branch of penitence by the forgiveness and release of his half-brother Odo. He at length, however, though with a reluctance that did him no credit, consented to release and forgive Odo, and he at the same time gave orders for the release of Morcar and other eminent English prisoners. He had scarcely given these orders when he died, on the 9th of September, 1087, in the twenty-first year of his usurped reign over England.

Now that we have arrived at the close of William the Conqueror's reign, it may be as well before we proceed further with our narrative, to make a short digression relative to the genealogical right by which the future monarchs of England successively claimed the throne. The Norman conquest, as we have seen, introduced an entire change in the laws, language, manners, and customs. England began to make a more considerable figure among the nations of Europe than it had assumed previous to this important event; and it received a new race of sovereigns, which either by the male or female line has continued down to the present day. These monarchs were of several "houses" or families, according to the persons who espoused the princesses of England, and from such marriages gave to the nation its kings or queens, or according to the different branches into which the royal family was divided. Thus the NORMANS began with William the Conqueror, the head of the whole race, and ended with Henry I., in whom the male line failed. Stephen (generally included in the Norman line) was the only one of the house of BLOIS, from the marriage of Adela, the Conqueror's fourth daughter, with Stephen, earl of Blois. The PLANTAGENETS, or House of ANJOU, began with Henry II., from the marriage of Matilda or Maud, daughter of Henry I., with Geoffrey Plantagenet, earl of Anjou; and continued undivided to Richard II., inclusive. These were afterwards divided into the houses of LANCASTER and YORK; the former beginning with Henry IV., son of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, fourth son of Edward III., and ending with Henry VI. The latter began with Edward IV., son of Richard, duke of York, who on the father's side was grandson to Edmund de Langley, fifth son of Edward III., and by his mother descended from Lionel, third son of the said king; and ended in Richard III. The family of the TUDORS began with Henry VII., from the marriage of Margaret, great grand-daughter of John of Gaunt, with Edmund Tudor, earl of Richmond; and ended with Queen Elizabeth. The house of STUART began with James I., son of Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, and Mary, Queen of Scots, whose grandmother was Margaret, daughter to Henry VII., and ended with Queen Anne. William III. was the only one of the house of ORANGE, whose mother was Mary, daughter of Charles I. And the house of BRUNSWICK, now reigning, began with George I., whose grandmother was the princess Elizabeth, daughter of James I.

CHAPTER XV.

THE REIGN OF WILLIAM II.

A.D. 1087.—RICHARD, one of the Conqueror's sons, died before his father. To Robert his eldest son he left Normandy and Maine; to Henry he left only his mother's possessions, but consoled him for this by prophesying that he would in the end be both richer and more powerful than either of his brothers; and to William was left the most splendid of all his father's possessions, the crown of England, which the Conqueror, in a letter written on his death-bed, enjoined Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, to place upon his head. The young Prince William, who, from the

colour of his hair, was surnamed *Rufus*, was so anxious to avail himself of this letter, that he did not even wait at the monastery of St. Gervas long enough to receive his father's last breath, but hastened to England before the danger of the Conqueror was generally known, and obtained possession of the royal treasure at Winchester, amounting to £60,000 —a large sum at that time. He also possessed himself of the important fortresses of Pevensey, Hastings, and Dover, which from their situation could not fail to be of great service to him in the event of his right to the crown being disputed. Such dispute he, in fact, had all possible reason to expect. The manner in which Robert's right of primogeniture was completely set aside by an informal letter written upon a death-bed, when even the strongest minds may reasonably be supposed to be unsettled, was in itself sufficient to lead to some discontent, even had that prince been of a less fiery and fierce temper than his disputes with his father and brothers had already proved him to be. Lanfranc, who had educated the new king and was much attached to him, took the best means to render opposition of no effect. He called together some of the chief nobles and prelates, and performed the ceremony of the coronation in the most implicit obedience to the deceased Conqueror's letter. This promptitude had the desired effect. The partizans of Robert, if absence from England had left him any, made not the slightest attempt to urge his hereditary right; and he seemed to give his own sanction to the will of his father, by peaceably, and as a matter of course, assuming the government of Maine and Normandy which it conferred upon him.

But though no opposition was made to the accession of William Rufus at the time when, if ever, such opposition could reasonably have been made, namely, previous to his coronation, he was not long seated upon his throne before he experienced the opposition of some of the most powerful Norman nobles. Hatred of Lanfranc, and envy of his great power, actuated some of them; and many of them possessing property both in England and Normandy, were anxious that both countries should be united under Robert, foreseeing danger to their property in one or the other country whensoever the separate sovereigns should disagree. They held that Robert as eldest son, was entitled to both England and Normandy; and they were the more anxious for his success, because his careless and excessively generous temper promised them that freedom from interference upon which they set so high a value, and which the haughty and hard character of William Rufus threatened to deprive them of. Odo, bishop of Bayeux, and Robert, earl of Mortaigne, another half-brother of the Conqueror, urged these arguments upon some of the most eminent of the Norman nobility. Eustace, count of Boulogne, Roger Bigod, Hugh de Greatsmil, William, bishop of Durham, Robert de Moubray, and other magnates, joined in the conspiracy to dethrone William; and they severally put their castles into a state of defence. William felt the full value of promptitude. Even the domestic conspirators were powerful enough to warrant considerable alarm and anxiety, but the king's danger would be increased tenfold by the arrival of reinforcements to them from Normandy. The king therefore rapidly got together as strong a force as he could and marched into Kent, where Rochester and Pevensey were seized and garrisoned by his uncles Odo and Robert. He starved the conspirators at both places into submission, and he was strongly inclined to put the leaders to death; but the more humane counsel of William de Warenne and Robert Fitzhammond, who had joined him, prevailed upon him to content himself with confiscating the property of the offenders and banishing them from the kingdom. His success over the foremost men of the rebel party decided the struggle in his favour. His powerful fleet had by this time stationed itself upon the coast, so that Robert no longer had any opportunity to land the reinforcements his indolence had, so fatally

for his cause, delayed. The earl of Shrewsbury, upon whom the conspirators had greatly depended, was skilfully won over by the king; and the rest of the leaders became hopeless of success, and either fled from the country or made their submission. Some were pardoned, and others were very lightly punished; the majority were attainted, and their estates were bestowed upon those barons who had sided with the king while his crown was yet in danger.

As soon as he had completely broken up the confederacy which had so early threatened his throne, Rufus began to exhibit himself in his true nature towards his English subjects. As long as his cause was at all doubtful, he had promised the utmost kindness and consideration; and he especially won the support and the good wishes of his English subjects by promising a great relaxation of the odious forest laws of his predecessor. Now that he was secure, he not merely failed to mitigate the tyranny under which the people groaned, but he increased it. While Lanfranc lived, the zeal and ability of that prelate, added to the superstition of the age, rendered the property of the church sacred. But Lanfranc died soon after the accession of William Rufus, who made his own will the sole law for all orders of his subjects, whether lay or clerical. On the death of a bishop or abbot he either set the see or abbey up for open sale, as he would any other kind of property, or he delayed the appointment of a new bishop or abbot, and so kept the temporalities in hand for his own use. Such conduct produced much discontent and murmuring; but the power of the king was too great, and his cruel and violent temper was too well known, to allow the general discontent to assume a more tangible and dangerous form. So confident, indeed, did the king feel of his power in England, that he even thought it not unsafe to disturb the peace of his brother Robert in Normandy, where the licentious barons were already in a most disorderly state, owing to the imprudent indulgence and lenity of their generous and facile duke. Availing himself of this state of things, William bribed the governors of Albemarle and St. Valori, and thus obtained possession of those important fortresses.

He was also near obtaining possession of Rouen, but was defeated in that object by the singular fidelity of his brother Henry to Robert, under circumstances of no small provocation to very different conduct.

Henry, though he had inherited only some money out of all the vast possessions of his father, had lent Duke Robert three thousand marks to aid him in his attempt to wrest the crown of England from William. By way of security for this money, Henry was put in possession of considerable territory in Normandy: yet upon some real or pretended suspicion Robert not only deprived him of this, but also threw him into prison. Though he was well aware that Robert only at last liberated him in consequence of requiring his aid on the threatened invasion of England, Henry behaved most loyally. Having learnt that Conan, a very powerful and influential citizen of Rouen, had traitorously bargained to give up the city to King William, the prince took him to the top of a lofty tower, and with his own hand threw him over the battlements.

The king at length landed a numerous army in Normandy, and the state of things became serious and threatening indeed as regarded the duke. But the intimate connection and mutual interests of the leading men on both sides favoured him, and a treaty was made, by which the English king on one hand obtained the territory of Eu, and some other territorial advantages, while, on the other hand, he engaged to restore those barons who were banished from England for espousing the cause of Robert in the late revolt, and to assist his brother against the people of Maine who had revolted. It was further agreed, under the witness and guarantee of twelve of the chief barons on either side, that whoever of the two brothers should survive should inherit the possessions of the other.

In all this treaty not a word was inserted in favour of Prince Henry who naturally felt indignant at being so much neglected by his brother Robert, from whom he certainly had merited better treatment. Withdrawing from Rouen, he fortified himself at St. Michael's Mount, on the Norman coast, and sent out plundering parties, who greatly annoyed the whole neighbourhood. Robert and William besieged him here, and during the siege an incident occurred which goes to show that Robert's neglect to his brother was owing rather to carelessness than to any real want of generous feeling. Henry and his garrison were so much distressed for water that they must have speedily submitted. When this was told to Robert, he not only allowed his brother to supply himself with water but also sent him a considerable quantity of wine. William, who could not sympathize with this chivalrous feeling, reproached Robert with being imprudent. "What!" replied the generous duke, "should I suffer our brother to die of thirst? Where shall we find another when he is gone?" But this temporary kindness of Robert did not prevent the unfortunate Henry from being pressed so severely that he was obliged to capitulate, and was driven forth, with his handful of attendants, almost destitute of money and resources.

A.D. 1091.—Robert, who was now in strict alliance with the king and brother who had so lately invaded his duchy with the most hostile intentions, was entrusted with the chief command of an English army, which was sent over the border to compel Malcolm to do homage to the crown of England. In this enterprise Robert was completely successful.

A.D. 1093.—But both peace and war were easily and quickly terminated in this age. Scarcely two years had elapsed from Malcolm's submission and withdrawal of the English troops, when he invaded England. Having plundered and wasted a great portion of Northumberland, he laid siege to Alnwick castle, where he was surprised by a party of English under the earl de Moubray, and in the action which followed Malcolm perished.

A.D. 1094.—William constantly kept his attention fixed upon Normandy The careless and generous temper of his brother Robert, and the licentious nature of the Norman barons, kept that duchy in constant uneasiness and William took up his temporary abode there, to encourage his own partizans and be ready to avail himself of anything that might seem to favour his designs upon his brother's inheritance. While in Normandy the king raised the large sum of ten thousand pounds by a roguish turn of ingenuity. Being, from the nature of the circumstances in which he was placed, far more in want of money than in the want of men, he sent orders to his minister, Ralph Flambard, to raise an army of twenty thousand men, and march it to the coast, as if for instant embarkation. It is to be supposed that not a few of these men thus suddenly levied for foreign service were far more desirous of staying at home; and when the army reached the coast, these were gratified by the information that on the payment of ten shillings to the king, each man was at liberty to return to his home. With the money thus obtained, William bribed the king of France and some of those who had hitherto sided with Robert, but before he could gain any decisive advantage from his Machiavelian policy, he was obliged to hasten over to England to repel the Welsh, who had made an incursion during his absence.

A.D. 1095.—While William had been so discreditably busy in promoting discord in the duchy of his brother, his own kingdom had not been free from intrigues. Robert de Moubray, earl of Northumberland, the Count D'Eu, Roger de Lacey, and many other powerful barons, who had been deeply offended by the king's haughty and despotic temper, were this year detected in a conspiracy which had for its object the dethronement of the king in favour of Stephen, count of Aumale, and nephew of William the Conqueror. With his usual promptitude, William, on gaining intelli

gence of the conspiracy, took measures to defeat it. De Moubray was surprised before he had completed his preparations, and though he resisted gallantly he was overpowered and thrown into prison. Attainder and forfeiture followed as a matter of course, and for the long period of thirty years the unfortunate noble lingered in prison, where he died. The Count D'Eu, who also was surprised, firmly denied his participation in the conspiracy, and challenged Geoffrey Baynard, by whom he had been accused, to mortal combat. The count was defeated, and the brutal sentence upon him was castration and deprivation of sight. The historians speak of William de Alderi, another of the conspirators, who was hanged, as having been more severely dealt with ; but we think most people would consider that death was among the most merciful of the sentences of this cruel and semi-barbarous age.

A war, or rather a series of wars, now commenced, to which all the skirmishes of Scotland, and Wales, and Normandy, were to prove as mere child's play in comparison. We allude to the first crusade, or holy war, the most prominent events of which we have given in our brief "Outline of General History." Priest and layman, soldier and trader, noble and peasant, all were suddenly seized with an enthusiasm little short of madness. Men of all ranks and almost of all ages took to arms. A holy war, a crusade of the Christians against the infidels ; a warfare at once righteous and perilous, where valour fought under the sacred symbol of the cross, so dear to the Christian and so hateful to the infidel! Nothing could have more precisely and completely suited the spirit of an age in which it was difficult to say whether courage or superstition were the master-passion of all orders of men.

The temper of Robert, duke of Normandy, was not such as to allow him to remain unmoved by the fierce enthusiasm of all around him. Brave even to rashness, and easily led by his energetic but ill-disciplined feelings to fall into the general delusion, which combined all the attractions of chivalry with all the urgings of a mistaken and almost savage piety, he very early added his name to that of the Christian leaders who were to go forth to the rescue of the holy sepulchre and the chastisement of heathenism. But when, in the language of that book which laymen of his period but little read, he "sat down to count the cost," he speedily discovered that his life-long carelessness and profusion had left him destitute of journeying to the east in the style or with the force which would become his rank. It was now that the cooler and more sordid temper of William of England gave that monarch the fullest advantage over his improvident and headstrong brother, who recklessly mortgaged his duchy to William for the comparatively insignificant sum of ten thousand marks. William raised the money by means of the most unblushing and tyrannous imposts upon his subjects, and was forthwith put in possession of Normandy and and Maine ; while Robert, expending his money in a noble outfit, proceeded to the east, full of dreams of temporal glory to be obtained by the self-same slaughter of pagans which would insure his eternal salvation. Though William was thus ready, with a view to his own advantage, to expedite the departure of his brother to the Holy Land, he was himself not only too free from the general enthusiasm to go thither himself, but he also, and very wisely, discouraged his subjects from doing so. He seems, indeed, though sufficiently superstitious to be easily worked upon by the clergy when he deemed his life in danger, to have been careless about religion even to the verge of impiety. More than one unbecoming jest upon religion is on record against him; but we may, perhaps, safely believe that the clergy, the sole historians of the times, with whom his arbitrary and ungovernable nature made him no favourite, have painted him in this respect somewhat worse than he was.

It was in one of his fits of superstition that, believing himself on the

point of death, he was at length induced to fill up the archbishopric of Canterbury, which he had kept unfilled from the death of Lanfranc. In terror of his supposed approaching death he conferred this dignity upon Anselm, a pious and learned Norman abbot. Anselm at first refused the promotion, even in tears; but when he at length accepted it, he abundantly proved that he was not inclined to allow the interests of the church to lack any defence or watchfulness. His severity of demeanour and life, and his unsparing sternness towards every thing that either reason or superstition pointed out as profane and of evil report were remarkable. He spared not in censure even the king himself, and as William, on recovering from the illness which caused him to promote Anselm, very plainly showed that he was not a jot more pious or just than before, disputes very soon grew high between the king and the archbishop whom he had taken so much trouble to persuade into acceptance of dignity and power. The church was at this time much agitated by a dispute between Urban and Clement. Each maintained himself to be the true, and his opponent the anti-pope. While yet only an abbot in Normandy, Anselm had acknowledged the authority of Urban; and he now in his higher dignity and wider influence, still espoused his cause, and resolved to establish his authority in England. As the law of the Conqueror was still in force that no pope should be acknowledged in England until his authority should have received the sanction of the king, William determined to make this disobedience the pretext upon which to endeavour to deprive the archbishop of his high ecclesiastical dignity. The king accordingly summoned a synod at Rockingham, and called upon it to depose Anselm. But the assembled suffragans declined to pass the required sentence, declaring that they knew of no authority by which they could do so without the command of the pope, who alone could release them from the respect and obedience which they owed to their primate. While the case was in this state of incertitude and pause, some circumstances arose which rendered it expedient for William to acknowledge the legitimacy of Urban's election to the papal throne, but the apparent reconciliation which this produced between the king and Anselm was but of short duration. The main cause of grievance, though itself removed by the reconciliation of William and the pope, left behind an angry feeling which required only a pretext to burst forth, and that pretext the haughty state despotism of William and the no less haughty church zeal of Anselm speedily furnished.

We mentioned among the numerous despotic arrangements of the Conqueror, his having required from bishopries and abbeys the same feudal service in the field as from lay baronies of like value. William Rufus in this, as in all despotism, followed closely upon the track left by his father; and having resolved upon an expedition into Wales, he called upon Anselm for his regulated quota of men. Anselm, in common with all the churchmen, deemed this species of servitude very grievous and unbecoming to churchmen; but the despotic nature of William, and that feeling of feudal submission which, next to submission to the church, seems to have been the most powerful and irresistible feeling in those days, prevented him from giving an absolute refusal. He therefore took a middle course; he sent his quota of men, indeed, but so insufficiently accoutred and provided that they were utterly useless and a disgrace to the well-appointed force of which they were intended to form a part. The king threatened Anselm with a prosecution for this obviously intentional and insulting evasion of the spirit of his duty while complying with its mere letter, and the prelate retorted by a demand for the restoration of the revenue of which his see had been arbitrarily and unfairly deprived by the king, appealing to the pope at the same time for protection and a just decision. The king's violent temper was so much inflamed by the prelate's opposi-

tion, that the friends of Anselm became alarmed for his personal safety, and application was made to the king for permission for the prelate to leave the country, a permission which he readily gave, as the best way at once to rid himself of an opponent whose virtuous and religious character made him both troublesome and dangerous, and to obtain possession temporarily, at the very least, of the whole of the rich temporalities of the see of Canterbury. Upon these he seized accordingly, but Anselm, whom the papal court looked upon as a martyr in the cause of the church, met with such a splendid reception at Rome as left him little to regret in a worldly point of view.

A. D. 1097.—Though freed from the vexatious opposition of the indomitable and upright churchman, William was not even now to enjoy repose; if, indeed, repose would have been a source of enjoyment to a temper so fierce and turbulent. Though his cooler judgment had enabled him to obtain Normandy and Maine from his thoughtless and prodigal brother, it did not enable him to keep in subjection the turbulent and almost independent barons of those provinces. They were perpetually in a state of disorder, either from personal quarrels or as the result of the artful instigations of the king of France, who lost no opportunity of inciting them to revolt against the king of England. Among the most troublesome of these barons was Helie, lord of La Fleche, a comparatively small town and territory in the province of Anjou. He was very popular among the people of Maine; and though William several times went from England for the express purpose of putting him down, Helie as constantly returned to his old courses the moment the monarch had returned home. William at length took Helie prisoner, but at the intercession of the king of France and the earl of Anjou he gave him his liberty. Untamed either by the narrow escape he had had from death in being released from the hands of so passionate and resolute a prince as William, Helie again commenced his plundering and destroying course, took possession, with the connivance of the citizens, of the town of Mans, and laid siege to the garrison which remained faithful to the king of England. William was engaged in his favourite pursuit of hunting in the New Forest when he received this intelligence, and he was so transported with fury that he galloped immediately to Dartmouth and hurried on board a vessel. The weather was so stormy and threatening that the sailors were unwilling to venture from port; but the king, with a good-humoured recklessness and scorn, assured them that kings were never drowned, and compelled them to set sail. This promptitude enabled him to arrive in time to raise the siege of Mans, and he pursued Helie to Majol; but he had scarcely commenced the siege of that place when he received so severe a wound that it rendered it necessary for him to return to England.

A. D. 1100.—The crusading mania was still as strong as ever. William, duke of Poictiers and earl of Guienne, emulous of the fame of the earlier crusaders and wholly untaught by their misfortunes, raised an immense force—some historians say as many as sixty thousand cavalry and a much larger number of infantry. To convey such a force to the Holy Land required no small sum of money, and Count William offered to mortgage his dominions to William of England, to whom alone of all the lay sovereigns of Europe, the crusades promised to be truly profitable. The king gladly agreed to advance the money, in the confident belief that it would never be in the power of the mortgager to redeem his provinces, and was in the very act of preparing the necessary force to escort the money, and to take possession of the provinces, when an accident, famous in history, caused his death.

The New Forest, planted by the most iniquitous cruelty, was very fatal to the Conqueror's family; so much so, as to leave us little reason to

wonder that, in so superstitious an age, it was deemed that there was a special and retributive fate in the royal deaths which occurred there. Richard, elder brother of King William Rufus, was killed there, as was Richard, a natural son of Duke Robert of Normandy. William Rufus was now a third royal victim. He was hunting there when an arrow shot by Walter Tyrrel, a Norman favourite of the monarch, struck a tree and, glancing off, pierced the breast of the king, who died on the spot. The unintentional homicide dreading the violent justice which the slayer of a king was likely to experience, no sooner saw the result of his luckless shot, than he galloped off to the sea shore and crossed over to France, whence he with all speed departed for the Holy land. His alarm and flight, though perfectly natural, were, in fact, quite needless. William was little beloved even by his immediate attendants and courtiers; and his body when found was hastily and carelessly interred in Winchester, without any of the gorgeous and expensive ceremony which usually marks the obsequies of a powerful monarch.

London Bridge—taken down only a very few years since, and Westminster Hall, were built by this monarch. For the last-named structure, which has the largest roof in the world unsupported by pillars, he obtained the timber from Ireland, which at that time was very celebrated for its timber of all kinds, but especially for the very durable and beautiful sort known by the name of bog oak.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE REIGN OF HENRY I.

William Rufus, who died on the second of August, 1100, in the fortieth year of his age and the thirtieth of his reign, left no legitimate issue, and was succeeded by his brother Henry, who was of the hunting party at which the king lost his life.

Robert, duke of Normandy, who as the elder brother of the deceased king had a preferable claim to that of Henry, was, as has already been related, one of the chief and most zealous leaders of the crusaders. After slaughter terrible merely to think of, and sufferings from famine and disease such as the pen of even a Thucydides would but imperfectly describe, the crusaders had obtained possession of Jerusalem. Solyman, the Turkish emperor, was thoroughly defeated in two tremendous battles, and Nice, the seat of his government, was captured after an obstinate siege. The soldan of Egypt, however, succeeded the Turkish emperor in the possession of Jerusalem, and he offered to allow free ingress and egress to all Christian pilgrims who chose to visit the holy sepulchre *unarmed*. But the religious zeal of the champions of the cross was far too highly inflamed by their recent triumphs over the crescent to allow of their accepting this compromise; they haughtily demanded the cession of the city altogether, and, on his refusal, siege was laid to it. For five weeks the soldan defended himself with the utmost coolness and valour against the assaults of highly-disciplined and veteran troops, whose military ardour was now excited to the utmost by fanaticism. But at the end of that time the zeal and fury of the Christians prevailed; Jerusalem was carried by assault, and a scene of carnage and suffering ensued which might almost bear comparison with that earlier and dread scene in the same city, of which we owe the undying narrative to Josephus. Nor was the carnage confined even to the furious and maddened first hours of success. Long after the streets of the holy city were strewed with carcasses, and upon every hearth lay the dead forms of those who had vainly endeavoured to defend them—long after the pulses of the warrior had ceased

to be quickened by the perilous assault, and his better nature to be stifled by the irritation of resistance—an unarmed rabble of ten thousand people, of both sexes and all ages, to whom quarter had been promised as the reward of submission, were treacherously and brutally murdered in cold blood by ruffians who soon after knelt in tearful rapture at the sepulchre of him who died, lamb-like, for the salvation of all! Awful indeed, the contrast between the professed motive of this holy war and the conduct of the warriors!

The city of Jerusalem was taken just about twelve months previous to the death of William Rufus, and the crusaders, having elected Godfrey of Boulogne king of Jerusalem, and settled other nobles and knights in the Holy Land, returned to Europe. Had Robert, duke of Normandy, hastened home direct, he probably would have been able to prevent the usurpation of England by his younger brother. His knowledge of the character of William Rufus might naturally have been expected to hurry him home by anxiety about Normandy; but Robert was to the full as careless as he was brave. Passing through Italy he fell in love with and married a noble lady, Sibylla, daughter of the Count of Conversana, and remained a whole year in her native clime, abandoning himself to the delights of love and that most delicious country, while his friends in England—and his natural character, as well as the fame of his achievments in the east, made them very numerous—were in vain hoping that he would arrive to defeat the unjust ambition of Henry. The latter prince was as alert as his brother was indolent. The instant that he ascertained the death of his brother, he galloped into Winchester and seized upon the royal treasure. De Breteuil, the keeper, endeavoured to secure it, and remonstrated with the prince on the absolute treason of seizing the treasure and crown, which belonged of right to his elder brother, who was no less his sovereign for being absent. But Henry, whose friends hastened to support him, threatened to put De Breteuil to death if he attempted any resistance to his will, and, hastening to London with the money, he made so judiciously prodigal a use of it, alike among friends in fact and foes by inclination, that he easily obtained himself to be elected king by acclamation, and he was crowned by Maurice, bishop of London, within three days of his brother's sudden and violent death. Title to the throne it is quite plain that Henry had none. But he now had possession; and as his judicious bribery had procured him, at the least, the ostensible support of all the most eminent and powerful barons, even the most sincere and zealous friends of the absent Robert were obliged to confess, however sorrowfully, that his own indolence had deprived him of all possibility of obtaining the throne from his more active and enterprising brother, unless at the fearful expense of a civil war.

Politic as he was resolute, Henry felt that, obtained as his crown had been by the most flagrant and unqualified usurpation, he would, at the outset of his reign at least, be best secured against any attempts which in mere desperation his brother might make to dethrone him, by the affection of the great body of the people as well as of the nobles. To obtain this, the tyrannies of his immediate predecessors afforded an ample and easy scope.

"Besides," says Hume, "taking the usual coronation oath to maintain the laws and execute justice, he passed a CHARTER which was calculated to remedy many of the grievous oppressions which had been complained of during the reigns of his father and brother. He there promised that at the death of any bishop or abbot he never would seize the revenues of the see or abbey during the vacancy, but would leave the whole to be reaped by the successor, and that he would never let to farm any ecclesiastical benefice, nor dispose of it for money. After this concesssion to the church whose favour was of so great importance to him, he proceeded to enumer-

ate the civil grievances which he purposed to redress. He promised that upon the death of any earl, baron, or military tenant, his heir should be admitted to the possession of his estate on paying a just and lawful relief, without being exposed to such violent exactions as had been usual during the late reigns—he remitted the wardship of minors, and allowed guardians to be appointed who should be answerable for the trust—he promised not to dispose of any heiress in marriage but by the advice of all the barons, and if any baron intended to give his daughter, sister, niece, or other kinswoman in marriage, it should only be necessary for him to consult the king, who promised to take no money for his consent, nor even to refuse permission, unless the person to whom it was purposed to marry her should be his enemy. He granted his barons and military tenants the power of bequeathing by will their money or personal estates, and if they neglected to make a will, he promised that their heirs should succeed to them. He renounced the right of imposing moneyage and of levying taxes at pleasure on the farms which the barons retained in their own hands, and he made some general professions of moderating fines, offered a pardon for all offences, and remitted all the debts due to the crown. He required that the vassals of the barons should enjoy the same privileges which he granted to his own barons; and he promised a general confirmation and observance of the laws of King Edward. This is the substance of the chief articles contained in that famous charter."

Though, to impress the people with the notion of his great anxiety for the full publicity and exact performance of these gracious promises, Henry caused a copy of this charter to be placed in an abbey in every county, his subsequent conduct shows that he never intended it for anything but a lure, by which to win the support of the barons and people, while that support as yet appeared desirable to his cause. The grievances which he so ostentatiously promised to redress were continued during his whole reign; and as regards the charter itself, so completely neglected was it, that when in their disputes with the tyrant John, the English barons were desirous to make it the standard by which to express their demands, scarcely a copy of it could be found.

The popularity of the king at the commencement of his reign owed not a little of its warmth to his just and politic dismissal and imprisonment of Ralph Flambard, bishop of Durham, who, as principal minister and favourite of William Rufus, had been guilty of great oppression and cruelty, especially in raising money. The Dudley and Empson of a later reign were scarcely more detested than this man was, and nothing could be more agreeable to the people than his degradation and punishment. But the king, apart from his politic desire to gratify the public resentment against his brother's chief and most unscrupulous instrument of oppression, seems to have had his own pecuniary advantage chiefly in view. Instead of immediately appointing a successor to the bishopric, he kept it vacant for five years, and during all that time he, in open contempt of the positive promise of his charter, applied the revenues of the see to his own use.

This shameful invasion of the rights of the church, however, did not prevent him from otherwise seeking its favour. Well aware of the high rank which Anselm held in the affections of both the clergy and the people, he strongly invited him to leave Lyons—where he now lived in great state—and resume his dignity in England. But the king accompanied this invitation with a demand that Anselm should renew to him the homage he had formerly paid to his brother. Anselm, however, by his residence at Rome, had learned to look with a very different eye now upon that homage which formerly he had considered as so mere and innocuous a form, and he returned for answer, that he not only would not pay homage himself, but he would not even communicate with any of the clergy who should do so, or who would accept of lay investiture. However much mortified

Henry was at finding the exiled prelate thus resolute, he was too anxious for the support and countenance of Anselm—which if thrown into the scale for Robert might at some future time prove so formidable—to insist upon his own proposal. He therefore agreed that all controversy on the subjects should be referred to Rome; and Anselm was restored to his dignity, and, undoubtedly, all the more powerful both from the circumstances which led to his exile and those which accompanied his return. His authority was scarcely re-established when it was appealed to upon a subject of the highest interest to the king himself. Matilda, daughter of Malcolm III., king of Scotland and niece of Edgar Atheling, had been educated in the nunnery of Ramsay. Well knowing how dear the royal Saxon lineage of this lady made her to the English nation, Henry proposed to espouse her. It is a striking instance of the extent to which the public mind was enslaved by Rome, that the mere residence and education of this princess in a convent, the mere wearing of the veil without ever having taken or intended to take the vows, seemed to make it doubtful whether she could lawfully contract matrimony! So it, however, was; and a solemn council of prelates and nobles was held at Lambeth to determine the point. This council was held so soon after the restoration of Anselm to his dignity, that we may, without great breach of charity, suspect that a desire to secure the support of Anselm upon this very subject was at least one of the motives, if not the chief one, by which the king was actuated in recalling him. Before this council Matilda stated that she had never contemplated taking the vows, and that she had only worn the veil, as it was quite commonly worn by the English ladies, as a safeguard from the violence of the Norman soldiery. As it was well known that against such violence even an English princess really had no other secure guard, the council determined that the wearing of the veil by Matilda had in no wise pledged her to or connected her with any religious sisterhood, and that she was as free to marry as though she had never worn it. Henry and Matilda were married. The ceremony was performed by Anselm, and was accompanied with great and gorgeous rejoicing. This marriage more than any other of his politic arrangements attached the English people to him. Married to a Saxon princess, he seemed to them to have acquired a greater right to the throne than any Norman prince, without that recommendation, could draw from any other circumstances.

A.D. 1101.—It soon appeared, that, great as Henry's care had been to fortify himself in the general heart of the people, it had been neither unnecessary nor excessive. Robert, who had wasted so much time in Italy, returned to Normandy about a month after the death of his brother Rufus. Henry had given no orders and made no preparations to oppose Robert's resumption of the duchy of Normandy. Possessed of that *point d'appui*, and being much endeared to the warlike Norman barons by his achievements in the Holy Land, Robert immediately commenced preparations for invading England, and wresting his birthright from the usurping hands of his brother. Nor were the wishes for his success confined to those barons who chiefly or wholly lived in Normandy. On the contrary, many of the great barons of England decidedly preferred Robert to Henry; and feeling the same dislike to holding their English and Norman possessions under two sovereigns which had been so strongly expressed at the accession of William, they secretly encouraged Robert, and sent him assurances that they would join him with their levies as soon as he should land in England. Among these nobles were Robert de Belesme, earl of Shrewsbury, William de Warenne, earl of Surrey, Hugh de Greatmesuil, Robert de Mallet, and others of the very highest and most powerful men in England. The enthusiasm in his favour extended to the navy; and when Henry had, with great expense and exertion, made a fleet ready to oppose his brother's landing, the seamen deserted with the greater number

of the ships, and put themselves and their vessels at the disposal of Robert. This incident gave the king great alarm, lest the army, too, should desert him, in which case not only his crown but his life would be in the most imminent danger. Henry, notwithstanding this peril, preserved his coolness, and did not allow, as men too frequently do, the greatness of the danger to turn away his attention from the best means of meeting and overcoming it. Well knowing the superstition of the people, he considered nothing lost while he could command the immense influence which Anselm had over the public mind. Accordingly he redoubled his court to that prelate, and succeeded in making him believe in the sincerity of his professed design and desire to rule justly and mildly. What he himself firmly believed, Anselm diligently and eloquently inculcated upon the minds of others; and as his influence and exertions were seconded by those of Roger Bigod, Robert Fitzhammond, the earl of Warwick, and other powerful nobles who remained faithful to Henry, the army was kept in good humour, and marched in good order, and with apparent zeal as well as cheerfulness, to Portsmouth, where Robert had landed.

Though the two armies were in face of each other for several days, not a blow was struck; both sides seeming to feel reluctant to commence a civil war. Anselm and other influential men on either side took advantage of this pause to bring about a treaty between the brothers; and, after much argument and some delay, it was agreed that Henry should retain the crown of England, and pay an annual pension of three thousand marks to Robert; that the survivor should succeed to the deceased brother's possessions; that they should mutually abstain from encouraging or harbouring each others enemies; and that the adherents of both in the present quarrel should be undisturbed in their possessions and borne harmless for all that had passed.

A. D. 1102.—Though Henry agreed with seeming cheerfulness to this treaty, which in most points of view was so advantageous to him, he signed it with a full determination to break through at least one of its provisions. The power of his nobles had been too fully manifested to him in their encouragement of Robert to admit of his being otherwise than anxious to break it. The earl of Shrewsbury, as one of the most powerful and also the most active of those who had given their adhesion to Robert, was first fixed upon by Henry to be made an example of the danger of offending kings. Spies were set upon his every word and action, and his bold and haughty character left them but little difficulty in finding matter of offence. No fewer than five-and-forty articles were exhibited against him. He was too well aware both of the truth of some of the charges, and of the rigid severity with which he would be judged, to deem it safe to risk a trial. He summoned all the friends and adherents he could command, and threw himself upon the chances of war. But these were unfavourable to him. In the influence which Anselm possessed, and which he zealously exerted on behalf of the king, Henry had a most potent means of defence, and he with little difficulty reduced the earl to such straits, that he was glad to leave the kingdom with his life. All his great possessions were of course confiscated, and they afforded the king welcome means of purchasing new friends, and securing the fidelity of those who were his friends already.

A. D. 1103.—The ruin of the earl of Shrewsbury produced that of his brothers, Roger, earl of Lancaster, and Arnulf de Montgomery. But the vengeance or the policy of the king required yet more victims. Robert de Pontefract, Robert de Mallet, and William de Warenne were prosecuted, and the king's power secured their condemnation; and William, earl of Cornwall, though son of the king's uncle, was deprived of all his large property in England. The charges against these noblemen were artfully made, not upon their conduct towards the king in his dispute with

his brother, but upon their misconduct towards their vassals. In this respect, indeed, they were guilty enough, as all the Norman barons were; but it was not this guilt, which was equally chargeable upon the king's firmest and most powerful defenders, for which they were prosecuted and ruined. Robert of Normandy, with his characteristic generosity and imprudence, was so indignant at the persecution of his friends, whose chief crime in the king's eyes he well knew to be the friendship they had shown to himself, that he crossed over to England and sharply rebuked his brother with the shameful and ill-veiled breach of a principal part of their treaty. Confident in his kingly power, Henry was but little affected by the just and eloquent reproaches of his brother. On the contrary, he so clearly gave him to understand how far his imprudent rashness in venturing to England had compromised his own safety, that Robert was glad to get liberty to return to Normandy at the expense of making a formal resignation of his pension.

The time soon came for Henry to complete the ruin of the brother whom he had already despoiled of the fairest and most precious portion of his inheritance. The imprudent thoughtlessness and levity of Robert not merely affected his conduct as far as he himself was concerned; it made him wholly unfit to rule, and opened the widest possible doors to the needy and the profligate, the avaricious and the tyrannical among his turbulent and unprincipled barons to plunder him, as well as to rob and then ill-treat his unfortunate subjects. A monarch who was so utterly careless that his domestic servants plundered him, not merely of the little money which his prodigal habits left to him, but even of his clothes and furniture, was but ill fitted to preserve his subjects from the ill-treatment of the most licentious nobility in all Europe. And it was very natural, that when the more thoughtful and observant among the Normans contrasted the loose government of Robert—if indeed it deserved the name of a government at all—with the steady, firm, and orderly rule of Henry over a much larger and more important state, they should begin to think, and to whisper, too, that even a usurper, such as Henry, was far better for the welfare of his subjects, than such a legitimate, but utterly incapable, ruler as the good-natured and generous, but extravagant and debauched Robert. Disorders at length rose to such a height in Normandy, as to give Henry a pretext for going over, nominally to mediate between the opposing parties, but, in reality, personally to observe how far affairs were in train to admit of his depriving his brother of the duchy altogether. Skilled in every art of intrigue, and having both the means and the will to bribe most profusely, Henry soon formed a strong party; and having returned to England and raised the necessary force by the most shameless and unsparing extortion, he, in 1105, landed again in Normandy, no longer under the hypocritical pretence of mediating, but with the avowed purpose of conquering, if possible. He laid siege to Bayeux, and, although obstinately and bravely resisted, at length took that place by storm. Caen he prepared to besiege, but it was surrendered to him by the inhabitants. He then laid siege to Falaise, but here he was successfully opposed until the setting in of the winter compelled him to raise the siege.

A. D. 1106.—With the return of favourable weather Henry returned to Normandy and recommenced his operations, opening the campaign with the siege of Tinchebray with a force so mighty that it was quite evident he contemplated nothing short of the entire subjugation of Normandy. It required all the success that Henry had as yet achieved, and all the persuasions of his own friends, to arouse Robert from his lethargy of natural indolence and sensual pleasure. But once roused, he showed that the warrior had slumbered, indeed, in his heart, but was not dead. Aided by Robert de Belesme, and by the earl of Mortaigne, the king's uncle

who was inveterately opposed to Henry on account of his treatment of Mortaigne's son, William, earl of Cornwall, Robert speedily raised a powerful force and marched against his brother, in the hope of putting an end to their controversies in a single battle. Animated at being led by the valiant prince whose feats on the plains of Palestine had struck terror into Pagan hearts, and won the applause of Christian Europe, Robert's troops charged so boldly and so well, that the English were thrown into confusion. Had the Norman success been well followed up by the whole of their force, nothing could have saved the English army from defeat and destruction. But the troops of Roger de Belesme were suddenly and most unaccountably seized with a panic, which communicated itself to the rest of the Normans. Henry and his friends skilfully and promptly availed themselves of this sudden turn in the state of affairs, charged the enemy again and again, and entirely routed them, killing vast numbers and making ten thousand prisoners, among whom was Robert himself.

This great victory gained by Henry was soon after crowned by the surrender of Rouen and Falaise; and Henry now became completely master of Normandy, having also got into his power Robert's son, the young prince William, who was unfortunately in Falaise when that important post surrendered. As though there had been nothing of violence or unfairness in his conduct, Henry now convoked the states of Normandy and received their homage as though he had been rightfully their duke; after which, having dismantled such fortresses as he deemed dangerous to his interests, and revoked the grants which Robert's foolish facility had induced him to make, he returned to England, taking his unfortunate brother with him as a prisoner, and committing young William to the custody of Helie de St. Laen, who had married Robert's natural daughter, and who treated the captive prince with a tenderness and respect which do him the highest honour. Robert himself was committed to the custody of the governor of Cardiff castle in Wales, where for twenty-eight years, the whole remainder of his life, he remained a melancholy spectacle of fallen greatness, and a striking example of the uselessness of courage without conduct, and of the danger of generosity if unregulated by prudence.

At the battle of Tinchebray, so fatal to Duke Robert, his friend Edgar Atheling was taken prisoner. Though on more than one occasion this prince gave signal proofs of bravery, both his friends and his enemies seem to have held his intellect in considerable contempt. The two Williams and Henry I., princes of such different qualities, yet so perfectly agreeing in despotic and jealous tempers, equally held his powers of exciting the English to revolt in the utmost scorn. Though his Saxon descent could not but endear him to the English people, and though both at home and in the Holy Land he had proved himself to possess very high courage, there was so general and apparently so well founded an opinion of his deficiency in the higher intellectual qualities, that neither did the Saxons look up to him, as otherwise they gladly would have done, as a a rallying point, nor did the Normans honour him with their suspicious fear. Even now when Henry, whose treatment of his own brother sufficiently proves how inexorable he could be where he saw cause to fear injury to his interests, had so fair an excuse for committing Edgar to safe custody, he showed his entire disbelief of that prince's capacity, by allowing him to enjoy his full liberty in England, and even granting him a pension.

A. D. 1107.—Henry's politic character and his judgment were both eminently displayed in managing his very delicate dispute with the pope on the subject of ecclesiastical investitures. While showing the most profound external respect, and even affection, to both the pope and Archbishop Anselm, Henry proceeded to fill the vacant sees concerning which

there was dispute. But Anselm, though he had been on many important occasions a staunch and useful friend to the king, was far too good a churchman to brook disobedience to the papal authority, even when that disobedience was veiled by smiles, and couched in gentle and holiday terms. He refused to communicate with, far less to consecrate, the bishops invested by the king; and those prelates saw themselves exposed to so much obloquy by their opposition to so revered a personage as Anselm, that they resigned their dignities into the king's hands. The complete defeat of a scheme which he had prosecuted with such dexterous and painful art, deprived the king of his usual command of temper, and he let fall such significant threats towards all opponents of his authority, that Anselm became alarmed for his personal safety, and demanded permission to travel to Rome to consult the pope. Well knowing the popularity of Anselm, Henry was very well pleased to be thus peaceably rid of his presence. Anselm departed, and was attended to the ship by hosts of both clergy and laity, who, by the cordial respect with which they took their leave of him, tacitly, but no less plainly, testified their sense of the justice of his quarrel with their sovereign.

As soon as Anselm had left England the king seized upon all the temporalities of his see; and, fearful lest the presence of Anselm at Rome should prejudice him and his kingdom, he sent William de Warelwast as ambassador extraordinary to Pascal, the pope. In the course of the argument between the pope and the king of England's envoy, the latter warmly exclaimed that his sovereign would rather part with his crown than with the right of investiture; to which Pascal as warmly replied, that he would rather part with his head than allow the king to retain that right. Anselm retired to Lyons, and thence to his old monastery of Bec. The king restored him the revenues of his sees, and great anxiety was expressed by all ranks of men for his return to England, where his absence was affirmed to be the cause of all imaginable impiety, and of the most gross and disgusting immorality. The disputes, meantime, between Henry and the pope grew warmer and warmer. The emperor, Henry V., and the pope were at feud on the same subject, and the pope being made an actual prisoner, was compelled by a formal treaty to grant the emperor the right of investiture. The king of England was less advantageously situated than the emperor. He could not, by getting the pope into his power, cut the Gordian knot of the controversy between them. The earl of Mellent and other ministers of Henry were already suffering under the pains of excommunication: Henry himself was in daily expectation of hearing the like dreadful sentence pronounced on himself, and he well knew that he had numerous and powerful enemies among his nobles who would both gladly and promptly avail themselves of it to throw off their uneasy allegiance. He and the pope were mutually afraid, and a compromise was at length entered into, by which the pope had the right of ecclesiastical investiture, while Henry had the right of demanding homage from the prelates for their temporalities. The main difference being thus settled, minor points presented no difficulties, and Henry now had leisure to turn his attention to Normandy.

In committing the natural son of his brother Robert to the care of Helie, Henry was probably desirous to show the world, by the unblemished character of the man to whom he entrusted the infant prince, then only six years old, that he meant fairly by him. But as the young prince grew up, and became remarkable for talent and gracefulness of person, he acquired a popularity which gave so much uneasiness to Henry, that he ordered his guardian to give up his young ward. Helie, probably doubtful of the king's intentions, yet feeling himself unable to shelter him should the king resort to force, immediately placed young William under the protection of Fulke, count of Anjou. The protection of this gallant and eminent no-

ble and his own singular graces, enabled William to create great interest on his behalf, and at every court which he visited he was able to excite the greatest indignation against the injustice with which his uncle had treated him. Louis le Gros, king of France, joined with Fulke, count of Anjou, and the count of Flanders, in disturbing Henry in his unjust possession of Normandy, and many skirmishes took place upon the frontiers. But before the war could produce any decisive results, Henry, with his customary artful policy, detached Fulke from the league by marrying his son William to that prince's daughter. The peace consequent upon this withdrawal of Fulke did not last long. Henry's nephew was again taken in hand by the gallant Baldwin of Flanders, who induced the king of France to join in renewing the attack upon Normandy. In the action near Eu Baldwin was slain; and the king of France, despairing, after the loss of so capital an ally, of liberating Normandy from the power of Henry by force of arms, resolved to try another method, of which, probably, he did not perceive all the remote and possible consequences.

The papal court had always manifested a more than sufficient inclination to interfere in the temporal concerns of the nations of Christendom; and Louis now most unwisely gave sanction and force to that ambitious and insidious assumption, by appealing to Rome on behalf of young William. A general council having been assembled by the pope at Rheims, Louis took his protegé there, represented the tyranny of Henry's conduct towards both the young prince and his father, and strongly and eloquently dwelt upon the impropriety of the church and the Christian powers allowing so trusty and gallant a champion of the cross to linger on in his melancholy imprisonment. Whatever might be the personal feelings of Calixtus II., the then pope, he showed himself strongly inclined to interfere on behalf of both William and his father. But Henry was now, as ever, alert and skilful in the defence of his own interest. The English bishops were allowed by him to attend this council; but he gave them fair notice at their departure, that whatever might be the demands or decisions of the council, he was fully determined to maintain the laws and customs of England and his own prerogative. "Go," said he, as they took leave of him, "salute the pope in my name, and listen to his apostolical precepts; but be mindful that ye bring back none of his new inventions into my kingdom." But while he thus outwardly manifested his determination to support himself even against the hostility of the church, he took the most effectual means to prevent that hostility from being exhibited. The most liberal presents and promises were distributed; and so effectually did he conciliate the pope, that having shortly afterwards had an interview with Henry, he pronounced him to be beyond comparison the most eloquent and persuasive man he had ever spoken with. Upon this high eulogy of the sovereign pontiff, Hume, with dry causticity, remarks, that Henry at this interview "had probably renewed his presents."

Louis, finding that he was out-manœuvred by Henry in the way of intrigue, renewed his attempts upon Normandy in the way of arms. He made an attempt to surprise Noyen, but Henry's profuse liberality caused him to be well served by his spies, and he suddenly fell upon the French troops. A severe action ensued, and Prince William, who was present, behaved with great distinction. Henry also was present, and, penetrating with his customary gallantry into the very thickest of the fight was severely wounded by Crispin, a Norman officer in the French army. Henry, who possessed great personal strength, struck Crispin to the earth, and led his troops onward in a charge so fierce and heavy, that the French were utterly routed, and Louis himself only escaped with great difficulty from being made prisoner. The result of this action so discouraged Louis that he shortly afterwards entered into a treaty with Henry, in which the

DEATH OF PRINCE WILLIAM AND HIS SISTER.

nterests of William and the liberty of Robert were wholly left out of the question.

Thus far the career of king Henry had been one unbroken series of prosperity; he was now, under circumstances the least to have been feared, doomed to suffer a very terrible misfortune. Judging from the facility with which he had usurped the crown of England and the duchy of Normandy, that similar wrong—as *he* chose to call it, though wrong it would surely not have been—might easily be done to his own son, unless proper precautions were taken, he accompanied his son William to Normandy, and caused him to be recognized as his successor by the states, and to receive in that character the homage of the barons. This important step being taken, the king and the prince embarked at Barfleur on their return to England. The weather was fair, and the vessel which conveyed the king and his immediate attendants left the coast in safety. Something caused the prince to remain on shore after his father had departed; and the captain and sailors of the ship, being greatly intoxicated, sailed, in their anxiety to overtake the king, with so much more haste than skill, that they ran the ship upon a rock, and she immediately began to sink. William was safely got in the long boat, and had even been towed some distance from the ship when the screams of his natural sister, the countess of Perche, who in the hurry had been left behind, compelled his boat's crew to return and endeavour to save her. The instant that the boat approached the ship's side, so many persons leaped in, that the boat also foundered, and William and all his attendants perished; a fearful loss, there being on board the ill-fated ship no fewer than a hundred and forty English and Norman gentlemen of the best families. Fitzstephen, the captain, to whose intemperance this sad calamity was mainly attributable, and a butcher of Rouen clung to the mast; but the former voluntarily loosed his hold and sank on hearing that the prince had perished. The butcher, free from cause of remorse, resolutely kept his grasp, and was fortunate enough to be picked up by some fishermen on the following morning.

When news reached Henry of the loss of the vessel, he for a few days buoyed himself up with the hope that his son had been saved; but when the full extent of the calamity had been ascertained he fainted; and so violent was his grief, that he was never afterwards known to smile. So deeply could he suffer under his own calamity, though so stern and unblenching in the infliction of calamity upon others.

The death of Prince William, the only legitimate male issue of Henry, was, as will be perceived in the history of the next reign, not merely an individual calamity, but also a most serious national one, in so far as it gave rise to much civil strife. But it was probable that William would have been a very severe king, for he was known to threaten that whenever he came to the throne he would work the English like mere beasts of burden. The early Norman rulers, in fact, however policy might occasionally induce them to disguise it, detested and scorned their English subjects.

Prince William, son of the wronged and imprisoned duke of Normandy, still enjoyed the friendship and protection of the French king, though circumstances had induced that monarch apparently to abandon the prince's interest, in making a treaty with Henry. The death of Henry's son, too, broke off the connection between Henry and the count of Anjou, who now again took up the cause of Prince William, and gave him his daughter in marriage. Even this connection, however, between Fulke and William did not prevent the artful policy of Henry from again securing the friendship of the former. Matilda, Henry's daughter, who was married to the emperor Henry V., was left a widow; and the king now gave her in marriage to Geoffrey Plantagenet, earl of Anjou, and he at the same time caused her to receive, as his successor, the homage of the nobles and clergy of both Normandy and England.

In the meantime Prince William of Normandy was greatly strengthened. Charles, earl of Flanders, was assassinated, and his dignity and possessions were immediately bestowed by the king of France upon Prince William. But this piece of seeming good fortune, though it undoubtedly gave greater strength to William's party and rendered his recovery of Normandy more probable, led in the result, to his destruction; so blind are we in all that relates to our future! The landgrave of Alsace, deeming his own claim upon Flanders superior to that of William, who claimed only from the wife of the Conqueror, and who moreover was illegitimate, attempted to possess himself of it by force of arms, and almost in the first skirmish that took place William was killed.

Many disputes during all this time had taken place between Henry and the pope; chiefly upon the right to which the latter pretended of having a legate resident in England. As legates possessed in their respective provinces the full powers of the pope, and, in their anxiety to please that great giver and source of their power, were ever disposed to push the papal authority to the utmost, the king constantly showed a great and wise anxiety to prevent this manifestly dangerous encroachment of Rome. After much manœuvring on both sides, an arrangement was made by which the legate power was conferred upon the archbishop of Canterbury; and thus while Rome kept, nominally at least, a control over that power, Henry prevented it being committed to any use disagreeable to him, and had, moreover, a security for the legate's moderation in the kingly power over the archbishop's temporalities.

A perfect peace reigning in all parts of England, Henry spent part of 1131 and 1132 in Normandy with his daughter Matilda, of whom he was passionately fond. While he was there Matilda was delivered of a son, who was christened by the name of Henry. In the midst of the rejoicing this event caused to the king, he was summoned to England by an incursion made by the Welsh; and he was just about to return when he was seized, at St. Dennis le Forment, by a fatal illness, attributed to his having eaten lampreys to excess, and he expired Dec. 1, 1135, in the thirty-fifth year of his reign and sixty-seventh of his age.

Though a usurper, and though somewhat prone to a tyrannous exertion of his usurped authority, Henry at least deserves the praise of having been an able monarch. He preserved the peace of his dominions under circumstances of great difficulty, and protected its interest against attempts under which a less firm and politic prince would have been crushed. He had no fewer than thirteen illegitimate children. Other vices he was tolerably free from in his private capacity; but in protecting his resources for the chase, of which, like all the Norman princes, he was passionately enamoured, he was guilty of every unjustifiable cruelty. In the general administration of justice he was very severe. Coining was punished by him with death or the most terrible mutilation, and on one occasion fifty persons charged with that offence were subjected to this horrible mode of torture. It was in this reign that wardmotes, common-halls, a court of hustings, the liberty of hunting in Middlesex and Surrey—a great and honourable privilege at that time—the right to elect its own sheriff and justiciary, and to hold pleas of the crown, trials by combat, and lodging of the king's retinue, were granted to the city of London.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE REIGN OF STEPHEN.

A. D. 1135.—The will of Henry I. left the kingdom of England and the duchy of Normandy to his daughter Matilda. By the precautions which

he had taken it was very evident that he feared lest any one should imitate the irregularity by which he himself had mounted to power. Strangely enough, however, the attempt he anticipated, and so carefully provided against, was made by one who to Henry's own patronage and liberality owed his chief power to oppose Henry's daughter. A new proof, if such were wanting, of the blindness on particular points of even the most politic and prudent men.

Adela, daughter of William the Conqueror, was married to Stephen, count of Blois. Two of her sons, Henry and Stephen, were invited to England by Henry I., who behaved to them with the profuse liberality which he was ever prone to show to those whom he took into his favour. Henry was made abbot of Glastonbury and bishop of Winchester, and Stephen was even more highly favoured by the king, who married him to Matilda, daughter and heiress of Eustace, count of Boulogne, by which marriage he acquired both the feudal sovereignty of Boulogne as well as enormous landed property in England. Subsequently the king still farther enriched Stephen by conferring upon him the forfeited possessions of the earl of Mortaigne, in Normandy, and of Robert de Mallet in England. The king fondly imagined that by thus honouring and aggrandizing Stephen he was raising up a fast and powerful friend for his daughter whenever she should come to the throne, and the conduct of Stephen was so wily and skilful, that to the very hour of Henry's death he contrived to confirm him in this delusion. Brave, active, generous and affable, he was a very general favourite; but while he exerted himself to the utmost to retain and increase his popularity, especially among the Londoners, of whom he anticipated making great use in the ultimate scheme he had in view, he took good care to keep those efforts from the king's knowledge. He professed himself the fast friend and ready champion of the princess Matilda, and when the barons were required by the king to do homage to her, as the successor to the crown, Stephen actually had a violent dispute with Robert, earl of Gloucester, who was a natural son of the king, as to which of them should first take the oath!

But with all this lip-loyalty to the king and seeming devotion to the princess, Stephen seems all along to have harboured the most ungrateful and faithless intentions. The moment the king had ceased to live he hurried over to England to seize upon the crown. His designs having been made known at Dover and Canterbury, the citizens of both those places honourably refused to admit him. Nothing daunted by this honest rebuke of his ungrateful design, he hurried on to London, where he had emissaries in his pay, who caused him to be hailed as king by a multitude of the common sort.

The first step being thus made, he next busied himself in obtaining the sanction and suffrage of the clergy. So much weight was in that age attached to the ceremony of unction in the coronation, that he considered it but little likely that Matilda would ever be able to dethrone him if he could so far secure the clergy as to have his coronation performed in due order and with the usual formalities. In this important part of his daring scheme good service was done to him by his brother Henry, bishop of Winchester, who caused the bishop of Salisbury to join him in persuading William, archbishop of Canterbury, to give Stephen the royal unction. The primate having, in common with all the nobility, taken the oath of allegiance to Matilda, was unwilling to comply with so startling a step; but his reluctance, whether real or assumed, gave way when Roger Bigod, who held the important office of steward of the household, made oath that Henry on his death-bed had evinced his displeasure with Matilda, and expressed his deliberate preference of Stephen as his successor. It is not easy to believe that so shrewd a person as the archbishop really gave any credence to this shallow tale, but he affected to do so, and upon

its authority crowned Stephen. The coronation was but meagrely attended by the nobles; yet, as none of them made any open opposition, Stephen proceeded to exercise the royal authority as coolly as though he had ascended the throne by the double right of consent of the people and heirship.

Having seized upon the royal treasure, which amounted to upwards of a hundred thousand pounds, Stephen was able to surround his usurped throne with an immense number of foreign mercenaries. While he thus provided against open force, he also took the precaution to endeavour, by the apparent justice of his intentions, to obliterate from the general memory, and especially from the minds of the clergy, all thought of the shameful irregularity and ingratitude by which he had obtained the throne. He published a charter calculated to interest all ranks of men, promising to abolish *Danegelt*, generally to restore the laws of King Edward, to correct all abuses of the forest laws, and—with an especial view to conciliating the clergy—to fill all benefices as they should become vacant, and to levy no rents upon them while vacant. He at the same time applied for the sanction of the pope, who, well knowing what advantage possession must give Stephen over the absent Matilda, and being, besides, well pleased to be called upon to interfere in the temporal affairs of England, very readily gave it in a bull, which Stephen took great care to make public throughout England.

In Normandy the same success attended Stephen, who had his eldest son, Eustace, put in possession of the duchy on doing homage to the king of France; and Geoffrey, Matilda's husband, found himself reduced to such straits that he was fain to enter into a truce with Stephen, the latter consenting to pay, during the two years for which it was made, a pension of five thousand marks. Though Stephen was thus far so successful, there were several circumstances which were calculated to cause him considerable apprehension and perplexity. Robert, a natural son of the late king, by whom he had been created earl of Gloucester, possessed considerable ability and influence, and was very much attached to Matilda, in whose wrongs he could not fail to take a great interest. This nobleman, who was in Normandy when Stephen usurped the throne of England, was looked upon both by the friends and the enemies of Stephen as the most likely person to head any open opposition to the usurper. In truth, the earl was placed in a very delicate and trying situation. On the one hand, he was exceedingly zealous in the cause of Matilda; on the other hand to refuse when required to take the oath of allegiance to Stephen, was inevitably to bring ruin upon his fortunes, as far as England was concerned. In this perplexing dilemma he resolved to take a middle course, and, by avoiding an open rupture with Stephen, secure to himself the liberty and means of acting according to the dictates of his conscience, should circumstances become more favourable to Matilda. He therefore consented to take the oath of allegiance to Stephen, on condition that the king should duly perform all that he had promised, and that he should in no wise curtail or infringe the rights or dignities of the earl. This singular and very unusual reservation clearly enough proved to Stephen that he was to look upon the earl as his good and loyal subject just so long as there seemed to be no chance of a successful revolt, and no longer; but the earl was so powerful and popular that he did not think it safe to refuse his oath of fealty, even on these unusual terms.

Though we correctly call these terms unusual, we do so only with reference to former reigns; Stephen was obliged to consent to them in still more important cases than that of the earl of Gloucester. The clergy, finding the king willing to sacrifice to expediency, and well knowing how inexpedient he would find it to quarrel with their powerful body, would only give him their oath of allegiance with the reservation that their

allegiance shou l endure so long as the king should support the discipline of the church and defend the ecclesiastical liberties. To how much dispute, quibble, and assumption were not those undefined terms capable of leading under the management of the possessors of nearly all the learning of the age; men, too, especially addicted to and skilled in that subtle warfare which renders the crafty and well-schooled logomachist absolutely invulnerable by any other weapon than a precise definition of terms!

To the reservations of the earl of Gloucester and the clergy succeeded the still more ominous demands of the barons. In the anxiety of Stephen to procure their submission and sanction to his usurpation the barons saw an admirable opportunity for aggrandizing their already great power at the expense of the security of both the people and the crown. They demanded that each baron should have the right to fortify his castle and put himself in a state of defence; in other words, that each baron should turn his possessions into an *imperium in imperio*, dangerous to the authority of the crown on occasions of especial dispute, and injurious to the peace and welfare upon all occasions, as making the chances of wrong and oppressions more numerous, and making redress, already difficult, for the future wholly hopeless. A legitimate king, confident in his right and conscientiously mindful of his high trust, would have periled both crown and life ere he would have consented to such terms; but in the case of Stephen, the high heart of the valiant soldier was quelled and spell-bound by the conscience of the usurper, and to uphold his tottering throne in present circumstances of difficulty, he was fain to consent to terms which would both inevitably and speedily increase those difficulties tenfold.

The barons were not slow to avail themselves of the consent thus extorted from the king. In every direction castles sprang up, or were newly and more strongly fortified. Even those barons who had at the outset no care for any such privilege, were soon in their self-defence obliged to follow the example of their neighbours. Jealous of each other, the barons now carried their feuds to the extent of absolute petty wars; and the inferior gentry and peasantry could only hope to escape from being plundered and ill used by one party, at the expense of siding with the other, in quarrels for neither side of which they had the slightest real care.

The barons having thus far proceeded in establishing their *quasi* sovereignty and independence of the crown, it is not to be wondered at that they soon proceeded still farther, and arrogated to themselves within their mimic royalties all the privileges of actual sovereignty, even including that of coining money.

Though Stephen, as a matter of policy, had granted the privilege of fortification, out of which he must, as a shrewd and sensible man, have anticipated that these abuses would issue, he was by no means inclined to submit to the abuses themselves without a trial how far it was practicable to take back by his present force what had been extorted from his former weakness. And thus, as the nobles abused the privileges he had granted, he now by his mercenary force set himself not merely to annihilate those extorted privileges, but also to make very serious encroachments upon the more ancient and legitimate rights of the subject. The perpetual contests that thus existed between the king and the barons, and among the barons themselves, and the perpetual insult and despoiling to which the great body of the people were in consequence subjected, caused so general a discontent, that the earl of Gloucester, deeming that the favourable and long-wished-for time had at length arrived for the open advocacy of the claims of Matilda, suddenly departed from England. As soon as he arrived safely abroad, he forwarded to Stephen a solemn defiance and renunciation of fealty, and reproached him in detail, and in the

strongest language, with his breaches of the promises and conditions upon which that fealty had been sworn.

A. D. 1138.—Just as Stephen was thus doubly perplexed, a new enemy arose to threaten him, in the person of David, king of Scotland, who, being uncle to Matilda, now crossed the borders with a large army to assert and defend her title. So little was Stephen beloved by the turbulent barons, with not a few of whom he was even then at personal feud, that had David now added a wise policy to his sincere zeal in the cause of his niece, there seems little reason to doubt that Matilda would have ousted Stephen almost without difficulty or bloodshed; for he had by this time so nearly expended his once large treasure, that the foreign mercenaries, on whom he chiefly depended for defence, actually, for the most part, subsisted by plunder. But David, unable or unwilling to enter into points of policy and expediency, marked his path from the border to the fertile plains of Yorkshire by such cruel bloodshed and destruction, that all sympathy with his intention was forgotten in disgust and indignation at his conduct. The northern nobles, whom he might easily have won to his support, were thus aroused and united against him. William Albemarle, Robert de Ferres, William Percy, Robert de Bruce, Roger de Mowbray, Ilbert Lacy, Walter l'Epee, and numerous other nobles in the north of England, joined their large forces into one great army and encountered the Scots at Northallerton. A battle, called the battle of the Standard, from an immense crucifix which was carried on a car in front of the English army, was fought on the 22d of August, 1138, and ended in so total a defeat of the Scottish army that David himself, together with his son Henry, very nearly fell into the hands of the English. The defeat of the king of Scotland greatly tended to daunt the enemies of Stephen, and to give a hope of stability to his rule; but he had scarcely escaped the ruin that this one enemy intended for him, when he was engaged in a bitter controversy with an enemy still more zealous and more powerful—the clergy.

A. D. 1139.—The bishops, as they had been rated for military service in common with the barons, so they added all the state and privileges of lay barons to those proper to their own character and rank. And when the custom of erecting fortresses and keeping strong garrisons in pay became general among the lay barons, several of the bishops followed their example. The bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln had done so; the former had completed one at Sherborne and another at Devizes, and had even commenced a third at Malmesbury; and the latter, who was his nephew, had erected an exceedingly strong and stately one at Newark. Unwisely deeming it safer to begin by attacking the fortresses of the clergy than those of the lay barons, Stephen, availing himself of some disturbances at court between the armed followers of the bishop of Salisbury and those of the earl of Brittany, threw both the bishop of Salisbury and his nephew of Lincoln into prison, and compelled them, by threats of still worse treatment, to surrender their fortresses into his hands. This act of power called up an opponent to Stephen, in a person from whom, of the whole of the clergy, he had the least reason to fear any opposition.

The king's brother, Henry, bishop of Winchester, to whom he owed so much in accomplishing his usurpation of the crown, was at this time armed with the legantine commission in England; and deeming his duty to the church paramount to the ties of blood, he assembled a synod at Westminster, which he opened with a formal complaint of what he termed the impiety of the king. The synod was well inclined to acquiesce in Henry's view of the case, and a formal summons was sent to the king to account to the synod for the conduct of which it complained. With a strange neglect of what would have been his true policy—a peremptory

denial of the right of the synod to sit in judgment upon the sovereign on a question which really related, and related only, to the police of his kingdom—Stephen virtually put the judgment of his case into the hands of a court, that, by the very charge made against him by its head, avowed itself inimical, partial, and prejudiced, by sending Aubrey de Vere to plead his cause. De Vere set out by charging the two bishops with seditious conduct and treasonable designs; but the synod refused to entertain that charge until the fortresses, of which, be it observed, the bishops had been deprived upon that charge, should be restored by the king.

The clergy did not fail to make this quarrel the occasion of exasperating the minds of the always credulous multitude against the king. So general was the discontent, that the earl of Gloucester, constantly on the watch for an opportunity of advocating the cause of Matilda, brought that princess to England, with a retinue of a hundred and forty knights and their followers. She fixed her residence first at Bristol, but thence removed to Gloucester, where she was joined by several of the most powerful barons, who openly declared in her favour, and exerted every energy to increase her already considerable force. A civil war speedily raged in every part of the kingdom; both parties were guilty of the most atrocious excesses, and, as is usual, or rather universal, in such cases, whichever party was temporarily triumphant, the unhappy peasantry were massacred and plundered, to the sound of watchwords which they scarcely comprehended.

A. D. 1140.—While the kingdom was thus torn, and the people thus tormented, the varying success of the equally selfish opposing parties led to frequent discussions, which led to no agreement, and frequent treaties, made only to be broken.

An action at length took place which promised to be decisive and to restore the kingdom to peace. The castle of Lincoln was captured and garrisoned by the partizans of Matilda, under Ralph, earl of Chester, and William de Roumard. The citizens of Lincoln, however, remained faithful to the cause of Stephen, who immediately proceeded to lay siege to the castle. The earl of Gloucester hastened to the support of the beleaguered garrison, and on the 2d of February, 1141, an action took place, in which Stephen was defeated, and taken prisoner while fighting desperately at the head of his troops. He was taken in triumph to Gloucester, and though he was at first treated with great external respect, some real or pretended suspicions of his friends having formed a plan for his rescue caused him to be loaded with irons and thrown into prison.

The capture of Stephen caused a great accession of men of all ranks to the party of Matilda; and she, under the politic guidance of the earl of Gloucester, now exerted herself to gain the good-will of the clergy, without which, in the then state of the public mind, there could be but little prospect of permanent prosperity to her cause, just as it doubtless was.

She invited Henry, bishop of Winchester and papal legate, to a conference, at which she promised everything that either his individual ambition or his zeal for the church could lead him to desire; and as all the principal men of her party had offered to become responsible for her due fulfilment of her promises, which she made with the accompanying solemnity of an oath, Henry conducted her with great pomp and form to Winchester cathedral, and there at the high altar solemnly denounced curses upon all who should curse her, and invoked blessings upon all who should bless her. To give still greater triumph and security to her cause, Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, also swore allegiance to her.

Subsequently the crown was formally adjudged to Matilda, in a speech made by Henry to the assembled clergy and a few of the chief men of London; and Henry, with an assurance perfectly marvellous after having

been so powerful an instrument of his brother's usurpation, now spake of him as having merely filled the throne in the absence of the rightful owner, and dwelt with great force and bitterness upon the breach by Stephen of the promises he had made of respect and protection to the church.

Matilda to a masculine daring added a very harsh and imperious spirit, and she had scarcely placed her cause in apparently permanent prosperity when she most unwisely disgusted some of those whose favour was the most important to her.

The Londoners, though circumstances had compelled them to submit to Matilda, were still very partial to Stephen. They joined his wife in petitioning that he might be released on condition of retiring to a convent A stern and laconic refusal was Matilda's answer both to this petition and a subsequent one presented by them for the establishmeut of King Edward's laws instead of those of Henry. An equally harsh, and still more impolitic refusal was given to the legate who requested that his nephew Eustace, should inherit Boulogne and the other patrimonial possessions of Stephen; a refusal which gives one as low an opinion of Matilda's sense of justice as of her temper and policy.

Her mistaken conduct was not long in producing its appropriate ill effects to her cause. The legate, whose very contradictory conduct at different times can only be satisfactorily explained upon the supposition that to his thoroughly selfish ambition that cause ever seemed the best which promised the greatest immediate advantages to himself or to the church, marked the mischief which Matilda's harshness did to her cause, and promptly availed himself of it to excite the Londoners to revolt against her government. An attempt was made to seize upon her person, and so violent was the rage that was manifested by her enemies, that even her masculine and scornful spirit took alarm, and she fled to Oxford. Not conceiving herself safe even there, and being unaware of the underhand conduct of the crafty legate, she next flew for safety to him at Winchester. But he, deeming her cause now so far lost as to warrant him in openly declaring his real feelings towards her, joined his forces to the Londoners and other friends of Stephen, and besieged her in the castle of that city. Here, though stoutly supported by her friends and followers, she was unable long to remain, from lack of provisions. Accompanied by the earl of Gloucester and a handful of friends, she made her escape, but her party was pursued, and the earl of Gloucester, in the skirmish, was taken prisoner. This capture led to the release of Stephen, for whom Matilda was glad to exchange the earl, whose courage and judgment were the chief support of her hopes and the main bond of her party; and with the release of Stephen came a renewal of the civil war, in all its violence and mischief. (A. D. 1143). Sieges, battles, skirmishes, and their ghastly and revolting accompaniments, followed with varying success; but the balance of fortune at length inclined so decidedly to the side of Stephen, that Matilda, broken in health by such long-continued exertion, both bodily and mental, at length departed from the kingdom and took refuge in Normandy.

A.D. 1147.—The retirement of Matilda and the death of the earl of Gloucester, which occurred about the same time, seemed to give to Stephen all the opportunity he could desire firmly to establish himself in the possession of the kingdom. But he kindled animosities among his nobles by demanding the surrender of their fortresses, which he justly deemed dangerous to both himself and his subjects; and he offended the pope by refusing to allow the attendance of five bishops, who had been selected by the pontiff to attend a council at Rheims, the usual practice being for the English church to elect its own deputies. In revenge for this affront, as he deemed it, the pope laid all Stephen's party under his interdict; a measure which he well knew could not fail to tell with fearful effect against

the interests of a prince who was seated not only upon a usurped, but also a disputed throne.

A.D. 1153.—Prince Henry, son of Matilda, who had already given signal proofs of talent and bravery, was now encouraged by the divided state of the public mind to invade England. He defeated Stephen at Malmesbury and they again met before Wallingford, when a negotiation was entered into, by which Henry ceded his claim during the life of Stephen on condition of being secured of the succession, Boulogne and the other patrimonial possessions of Stephen being equally secured to his son William—his eldest son Eustace being dead. This treaty having been executed in due form, Prince Henry returned to Normandy; whence he was recalled by the death of Stephen on the 25th of October, 1154.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE REIGN OF HENRY II.—PRECEDED BY OBSERVATIONS ON THE RIGHT OF THE ENGLISH TO TERRITORY IN FRANCE.

Methodical reading, always desirable, is especially so in reading History; and before we commence the narrative of the eventful and, in many respects, important reign of Henry II., we deem that we shall be doing the reader good service in directing his attention to the origin of the earlier wars between England and France; a point upon which all our historians have rather too confidently assumed the intuitive knowledge of their readers, whom they have thus left to read of results without acquaintance with processes, and to indulge their imaginations in the details of warlike enterprises without any data upon which to judge of the justice or injustice with which those enterprises were undertaken.

Even with the invasion of William the Conqueror, England, by its new sovereign, became interested in no small or insignificant portion of France. Up to that period England's connexion with foreigners arose only from the invasions of the Northmen, but with William's invasion quite a new relation sprang up between England and the continent. From this moment the connections of Normandy, and its feuds, whether with the French king or with any of his powerful vassals, entered largely into the concerns of England. With Henry II., this connection of England with the affairs of the continent was vastly increased. In right of his father that monarch possessed Touraine and Anjou; in right of his mother he possessed Maine and Normandy; and in right of his wife, Guienne, Poictou, Xaintogne, Auvergne, Perigord, Angournois, and the Limousin; and he subsequently became really, as he was already nominally, possessed of the sovereignty of Brittany. If the reader now cast his eyes over the map of that vast and populous territory which is called France, he will perceive that Henry thus possessed a third of it, and the third of greatest fertility and value. Left unexplained as this usually is by our historians, the impression upon the minds of even readers not wholly deserving of the censure implied in the term superficial, must almost necessarily be, that the wars of which by-and-by we shall have to speak between France and England, originated in the mere greediness and ambition of kings of the latter country, who, dissatisfied with their insular possessions, desired to usurp territory in France; whereas the direct contrary is the case, and they in these wars made use of their English conquests to retain possession of, or to extend by way of reprisal their earlier-conquered or fairly-inherited French territory. The kings of France, in point of fact, at this early period of French history, were *not* kings of France in the present acceptation of that title. They had a nominal rather than a real feudal superiority over the whole country; there were six great ecclesiastical peerages, besides the six lay

peerages of Burgundy, Normandy, Guienne, Flanders, Toulouse, and Champagne. Each of these peerages, though nominally subject to the French crown, was, in reality, an independent sovereignty. If it chanced that the warlike designs of the king coincided with the views and interest of his great vassals, he could lead an immense and splendid force into the field; but if, as far more frequently happened, any or all of his great vassals chanced to be opposed to him, it at once became evident that he was only nominally their master. That in becoming masters of our insular land, the Norman race should sooner or later see their French territory merging itself into that of the French king and adding to his power was inevitable, as we can now perceive; but in the time of our second Henry, the king of France feared—and the aspect of things then warranted his fear—the precisely opposite process. By bearing this brief explanation carefully in mind, the reader will find himself greatly assisted in understanding the feelings and views of the sovereigns of England and France, in those wars which cost each country rivers of its best blood.

Previous to the death of Stephen Henry married Eleanor, the divorced wife of Louis VII. of France. She had accompanied that monarch to the Holy Land, and her conduct there partook so much of the levity and immorality which marked that of too many of her sex in the same scene, that Louis felt bound in honour to divorce her, and he at the same time restored to her those rich provinces to which we have already alluded as her dower. Undeterred by her reported immorality, Henry, after six weeks' courtship, made her his wife, in defiance of the disparity in their years; having an eye, probably, to the advantage which her wealth could not fail to give him, should he have to make a struggle to obtain the English crown.

A.D. 1155.—So secure, however, was Henry in the succession to England at Stephen's, death that not the slightest attempt was made to set up any counter-claims on the part of Stephen's surviving son, William; and Henry himself, being perfectly acquainted with the state of the public mind, did not even hasten to England immediately on receiving news of Stephen's death, but deferred doing so until he had completed the subjection of a castle that he was besieging on the frontier of Normandy. This done, he proceeded to England, and he was received with the greatest cordiality by all ranks and conditions of men. The popularity that he already enjoyed was greatly increased by the first act of his reign, which was the equally wise and just dismissal of the hordes of foreign mercenaries whom Stephen had introduced into England, and who, however serviceable to the usurper in question, had been both in peace and in war a burden and a curse to the English people. Sensible that his popularity was such as to enable him to dispense with these fierce prætorians, who, while mischievous and offensive to the subject under all circumstances, might by peculiar circumstances be rendered mischievous and even fatal to the sovereign, he sent them all out of the country, and with them he sent William of Ypres, their commander, who was extremely unpopular from having been the friend and adviser of Stephen, many of whose worst measures, perhaps untruly, for Stephen was not of a temper requiring to be prompted to arbitrary courses, were attributed to his councils.

In the necessities caused by civil war, both Stephen and Matilda had made many large grants which—however politic or even inevitable at the time—were extremely injurious to the interests of the crown; and Henry's great object was to resume these grants, not even excepting those of Matilda herself.

His next measure was as dangerous as it was necessary. The country was in a perfectly dreadful state of demoralization; the highways and by-ways alike were infested by troops of daring and violent robbers, and these obtained encouragement and opportunity from the wars carried on

by the nobles against each other. The troop of soldiers following the baron's pennon, or keeping watch and ward upon the battlements of his strong castle, became, whenever his need for their services ceased, the banditti of the roads and forests. In such a state of things it would have been hopeless to have attempted to reduce the country warder, without first dismantling those fortresses to which the disorder was mainly owing. A weak or unpopular sovereign would most probably have been ruined had he made any attempt upon this valued and most mischievous privilege of the nobles; and even Henry, young, firm, and popular, did it at no inconsiderable risk. The earl of Albemarle and one or two other proud and powerful nobles prepared to resist the king; but his force was so compact, and his object was so popular with the great body of the people, that the factious nobles submitted at the approach of their sovereign.

A.D. 1156.—Having by an admirable mixture of prudence and firmness reduced all parts of England to complete peace and security, Henry went to France to oppose in person the attempts his brother Geoffrey was making upon the valuable provinces of Maine and Anjou, of some portions of which that prince had already possessed himself. The mere appearance of Henry had the effect of causing the instant submission of the disaffected and Geoffrey consented to resign his claim in consideration of a yearly pension of a thousand pounds.

A. D. 1157.—Just as Henry had completed his prudent regulations for preventing future disturbances in his French possessions, he was called over to England by the turbulent conduct of the Welsh, who had ventured to make incursions upon his territory. They were beaten back before his arrival; but he was resolved to chastise them still farther, and for that purpose he followed them into their mountain fastnesses. The difficult nature of the country was so unfavourable to his operations, that he was more than once in great danger. On one occasion his vanguard was so beset in a rocky pass, that its discipline and valour could not prevent it from being put to complete rout; Henry de Essex, who held the high office of hereditary standard bearer, actually threw down his standard and joined the flying soldiery, whose panic he increased by loudly exclaiming that the king was killed. The king, who fortunately was on the spot, galloped from post to post, re-assured his main body, and led it on so gallantly, that he saved it from the ruin with which it was for a time threatened by this foolish and disgraceful panic.

Henry de Essex, whose behaviour had been so remarkably unknightly on this occasion, was on its account charged with felony by Robert de Montford, and lists were appointed for the trial by battle. De Essex was vanquished, and condemned to pass the remainder of his life in a convent and to forfeit all his property.

A. D. 1158.—The war with the Welsh ended in the submission of that people, and Henry's attention was again called to the continent. When his brother Geoffrey gave up his pretensions to Anjou and Maine that prince took possession of the county of Nantes, with the consent of its inhabitants, who had chased away their legitimate prince. Geoffrey died soon after he had assumed his new dignity; and Henry now claimed to succeed as heir to the command and possessions which Geoffrey had himself owed only to the voluntary submission of the people. His claim was disputed by Conan, earl of Brittany, who asserted that Nantes properly belonged to his dominions, whence it had, as he alledged, only been separated by rebellion, and he accordingly took possession of it. Henry secured himself against any interference on the part of Louis of France by betrothing his son and heir, Henry, then only five years old, to Louis's daughter Margaret, who was nearly four years younger. Having by this politic stroke rendered it hopeless for Conan to seek any aid from Louis, Henry now marched into Brittany, and Conan, seeing the impossibility of

successful resistance, at once agreed to give up Nantes. Soon after, Conan, anxious to secure the powerful support of Henry, gave his only daughter and heiress to that prince's son Geoffrey. Conan died in a few years after this betrothal, and Henry immediately took possession of Brittany in right of his son and daughter-in-law.

A. D. 1159.—Henry, through his wife, had a claim upon the country of Toulouse, and he now urged that claim against Raymond, the reigning count, who solicited the protection of the king of France; and the latter, both as Raymond's feudal superior, and as the prince more than all other princes interested in putting a check on the vast aggrandizement of Henry, immediately granted Raymond his protection, in spite of the startling fact that Louis himself had formerly, while Eleanor was his wife, claimed Toulouse in her right, as Henry now did. So little, alas! are the plainest principles of honesty and consistency regarded in the strife of politics.

Henry advanced upon Toulouse with a very considerable army, chiefly of mercenaries. Assisted by Trincaral, count of Nismes, and Berenger, count of Barcelona, he was at the outset very successful, taking Verdun and several other places of lesser note. He then laid siege to the capital of the county, and Louis threw himself into it with a reinforcement. Henry was now strongly urged by his friends to take the place by assault, as he probably might have done, and by thus making the French king prisoner, obtain whatever terms he pleased from that prince. But Henry's prudence never forsook him, even amid the excitement of war and the flush of success. Louis was his feudal lord; to make him prisoner would be to hold out encouragement to his own great and turbulent vassals to break through their feudal bonds, and instead of prosecuting the siege more vigorously, in order to make Louis prisoner, Henry immediately raised it, saying that he could not think of fighting against a place that was defended by his superior lord in person, and departed to defend Normandy against the count de Dreux, brother of Louis.

The chivalrous delicacy which had led Henry to depart from before Toulouse did not immediately terminate the war between him Louis; but the operations were feebly conducted on both sides, and ended first in a cessation of arms, and then in a formal peace.

A new cause of bitter feeling now sprung up between them. When Prince Henry, the king's eldest son, was affianced to Margaret of France, it was stipulated that part of the princess's dowry should be the important fortress of Gisors, which was to be delivered into the hands of the king on the celebration of the marriage, and in the meantime to remain in the custody of the knights templars. Henry, as was suspected, bribed the grand master of the templars to deliver the fortress to him, furnishing him with a pretext for so doing by ordering the immediate celebration of the marriage, though the affianced prince and princess were mere children. Louis was naturally much offended at this sharp practice on the part of Henry, and was on the point of recommencing war again, when Pope Alexander III., whom the triumph of the anti-pope, Victor IV., compelled to reside in France, successfully interposed his mediation.

A. D. 1162.—Friendship being, at least nominally and externally, established between Louis and Henry, the latter monarch returned to England, and devoted his attention to the delicate and difficult task of restraining the authority of the clergy within reasonable limits. That he might the more safely and readily do this, he took the opportunity now afforded him by the death of Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, to place that dignity in the hands of a man whom he deemed entirely devoted to himself, but who, in the result, proved the greatest enemy to the authority of the crown, and the stoutest and haughtiest champion of the church, and taught Henry the danger of trusting to appearances, by imbittering and perplex-

ing whole years of his life. This man, in whose character and temper the king made so grievous a mistake, was the celebrated Thomas à Becket.

Born of respectable parentage in London, and having a good education, he was fortunate enough to attract the attention and obtain the favour of archbishop Theobald, who bestowed some offices upon him, the emoluments of which enabled him to go to Italy, where he studied the civil and canon law with so much success that on his return archbishop Theobald gave him the lucrative and important appointment of archdeacon of Canterbury, and subsequently entrusted him with a mission to Rome, in which he acquitted himself with his usual ability. On the accession of Henry, the archbishop strongly recommended Becket to his notice; and Henry, finding him remarkably rich in the lighter accomplishments of the courtier, as well as in the graver qualities of the statesman, gave him the high office of chancellor, which in that age included, besides its peculiar duties, nearly all those of a modern prime minister. Kings often take a delight in overwhelming with wealth and honours those whom they have once raised above the struggling herd. It was so even with the prudent Henry, who proceeded to confer upon his favourite chancellor the provostship of Beverley, the deanery of Hastings, and the constableship of the Tower; made him tutor to Prince Henry, and gave him the honours of Eye and Berkham, valuable new baronies which had escheated to the crown. Becket's style of living was proportioned to the vast wealth thus heaped upon him; his sumptuousness of style and the numerous attendance paid to his levees exceeded all that had ever been seen in the case of a mere subject; the proudest nobles were his guests, and gladly placed their sons in his house as that in which they would best become accomplished gentlemen; he had a great number of knights actually retained in his service, and he attended the king in the war of Toulouse with seven hundred knights at his own charge; on another occasion he maintained twelve hundred knights and twelve hundred of their followers during the forty days of their stipulated service; and when sent to France on an embassy, he completely astonished that court by his magnificent attendance. With all this splendour Becket was a gay companion. Having taken only deacon's orders, he did not hesitate to join in the sports of laymen, or even to take his share of warlike adventure. He was consequently the favourite companion of the king in his leisure hours. It is said that Henry, riding one day with Becket, and meeting a poor wretch whose rags shook in the wind, seized the chancellor's scarlet and ermine-lined coat and gave it to the poor man, who, it may well be supposed, was much surprised at such a gift.

Living thus in both the official and private intimacy of the king, Becket was well acquainted with all his views and designs towards the church; and as he had always professed to agree with them, and was manifestly possessed of all the talents and resolution which would make him valuable in the struggle, the king made him archbishop at the death of his old patron Theobald.

Having thus obtained the second place in the kingdom, Thomas à Becket at once cast off all the gay habits and light humour which he had made the instruments of obtaining and fixing the personal favour of the king. His first step on being consecrated archbishop of Canterbury was to resign his chancellorship into the hands of the king, on the significant plea that his spiritual function would henceforth demand all his energies and attention, to the entire exclusion of all secular affairs. In his household and equipages he retained all his old magnificence, but in his own person he now assumed a rigid austerity befitting an anchorite. He wore a hair cloth next his skin, which was torn and raw with the merciless discipline that he inflicted upon himself; bread was almost his only diet, and his only beverage was water, which he rendered unpalatable by an infusion o

disagreeable herbs. He daily had thirteen beggars into his palace and washed their feet; after which ceremony they were supplied with refreshments, and dismissed with a pecuniary present. While thus exciting the wonder and admiration of the laity, he was no less assiduous in aiming at the favour of the clergy, to whom he was studiously accessible and affable, and whom he still further gratified by his liberal gifts to hospitals and convents; and all who were admitted to his presence were at once edified and surprised by the grave and devotional aspect and rigid life of one who had but recently been foremost among the gayest and giddiest of the courtiers. Far less penetration than was possessed by Henry might have enabled him to see in all this sudden and sanctimonious austerity a sure indication that he would find a powerful foe in Becket whenever he should attempt to infringe upon the real or assumed rights of the church. But, in truth, Becket was too eager to show his ecclesiastical zeal, even to wait until the measures of the king should afford him opportunity, and himself commenced the strife between the mitre and the crown by calling upon the earl of Clare to surrender the barony of Tunbridge to the see of Canterbury, to which it had formerly belonged, and from which Becket affirmed that the canons prevented his predecessors from legally separating it. The earl of Clare was a noble of great wealth and power, and allied to some of the first families, and his sister was supposed to have gained the affections of the king; and as the barony of Tunbridge had been in his family from the conquest, it seems probable that Becket was induced to select him for this demand of restitution of church property, in order the more emphatically to show his determination to prefer the interests of the church to all personal considerations, whether of fear or favour.

William D'Eynsford, one of the military tenants of the crown, was the patron of a living in a manor held of the archbishop of Canterbury. To this living Becket presented an incumbent named Laurence, thereby infringing the right of D'Eynsford, who instantly ejected Laurence *vi et armis*. Becket forthwith cited D'Eynsford, and, acting at once accuser and judge, passed sentence of excommunication upon him. D'Eynsford applied for the interference of the king, on the ground that it was illegal that such a sentence should be passed on one who held *in capite* from the crown, without the royal assent first obtained. Henry accordingly, acting upon the practice established from the conquest, wrote to Becket, with whom he no longer had any personal intercourse, and desired him to absolve D'Eynsford. It was only reluctantly, and after some delay, that Becket complied at all; and even when he did so he coupled his compliance with a message, to the effect that it was not for the king to instruct him as to whom he should excommunicate and whom absolve! Though this conduct abundantly showed Henry the sort of opposition he had to expect from the man whom his kindness had furnished with the means of being ungrateful, there were many considerations, apart from the boldness and decision of the king's temper, which made Henry resolute in not losing any time in endeavouring to put something like a curb upon the licentious insolence to which long impunity and gross superstition of the great body of the people had encouraged the clergy. The papacy was just now considerably weakened by its own schismatical division, while Henry, wealthy in territory, was fortunate in having the kingdom of England thoroughly in submission, with the sole exception of the clerical disorders and assumptions to which he had now determined to put a stop. On the other hand those disorders were so scandalous, and those assumptions in many cases were so startlingly unjust, that Henry could could scarcely fail to have the best wishes of his subjects in general for the success of his project. The practice of ordaining the sons of villains had not merely caused an inordinate increase in the number of the clergy, but had also caused an even more than corresponding deterioration of the clerical char

ter in England. The incontinence, gluttony, and roystering habits, attributed to the lower order of the clergy by the writer of a much later day, were light and comparatively venial offences compared to those which seem but too truly to be attributed to that order in the reign of Henry II. Robbery, adulterous seduction, and even rape and murder, were attributed to them; and the returns made to an inquiry which Henry ordered, showed that, only counting from the commencement of his reign, *i. e.*, a period of somewhat less than two years, a hundred murders had been committed by men in holy orders who had never been called to account.

Henry resolved to take steps for putting a stop to this impunity of criminals whose sacred professions only made their criminality the greater and more detestable. An opportunity of bringing the point of the clerical impunity to issue was afforded by a horrible crime that was just now committed in Worcestershire, where a priest, on being discovered in carrying on an illicit intercourse with a gentleman's daughter, put her father to death. The king demanded that the offender should be delivered over to the civil power, but Becket confined the clerkly culprit in the bishop's prison to prevent his being apprehended by the king's officers, and maintained that the highest punishment that could be inflicted upon the priest was degredation. The king acutely caught at this, and demanded that, after degredation, when he would have become a layman again, the culprit should be delivered to the civil power to be further dealt with as it might deem fit; but Becket demurred even to this, on the plea that it would be unjust to try an accused man a second time upon the same charge.

Angered by the arrogance of Becket, and yet not wholly sorry to have such a really sound pretext for putting some order into the pretensions of the church, Henry summoned an assembly of the prelates of England, for the avowed purpose of putting a termination to the frequent and increasing controversies between the ecclesiastical and the civil jurisdiction.

Henry himself commenced the business of the assembly by asking the bishops, plainly and categorically, whether they were willing or unwilling to submit to the ancient laws and customs of the kingdom. To this plain question, the bishops, in a more jesuitical spirit, replied that they were willing so to submit, "saving their own order;" a mental reservation by which they clearly meant that they would so submit—until resistance should be safe and easy! So shallow and palpable an artifice could not impose upon so shrewd a prince as Henry, whom it greatly provoked. He departed from the assembly in an evident rage, and immediately sent to require from Becket the surrender of the castles and honours of Eye and Berkham. This demand, and the anger which it indicated, greatly alarmed the bishops; but Becket was undismayed; and it was not without much difficulty, that Philip, the pope's legate and almoner, prevailed upon him to consent to the retraction of the offensive saving clause, and give an absolute and unqualified promise of submission to the ancient laws. But Henry was now determined to have a more precise understanding; a formal and definite decision of the limits of the ecclesiastical and the civil authority; and thus in some measure to destroy the undue ascendancy which, as effectually as insidiously, the former had for a long time past been obtaining. He therefore collated and reduced to writing those ancient customs of the realm which had been the most egregiously contravened by by the clergy, and having called a great council of the barons and prelates at Clarendon, in Berkshire, he submitted this digest to them in a form of a series of articles, which are known in history under the title of the "Constitutions of Clarendon;" which are thus briefly summed up: "It was enacted by these constitutions that all suits concerning the advowson and presentation of churches should be determined in the civil courts · that in future the churches belonging to the king's see should not be granted

in perpetuity without his consent; that clerks accused of any crime should be tried in the civil courts; that no one, particularly no clergyman of any rank should depart the kingdom without the king's license; that excommunicated persons should not be bound to give security for their continuing in their present place of abode; that laics should not be accused in spiritual courts, except by legal and reputable promoters and witnesses; that no chief-tenant of the crown should be excommunicated, nor his lands be put under an interdict, except with the king's consent; that all appeals in spiritual causes should be carried from the archdeacon to the bishop, from the bishop to the primate, and from the primate to the king, and should proceed no farther but with the king's consent; that should any law-suit arise between a layman and a clergyman concerning a tenant and it be disputed whether the land be a lay or an ecclesiastical fee, it should be first determined by the verdict of twelve lawful men to what class it belonged, and if the land be found to be a lay fee, then the cause should finally be determined in the civil courts; that no inhabitant in a lay demesne should be excommunicated for non-appearance in a spiritual court until the chief officer of the place where he resides be consulted, that he may compel him by the civil authority to give satisfaction to the church; that the archbishops, bishops and other spiritual dignitaries should be regarded as barons of the realm, should possess the privileges and be subjected to the burdens belonging that rank, and should be bound to attend the king in his great councils, and assist in all trials, till the sentence either of death or of loss of members be given against the criminal; that the revenue of vacant sees should belong to the king, the chapter, or such of them as he chooses to summon should sit in the king's chapel till they made the new election with his consent, and that the bishop elect should do homage to the crown; that if any baron or tenant *in capite* should refuse to submit to the spiritual courts, the king should employ his authority in obliging him to make such submissions; that if any one threw off his allegiance to the king, the prelates should assist the king with their censures in reducing him; that goods forfeited to the king should not be protected in churches or churchyards; that the clergy should no longer pretend to the right of enforcing payment of debts contracted by oath or promise, but should leave these law-suits, equally with others, to the determination of the civil courts; and that the sons of villians should not be ordained clerks without the consent of their lord."

The barons present at this great council were all on the king's side, either from actual participation of his sentiments towards the clergy or from awe of his power and temper; and the prelates, perceiving that they had both the king and the lay peerage against them, were fain to consent to these articles, which accordingly were voted without opposition. But Henry, misdoubting that the bishops, though they found it useless to oppose the united will of the crown and peerage, would whenever circumstances should be favourable to them deny the authority of the constitutions, as being enacted by an authority in itself incomplete, would not be contented with the mere verbial assent of the prelates, but demanded that each of them should set his hand and seal to the constitutions, and to their solemn promise to observe them. To this demand, though the rest of the prelates complied with it, Becket gave a bold and flat refusal. The earls of Cornwall and Leicester, the most powerful men in the lay peerage, strongly urged him, as a matter of policy as well as obedience, to comply with the king's demand. He was so well aware of Henry's drift, and so far from being desirous of securing the permanent observance of the constitutions of Clarendon, that no entreaties could induce him to yield assent, until Richard de Hastings, English grand prior of the knights templars, knelt to him, and in tears implored him, if not for his own sake, at least for the sake of

the church, not to continue an opposition which must be unsuccessful and would only excite the ruinous opposition of a monarch equally resolute and powerful. Stern and resolved as Becket had shown himself as regarded the importunity of laymen, this evident proof that upon this point, at least, he no longer had the sympathy of even churchmen, caused Becket to give way; and he therefore, though with evident reluctance, took an oath "legally, though with good faith, and without fraud or reserve, to observe the constitutions of Clarendon."

But the king, though he had thus far triumphed even over the firm and haughty temper of the primate, was by no means so near to complete success as he deemed himself. Pope Alexander, who still remained in France, and to whom in his contests with the anti-pope Henry had done no unimportant service, no sooner had the constitutions presented to him for ratification, than he perceived how completely they were calculated to make the king of England independent of his clergy, and the kingdom itself of the papacy; and he was so far from ratifying, that he condemned and annulled them. When Becket found his own former opposition thus sanctioned by the present feelings and conduct of the pope, he regretted that he had allowed any considerations to induce him to give his signature and assent. He immediately increased his already great and painful austerities of life and severity of discipline, and would not even exercise any of the functions of his dignity until he received the absolution of the pope for what he deemed his offence against the ecclesiastical privileges. Nor did he confine himself to mere verbal repentance or his own personal discipline, but used all his eloquence to induce the English prelates to engage with him in a fixed and firm confederacy to regain and maintain their common rights. Henry, hoping to beat Becket at his own weapons, now applied to Alexander to grant the legatine commission to the archbishop of York, whom he obviously only wished to arm with that inordinate and dangerous authority, in order that he might make him the instrument of Becket's ruin. But the design was too obvious to escape so keen an observer as Alexander, who granted the commission of legate, as desired, but carefully added a clause inhibiting the legate from executing any act to the prejudice of the archbishop of Canterbury. On finding himself thus baffled upon the very point on which alone he was solicitous, Henry so completely lost his temper, that he sent back the document by the very messenger who brought it over, thus giving to Alexander the compliment of discernment, and the satisfaction of having completely baffled his plan.

The anger which the king now exhibited threatening extreme measures, Becket twice endeavoured to leave the kingdom, but was detained on both occasions by contrary winds; and Henry was thus enabled to cause him great expense and annoyance, by inciting John, mareschal of the exchequer, to sue the archbishop in his own court for some lands belonging to the manor of Pageham, and thence to appeal to the king's court. When the day arrived for trying the cause on the appeal, the archbishop did not personally appear, but sent four knights to apologize for his absence on the score of illness, and to make certain technical objections to the form of John's appeal. The king treated the absence of Becket as a wilful and offensive contempt, and the knights who bore his apology narrowly escaped being committed to prison for its alledged falsehood. Being resolved that neither absence nor technicality should save Becket from suffering, the king now summoned a great council of barons and prelates at Northampton. Before this court Becket, with an air of great moderation, urged that the mareschal's cause was proceeding in the archiepiscopal court with all possible regularity, though the testimony of the sheriff would show that cause to be iniquitous and unjust; that he, Becket, far from showing any contempt of the king's court, had most explicitly acknowledged and submitted to his authority by sending four of his knights

to appear for him; that even if their appearance should not be accepted as being tantamount to his own, and he should be technically made guilty of an offence of which he was virtually innocent, yet the penalty attached to that crime was but a small one, and as he was an inhabitant of Kent, he was entitled by law to an abatement even of that; and that he was now, in loyal obedience to the king's summons, present in the great council, and ready before it to justify himself against the charges of the mareschal. Whatever may be thought of the general arrogance of the primate and of his ambition, both as man and churchman, it is impossible not to perceive that his reasonings were here very just, and that the king's whole conduct was far more indicative of the monarch who was intent on crushing a too powerful subject, than of one who was sincerely and righteously desirous of "doing justice and loving mercy;" and it is equally impossible not to feel some sympathy with the haughty and courageous primate, who, when pressed down by a foe so powerful and so vindictive, was abandoned by the dignitaries of that very church for whose sake, principally at least, he had so courageously combatted. In the present case, as in the case of the constitutions of Clarendon, the bishops were induced to coincide with the lay barons, who had from the first determined to side with the king, and notwithstanding the convincing logic of his defence, he was pronounced guilty of contempt of the king's court and of neglect of the fealty which he had sworn to his sovereign; and Henry, bishop of Winchester, the once powerful brother of the late king Stephen, was, in spite of all his remonstrances, compelled to sentence the primate to confiscation of all his goods and chattels.

Even this severe sentence, upon what we cannot but consider a most iniquitous judgment, did not sufficiently satisfy the vengeance of the king, who on the very next day demanded from Becket the sum of three hundred pounds, which had been received by him from the manors of Eye and Berkham. To this demand Becket replied, that as this suit was not mentioned in his summons to the council, he ought not be called upon to answer it; that, in point of fact, he had expended more than that sum upon Eye and Berkham castles and the royal palace in London; but that rather than a dispute about money should make any difference between his sovereign and himself, he would at once consent to pay the sum, for which he immediately gave the necessary sureties. Even this submission could not soften the king's determination; he demanded five hundred marks which he had lent Becket in the war of Toulouse—during which war he had done the king much zealous and good service!—and a similar sum for which the king alleged that he had become Becket's surety to a Jew; and then, as if to leave him without the slightest hope of escape, he called upon him to furnish an account of his administration as chancellor, and to pay in the balance due from him on account of all the baronies, prelacies, and abbeys which had been under his management during his chancellorship. To this demand Becket replied, that it was so suddenly and unexpectedly made that he must require some delay ere he could answer to it. The king then demanded sureties, and Becket desired leave to consult his suffragans upon that point. They agreed with him that it would be utterly impossible for him to procure satisfactory security for the enormous amount of 44,000 marks, at which the king chose to estimate a demand which must in its very nature be uncertain; and Henry, bishop of Winchester, advised him at once to make the king an offer of two thousand marks, by way of payment in full of all demands, certain or uncertain. This he accordingly offered, but the king refused it, as he might have been expected to do; for in the first place he desired money far less than the torment and ruin of Becket, and in the next place, the sum of two thousand marks, though large in itself, was small indeed in comparison to the sum demanded by the king, and could hardly be

pected to satisfy him if money really were his object. Some of Becket's suffragans, now plainly perceiving that his ruin was the king's object, advised him to resign his see by way of terminating all the king's charges and demands; while others advised that he should plainly submit to the king's mercy. But Becket seemed to gather courage from the very circumstances which would have plunged men of a more timid spirit into despair, and resolved to brave the utmost that the king could inflict.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE REIGN OF HENRY II. (CONTINUED).

Having spent a few days in retirement and meditation upon the trying and difficult circumstances in which he was placed, Becket at length went to church and performed mass; having the communion service commenced with the words "Princes sat and spake against me," by the selection of which passage he appeared to desire to liken himself to the persecuted and martyred St. Stephen. From church Becket proceeded to the royal palace. On arriving at the gate he took the cross from the hands of the bearer, and, holding it before him, marched to the royal apartments as though in some danger which made the presence of the sacred symbol necessary for his protection. The king, who from an inner apartment perceived the extraordinary demeanour of Becket, sent some of the bishops to reason with him upon its impropriety. They reminded him that he, by subscribing to the constitutions of Clarendon, had agreed with them that it was necessary to do so; and they complained that he appeared to wish to induce them now, by his example, to revolt against the civil power, when it was too late for either of them to do so without the guilt of offending against laws to which they had consented and sworn to support. To this Becket replied, that if he and they had done wrong in swearing to support laws destructive of the ecclesiastical privileges, the best atonement they now could make would be to submit themselves to the authority of the pope, who had solemnly nullified the constitutions of Clarendon, and had absolved them from the oath taken to secure those constitutions; that, for his own part, the heavy penalty to which he had been condemned for an offence which would be but slight even had he been guilty of it, which he was not, and the preposterous demands subsequently made upon him by the king, very clearly showed that it was intended utterly to ruin him, and thus prepare a way for the destruction of all spiritual immunities; that to the pope he should appeal against whatever iniquitous sentence should be passed upon him; and that, terrible as the vengeance of so powerful a king as Henry most undoubtedly was, it had power only to slay the body, while the sword of the church could slay the soul.

In thus speaking of appealing to the pope, Becket not only opposed the express provision of the constitutions of Clarendon, by which appeals were done away with even in ecclesiastical cases, but opposed even common custom, such appeals never having lain in civil cases. Whatever excuse Henry's violence might furnish for appealing to Rome, in the eye of reason, to do so was an offence both by the letter and the spirit of the law; Becket, however, waited not for any further proof of the king's vindictiveness, but departed secretly for Northampton, and after wandering about for some time in disguise, and undergoing much difficulty, at length procured a ship and arrived safely at Gravelines.

In France the persecuted churchman was sure to find warm friends, if not actually from their conviction of his having the right in the quarrel between himself and the king, at least because it was their interest to up-

hold all who were likely in any degree to check the proud prosperity of Henry. In this both the king of France and his powerful vassal the earl of Flanders had an interest; and in that particular interest they forgot their infinitely greater concern in the obedience of subjects to their sovereign, and gave the self-exiled prelate a warm reception, the king of France even going so far as to pay him a personal visit at Soissons, where he had fixed the prelate's residence. Henry sent a magnificent embassy to Lyons to justify his conduct to the pope; but he, who was so deeply interested in the success of Becket, gave the envoys of Henry a very cool reception, while upon Becket, who also attended to justify his conduct, he lavished his kindness and distinction. The king, doubly annoyed that Becket's person was beyond his power and that he had obtained so marked a welcome abroad, not only put all the revenues of Canterbury under sequestration, but even proceeded to the meanly malignant length of banishing the whole of the archbishop's family and dependants, to the number of four hundred. In order that there might be no doubt that his intent in this measure was to embarrass Becket, by throwing upon him the support of this host of helpless people, a burden the more ruinous from the simultaneous sequestration of his revenue, he compelled them before their departure to swear that they would immediately join the archbishop. In this part of his vindictive design, however, Henry was defeated by the pope; for as soon as these exiles arrived in France, Alexander absolved them from their involuntary oath, and distributed them among the convents of Flanders and France; and to Becket himself the convent of Pontigny was given for a residence, his income being furnished by the revenues of that convent and a very liberal pension allowed to him by the king of France; and here Becket remained in great esteem and magnificence for some years.

A.D. 1165.—Though far removed from Henry's presence, Thomas à Becket had lost neither the will nor the power to annoy him. Both with that end and for the purpose of confirming the favourable opinion of the pope towards himself, he now resigned into Alexander's hands his see of Canterbury, on the alledged ground that he had been uncanonically presented to it by the king; appparently quite unaware or careless of the fact, that that plea made the whole of his conduct illegal and gratuitous by his own showing. Alexander well pleased at the deference thus shown to him, accepted his resignation, but immediately reinvested him and granted him a bull by which he pretended to free Becket from the sentence passed on him at Northampton by the great council. Another glaring inconsistency; this sentence being fully authorized as to jurisdiction, tyrannical as it was, in fact, by the constitutions of Clarendon, which Becket himself had signed and sanctioned. But, in truth, this whole quarrel was a series of inconsistencies, absurdity, and wilfulness, both on the one side and on the other. Being unable to obtain an interview with Alexander, the favourable state of whose affairs enabled him to return to Rome, Henry now made earnest and wise preparations for preserving his kingdom and himself from the worst consequences of the open quarrel with the pope which now seemed to be inevitable. He issued the strictest orders to his justicaries neither to forward nor to allow of any appeals from their courts either to Becket or the pope, or in anywise to appeal to or obey their authority. He at the same time made it a treasonable offence to bring any interdict into the kingdom from either of these dignitaries, and denouncing upon all such offences the punishment, in case of clerks, of castration and deprivation of sight, and in the case of laics, of death; while sequestration and banishment were to be the punishment not only of all persons who should obey such interdict, but also of all their relations; and to give the more solemn effect to these stern orders, he obliged all his subjects to swear obedience to them

Some notion may be formed of the tremendous power Henry possessed, when it is considered that orders so sweeping as these, which in some sort severed the kingdom from its dependance on the papal court, were made not by the great council of the nation, but by the king's will alone. As Becket still possesed vast influence over the clergy, who in that age had an almost absolute power over the minds of the great mass of the people, Henry did not deem himself sufficiently armed by these orders, but entered into a close engagement with the celebrated emperor, Frederic Barbarossa, who was at open war with the pope Alexander; and still farther to alarm the pope, Henry showed some inclination to acknowledge the anti-pope, Pascal, III.

A. D. 1166.—Nothing daunted by the prudent arrangement of Henry, or by the effect they undoubtedly had upon the mind of Alexander, Becket now issued a censure which excommunicated the king's chief advisers by name and generally all persons who should favour or even obey the constitutions of Clarendon. Thus placed in the dilemma of being unable to release his friends from the terrible effects of excommunication, without undoing all that he had done, and making a formal and complete acknowledgement of the pope's power to absolve and therefore to excommunicate, Henry listened to the advice of John of Oxford, his agent with the pope, and consented to admit the mediation of the legates Otho and William of Pavia. When these personages proceeded to examine into the affair, the king required that all the constitutions of Clarendom should be fully ratified; Becket, on the other hand, insisted that before any such agreement were made, both himself and his adherents should be restored to their possessions and position. The legate William, who was greatly interested for Henry, took care to protract the negotiation as far as possible, and to represent Henry's disposition in the most favourable light to the pope. But the pretensions and demands of the opponent parties were far too much opposed at the very outset to admit of any good result and the negotiation soon fell to the ground; Henry, however, profited by its duration and the partial restoration of the pope's good opinion, to procure a dispensation for the marriage of his third son, Geoffrey, to the heiress of Brittany, a favour to which he attached all the more importance because it very deeply mortified both Becket and the king of France.

A. D. 1167.—The count of Auvergne, a vassal of the Duchy of Guienne, having offended Henry, that monarch entered his vassal's domain; and the count appealing to the king of France as superior lord, a war ensued between the two kings; but it was conducted with no vigour on either side, and peace was soon made on terms sufficiently unfavourable to Henry to show that his quarrel with Rome had lost him not a little of that superiority which he had previously enjoyed over the king of France.

Both the pope and Henry began to tire of their disputes which they at length perceived to be mutually hurtful, and still more dangerous as to the future than presently injurious. This consideration inclined both parties to a reconciliation, but was not sufficient to put an end to their jealousies and suspicions. Several attempts at coming to a good understanding were frustrated by petty doubts or petty punctilio on either side; but at length the nuncios Gratian and Vivian were commissioned by the pope to bring about an accommodation, and for that purpose they had a meeting with Henry in Normandy. After much tedious discussions all difficulties seemed happily brought to an end. Henry offered to sign a treaty in the terms proposed by the pope, only with a salvo to his royal dignity. But Becket, who, however much wronged at one time seems at length to have learned to love strife for its own sake, took fire at this limitation, and the excommunication of the king's ministers was immediately renewed. No fewer than four more treaties were broken off by a similar pettiness of temper on either side: and it is quite clear from all accounts, that

the fault lay chiefly with Becket, who, certainly, whatever other qualities of a Christian prelate he was endowed with was sadly deficient in meekness.

A. D. 1169.—Henry, who perceived this fault of Becket, did not fail to point it out to the attention of King Louis. "There have been," said Henry, with great force and shrewdness, "many kings of England, some of greater, some of less authority than myself; there have also been many archbishops of Canterbury, holy and good men, and entitled to every kind of respect; let Becket but act towards me with the same submission which the greatest of his predecessors have paid to the least of mine, and there shall be no more controversy between us." This view of the case was so reasonable that it induced Louis for a time to withdraw his friendship and support; but bigotry and interest proved an overmatch for reason, and the prelate soon regained the French king's favour.

A. D. 1170.—At length, to the great joy of all sensible men and well-wishers to England, all difficulties were done away with, and Becket returned to England. By this treaty he was not required to yield any of the original points in dispute; he and his adherents were restored to their possessions, and in cases where vacancies in the see of Canterbury had been filled up by the king, the incumbents he had appointed were now expelled, and their places filled by men of Becket's own choice. On the king's side the only advantages derived from this reconciliation were the removal of the terrible sentence of excommunication from his friends and ministers, and the termination of the dread in which he had so long lived of seeing an interdict laid upon his whole dominions. But *that* was an advantage the preciousness of which it is scarcely possible for our generation, so happily free from terrors which Rome could then strike into the hearts of the mightiest nations, adequately to appreciate. That Henry set no ordinary value upon the peace thus procured may be judged from the fact, that this proud and powerful king, among the many servile flatteries with which he wooed the good-humour of the man whose greatness was his own creation, actually on one occasion stooped so low as to hold the stirrup of Becket while the haughty churchman mounted! In a king this excessive and unseemly condescension passes for policy and astuteness; in a meaner man it would scarcely escape being called by the plainer and less complimentary names of hypocrisy and servility.

But the peace secured by so much sacrifice of dignity did not last long. Henry during Becket's absence had associated his heir, Prince Henry, with him in the sovereignty, and had caused the unction to be bestowed upon him by Roger, archbishop of York. This had not been done so secretly but that the exiled prelate had been informed of it, and both he and the king of France demanded that the archbishop of Canterbury, who alone could regularly bestow the unction, should renew the ceremony both upon Prince Henry and his youthful bride, Margaret of France To this reasonable demand, which indeed was of the utmost importance to the prince and princess, the king readily and frankly acceded; but not contented with this tacit confession that in a case of urgency the king trenched upon his privilege and he was now ready to make the best reparation in his power, Becket had scarcely landed in England ere he suspended the archbishop of York and excommunicated the bishops of London and Salisbury, by authority with which the pope had armed him. De Warenne and Gervase, two of the king's ministers, astonished and disgusted at this wanton and gratuitous breach of the peace so lately made up, indignantly demanded whether the archbishop really desired to return to his native land only to bring fire and sword with him.

Entirely unmindful of the construction which sensible and just men might put upon his litigious and vainglorious airs and conduct, he proceeded to make a triumphal entry into his see; and he was received by

the multitude with a rapturous joy and applause well fitted to confirm him in his uncompromising humour. Stimulated by his evident popularity, he now published sentence of excommunication against Nigel de Sackville, Robert de Broc, and others, on the ground of their having either assisted at the coronation of Prince Henry, or joined in the king's persecution of the exiled clergy.

When the archbishop of York and the bishops of London and Salisbury arrived at Bayeux, where Henry then was, and informed him of Becket's new violence, the king's indignation that all his careful policy, and the condescension which could not but have been most painful to so proud a prince, were thus completely thrown away, was tremendous. He broke out into the most violent invectives upon the arrogance and ingratitude of Becket, and unfortunately allowed himself, in reply to the archbishop of York, who remarked that peace was hopeless while Becket lived, to say that it was the want of zeal on the part of his friends and servants that had caused him so long to be exposed to so much insolence and annoyance. Such words could not in that age fall innocuously from the lips of a monarch far less powerful and far less beloved by his courtiers than Henry was. Reginald Fitzurse, William de Tracey, Hugh de Moreville, and Richard Brito, four gentlemen of the king's household, taking a mere expression of very natural peevishness for an actual wish for the death of Becket, immediately agreed to cross over to England and put their master's enemy to death. They were missed by Henry, who, fearing their desperate purpose, dispatched a message charging them on their allegiance to do no personal injury to Becket. Unhappily they were not overtaken in time to arrest them in their ruthless design. Becket, proud of the power he had displayed, was residing at Canterbury in all the haughty security of one who felt the peace and safety of the whole nation to be in some sort hostages for his safety; of one, in fact, whose person the most daring of his enemies must look upon as something sacred and inviolable. This high opinion of his value in the eyes of mankind was fatal to him. When the four resolved assassins reached Canterbury the archbishop was but slenderly guarded, and they saw him go without fear or suspicion to hear vespers in the church of St. Benedict, whither they followed and butchered him; unopposed equally in the commission of their foul and cowardly crime and in their subsequent departure.

To Henry the news of this detestable and no less impolitic crime came like a thunderbolt. Confident that even the pope would see the impropriety of Becket's conduct, he had already contemplated the arrest and regular punishment of the proud prelate, not doubting that by dexterous management he could induce the pope not merely to approve, but even to aid his measures. But now his position was completely altered; instead of proceeding as an injured and insulted king, he would have to defend himself against the odious charge of assassination. He could not but see that, even in the judgment of the most disinterested and unprejudiced men there would be but too many circumstances of shrewd suspicion at least; while the pope, whose policy it was to seize upon every circumstance that could tend to increase the subjection of so powerful a king to Rome, would not fail publicly to attribute this crime to him, whatever might be his private judgment; and for himself and his devoted kingdom he could now anticipate nothing but excommunication and interdict!

So completely was the king unmanned by his fears, that he shut himself up in his own apartments for three days, allowing no light to enter them, wholly abstaining from food, and not permitting even the most favoured of his subjects to approach him. Alarmed lest this conduct should actually be carried to the extent of self-destruction, his friends at length forced their way to him, and prevailed upon him to emerge from

his solitude and resume the cares of government which now more than ever demanded the fullest possible exertion of his fine talents.

A. D. 1171.—It must be evident that the main difficulty of Henry's situation originated in the unwillingness which the pope would feel to admit even the most cogent reasonings against the king's participation of the guilt of Becket's murderers. Men do not easily yield credence to arguments—and Henry could only offer arguments, not proofs—that militate against their own dear and cherished interests. But this calamity both to the king and kingdom was too terrible and too instant to allow of anything being left unattempted which promised even the probability of success, and Henry immediately sent the archbishop of Rouen, together with the bishops of Worcester and Evreux, and five other men of talent and station, to make, in the king's name, the most humble submission to the pope. There was some difficulty in gaining admission to his holiness, who was at the very time that his forbearance was thus abjectly sought by the potent and proud Henry, almost a prisoner in his own palace; so surrounded and pressed was he by his enemies. It was now nearly Easter, and it was expected that the name of Henry would be included in the list of those who at that season received the solemn and terrible curses of the church. Happily, however, Richard Barre, one of Henry's envoys, and others, contrived so far to mollify the anger of the pope, that his fearful anathema was bestowed only in general terms upon Becket's murderers and their instigators or abettors. Two legates were appointed to inquire into the affair; and thus, after all his fears, Henry escaped the worst consequences of a crime of which he seems really to have been innocent, but of which circumstances would as certainly have enabled the pope to *seem* to think him guilty—if, indeed, it had not been, just then, rather more to the papal interest to obtain a strong hold upon England, by accepting the king's submission and allowing his assertions to pass for proof, than harshly to drive both king and nation to despair. Thus happily delivered from a peril so imminent, Henry directed his attention to Ireland.

A. D. 1173.—All men's eyes had of late been anxiously turned upon the king's heir, the young prince Henry. He had given many proofs that he possessed in no ordinary degree the princely qualities of courage, liberality, and a kindly disposition; but those who looked beneath the surface perceived that his very kindness, unless ruled by a severe and uncommon discretion, was likely to give him a fatal facility in listening to the advice of any friends who should unduly minister to his other chief characteristic—an excessive ambition. At the time when, during Becket's absence, he irregularly received the royal unction, he made a remark which was much commented upon, and which many did not fail to interpret into proof of a haughty and aspiring turn. His father waited upon him at table, and good-humouredly observed that never was king more royally attended; upon which the prince remarked to one of his favourites, that it surely was nothing so very remarkable that the son of a count should wait upon the son of a king.

Agreeable to the promise made by the king at the period of the return of Becket, young Henry and the princess Margaret were now crowned and anointed by the archbishop of Rouen, and in the subsequent visit which the prince paid to his father-in-law it is thought that the latter persuaded him that the fact of his being crowned during the life-time of his father, instead of being a mere ceremony to secure his future succession, gave him an instant claim upon a part, if not upon the whole, of his father's dominions, and the prince was unfortunately but too well inclined to give credit to the arguments by which this view of the case was supported. Eager to enjoy the power, of which he probably but little understood the pains, he formally demanded that his father should resign either England or Normandy to him. The king very properly refused to comply with so

extraordinary a request, and after upbraiding his father in undutiful terms, he hastened to Paris and put himself under the protection of the king of France.

Nor was this the only domestic vexation that assailed the king just as his public affairs looked so hopeful. Queen Eleanor, who as queen of France had been remarkable for her levity, was in her second marriage no less remarkable for her jealously. Being just now labouring under a new access of that feeling, her anger with her husband led her to the most unjustifiable length of exciting their children against him. Acting upon the hint afforded by the demand of Prince Henry, she persuaded the princes Geoffrey and Richard that they too were unkindly and unjustly used by their father who, she affirmed, ought no longer to withold from them possession of the portions he had formally assigned to them. Offering them aid in the undutiful course which she recommended to them, she actually disguised herself in male attire, and was on the point of departing for the French court, there to carry on intrigues contrary to her duty alike as wife, mother, and subject, when the king obtained information of her designs, and placed her in confinement. This, however, did not put an end to the misconduct she had mainly originated, and there were princes who were sufficiently envious of the power and prosperity of Henry to lend their aid and countenance to this unnatural coalition of sons against their father, and of subjects against their sovereign. Judging by his own experience of the terror in which even the proudest and boldest men held the censure and interdict of Rome, Henry in this most distressing situation did not hesitate to apply to the pope. But he had to learn that to arm the papal interdict with all its terrors it was necessary that the clergy should have some strong interest in the question.

The pope issued his bulls, excommunicating the enemies of Henry; but as the interests of the church were in no wise concerned the clergy cared not to exert themselves and the bulls fell to the ground a mere *brutem fulmen*. Disappointed and disgusted at finding that weapon so powerless for him which was so formidable against him, Henry now had recourse to the sword; and, as he had prudently amassed great treasures, he was able to take into his pay large bodies of the banditti-like soldiery with whom the continent swarmed, and who were always ready to fight zealously and bravely too in any cause that afforded regular pay and promised large plunder. His sons, on the other hand, were not without the means or the inclination to imitate this part of their father's conduct, and most of the barons of Normandy, Gascony, and Brittany willingly took part with the young princes, who they knew must in the course of nature become their rightful sovereigns, their several territories being already irrevocably settled upon them in the usual forms. Nor, to the disgrace of the English chivalry, did the disaffection to the injured king and parent stop even here; several powerful English barons, and among them the earls of Chester and Leicester, openly declared against the king. That no sane man could have been led into this opposition to the king by any doubt as to the justice of his cause is morally certain, and to all the other foulness of treason, these at the least laid themselves open to the low and disgraceful charge of basely deserting from what they knew to be the more just side, but deemed to be also the weaker one. And the weaker one, to all human judgment, it doubtless appeared to be. But few comparatively of his barons brought their retainers to the aid of the king, whose chief disposable force was an army of about twenty thousand of those foreign mercenaries of whom we just made mention, and some well-disciplined English whom he withdrew from Ireland. On the other hand the combination was potent and threatening indeed. In addition to the numerous wealthy and warlike barons already alluded to as having given in their adhesion to the young princes, the four counts of Eu, Blois, Flanders and

Boulogne, followed their example, and William, king of Scotland, the natural enemy of England, gladly joined this most unholy alliance.

Louis of France summoned the chief vassals of the crown to Paris, and solemnly bound them by oath to adhere with him to the cause, and Prince Henry on his part swore to be faithful to his allies among whom he distributed large gifts of territory—to be conquered from his king and parent—under the seal of state which he treasonably caused to be made for that purpose.

The counts of Boulogne and Flanders began the unnatural war by laying siege to Aumale on the frontier of Normandy. The Count d'Aumale who seems to have been only withheld by some prudential and merely selfish motive from openly and in form allying himself with his master's enemies, made a mere show of defence and then surrendered the place. Being thus apparently a prisoner in the hands of those whose confederate he seems really to have been, he had a specious ground for committing still further treason, without exposing himself to any very deadly peril in the event of the king being ultimately triumphant over the formidable and unscrupulous confederacy against him.

The king of France, in the meantime, was not idle; with seven thousand knights and their followers and a proportionate force of infantry, he, accompanied by the young Prince Henry, laid seige to Verneuil. The place was bravely defended by Hugh de Beauchamp, but the garrison at the end of a month became so short of provisions, that de Beauchamp was obliged to consent to a surrender should he not be relieved in the course of three days. Ere the expiration of this time King Henry and his army appeared on the neighbouring heights, and the French monarch then demanded a conference, for the purpose, as he alleged, of putting an end to the differences between Henry and his sons—differences, it should never be forgotten, which Louis had himself done his utmost to fan into a flame. Henry, not for a moment suspecting Louis of any treacherous intention, agreed to this proposal; and Louis having thus beguiled him into abstaining from forcible interference on behalf of the brave garrison until the term agreed upon for the truce had completely expired, called upon Beauchamp to make good his promise of surrender, on pain of being held man sworn; and then, having set fire to Verneuil, set his army on the retreat from before it, and Henry fell upon the rear, which lost many both in killed and prisoners.

The barons of Brittany, headed by Ralph de Fougeres and the earl of Chester, were encountered by the king's troops near Dol, and defeated with the loss of fifteen hundred in killed, besides an immense number of wounded and prisoners. The leaders with their diminished forces took shelter in Dol, but Henry besieged the place so vigorously, that they were speedily compelled to surrender.

Instead of being seduced by his successes into any inveteracy of purpose against his enemies, Henry once more agreed to treat with the chief of them, Louis of France. A meeting accordingly took place between the two monarchs, the three young princes, to their infinite discredit, prominently appearing in the retinue of their father's enemy. As their outrageous demands were in fact the main cause of dispute between the two monarchs, Henry addressed himself to those demands, and made his sons offers far more liberal than became him to offer or them to accept; but the peaceable purpose of this memorable meeting was wholly frustrated by the earl of Liecester, who, probably at the secret instigation of Louis, behaved with such open insolence to Henry, that the meeting was broken up without any conclusion being arrived at.

Though Henry had been so successful on the continent in repressing his enemies and in upholding his authority, it was in no small danger in England; for, Prince Henry having agreed to resign Dover and the othe

strongholds of Kent into the hands of the earl of Flanders, there was so little of pure public spirit among the English, that a most extensive confederacy was formed to aid in this scheme, which would have deserved no milder name than that of a national suicide. But fortunately for both Henry and his kingdom, while the lay nobles and their dependants were thus hostile or indifferent, he was in good odour with the clergy just at this period, to which, probably, he mainly owed it that he was not utterly ruined.

Richard de Lacy, whom Henry had entrusted with the high and important office of guardian of the realm, greatly distinguished himself at this period, both by his loyalty and his conduct. He repelled and obtained the submission of the king of Scotland, who had led his ravaging troops into Northumberland; and immediately after having done this good service, led his victorious troops southward to oppose a far superior force of Flemings who had landed on the coast of Suffolk, and thence marched into the very heart of the kingdom. In the action which ensued the Flemish force, consisting for the most part of hastily-raised and ill-disciplined artizans, were routed almost at the first charge of De Lacy's disciplined followers, and nearly ten thousand were slain or made prisoners, the earl of Leicester himself being among the latter.

This defeat of the Flemings delivered the kingdom from that particular danger, indeed, but in no wise abated the evil determination of the king's heartless sons and their allies. The earl of Ferrers and several powerful friends of the earls of Leicester and Chester were openly in arms against their king; the earls of Clare and Gloucester were strongly suspected of being prepared to take the same course; and the king of Scotland scarcely allowed the term to expire during which he had engaged to keep the peace, ere he invaded the northern counties of England with a force of eighty thousand men, who committed the most wanton and extensive spoliation. In this state of things, Henry, having put his continental territories into a state of comparative security, hastened over to England to try the effect upon his enemies of his personal presence.

Well knowing the effect of all superstitious observances upon the principal part of his subjects, he had no sooner landed at Southampton than he hastened to the city of Canterbury, distant as it was, and, arriving there, quitted his horse and walked barefooted to the shrine of that now-sainted Thomas à Becket, who in life had caused him so much annoyance and danger. Having prostrated himself before the shrine, he next caused the monks of the place to be assembled, and, stripping off his garments, submitted his bare shoulders to the scourge. How humiliating an idea does it not give us of that age to reflect that this degrading conduct was, perhaps, the most politic that Henry could have chosen to forward the great object he then had in view—the conciliation of the zealous good-will of all ranks of his subjects—for among all ranks, not excepting the very highest, superstition then had a mysterious and a mighty power. Having completed all the degrading ceremonials that the monks chose to consider essential to the final and complete reconciliation of the king to the saint, absolution was solemnly given to Henry, and he departed for London. News shortly after arrived of a great victory that Henry's troops had obtained over the Scots; and the monks, ever inclined to the *post hoc, propter hoc*, principle, did not fail to attribute that victory to the pious means by which Henry had appeased Saint Thomas à Becket, who had thus signalized his forgiveness.

William of Scotland, though repulsed by Henry's generals, still showed himself unwilling to deprive his troops of the agreeable employment of wasting the northern provinces of England; and like a half-gorged vulture disturbed in its ravening feast, he still lingered near. Having formed a camp at Alnwick, in Northumberland, he sent out numerous detachments

in quest of spoil. However favourable this course might be to his cupidity, it greatly weakened him in a military point of view; and Glanville, the celebrated lawyer, who at this time was a very principal leader and support of the English army, having obtained exact information of William's situation, resolved to make a bold attempt to surprise him. After a fatiguing march to Newcastle, he barely allowed his troops time for hasty refreshment, of which both man and horse stood in dire need, and then set out on a forced night-march to Alnwick, a distance of upwards of thirty miles, where he arrived very early in the morning of the 15th of July, and, fortunately, under cover of a genuine Scotch mist, so dense as to prevent his approach from being observed. Though, after making all allowance for the detachments which William had sent out, Glanville felt that he was far inferior in force to the Scots, he gallantly gave his troops the order to charge. So completely secure had William felt from any such attack, that it was not until English banners flew and English blades flashed in his very camp, that he dreamed of any hostile force being within many miles of him. In the furious scence that ensued he behaved with great personal gallantry, boldly charging upon the serried ranks of the English with only a hundred of his immediate followers. But his negligence as a commander had produced a state of disadvantage which was not to be remedied by any valour, however great. This little band was speedily dispersed, and he, being fairly ridden down, was made prisoner. The news of his capture speedily spread among his troops, whose confusion was thus rendered too complete to allow of their leaders rallying them; and they hastily retreated over the borders, fighting among themselves so furiously during their retreat, that they are said to have actually lost more in killed and wounded by Scottish than by English swords.

This defeat of the Scotch, and the capture of William, upon whom the English rebels had so mainly depended for diversion of their king's strength, as well as for more direct assistance, left these latter no safe course but submission; and that course, accordingly, was speedily followed by all ranks among them. The clergy with their usual self-complacency attributed all this success to the submission which they had induced the king to make to Becket; and Henry, well knowing how much more power superstition had over the minds of his subjects than any political or even moral considerations, however clear or important, astutely affected to believe all that they affirmed, and by every means endeavoured to propagate the like belief among his subjects.

Meantime the serpent of revolt was on the continent, "scotched not killed;" the young prince Henry, with a perseverance worthy of a better cause, having in spite of all his father's triumphs persisted in carrying on his rebellious designs. He and the earl of Flanders had assembled a large army, with which they were preparing to embark at Gravelines; but when they heard of the signal defeat which King Henry's troops had inflicted upon the Flemings they laid aside their intention of invading England, and proceeded to join their force to that of the king of France, who was besieging Rouen, in Normandy.

The people of Rouen, who were much attached to King Henry, and proportionally fearful of falling under the rule of Louis, defended the place with so much courage and success, that Louis deemed it necessary to have recourse to a stratagem that did far more credit to his ingenuity than to his honour. The festival of St. Laurence occurring just at that time, he proclaimed, under pretence of a pious desire to keep it with due solemnity, a cessation of arms. This was agreed to on the part of the unsuspecting citizens; and Louis, hoping to surprise them, immediately made preparations for the attack. It chanced that while all in the French camp were in motion, some priests of Rouen had mounted to a steeple to overlook it, merely from curiosity. Struck with a degree of bustle that seemed

so inappropriate to the solemn truce that had been proclaimed, they caused the alarm bell of the city to be rung, and the soldiers and citizens immediately hastened to their appointed stations, and were but just in time to repulse the enemy, many of whom had already succeeded in mounting the walls. The French lost many men in this assault, and on the following day, before they could renew it, King Henry marched into the place in full view of the enemy, and, ordering the gates to be thrown open, dared them to the renewal of their attack. Louis, who now saw Rouen completely safe at the very moment when he fancied it almost within his grasp had no thought left but how he should best release himself from the danger of a decisive defeat. Trusting to the desire which Henry had all along manifested to come to peaceable terms, Louis proposed a conference. Henry readily fell into the snare, and Louis profited by the interval which he thus gained, and marched his army into France.

Having thus secured his army, however, Louis, who by this time was nearly as anxious as Henry for a termination of their disputes, agreed to a meeting, which accordingly took place near the ancient city of Tours, and peace was concluded on terms far more favourable to Henry than those he had offered at the memorable conference which was abruptly terminated by the insolent misconduct of the earl of Leicester.

CHAPTER XX.

THE REIGN OF HENRY II. (CONCLUDED).

A. D. 1175.—Firm in adversity, Henry had the still further and more uncommon merit of being moderate in prosperity. He had in various actions taken nearly a thousand knights prisoners, and these he now liberated without ransom, though the customs of the age would have warranted contrary conduct without the slightest impeachment of either his honour or his generosity. To William of Scotland, as the repeated enmity of that monarch fully warranted, he behaved with more rigour. As the price of his release William was obliged to agree to do homage for his territories to Henry, to engage that the prelates and barons of his kingdom should also do homage, and that they should swear to side with the king of England even against their native prince; and that as security for the performance of this agreement, the five principal Scottish fortresses, namely, Edinburgh, Stirling, Berwick, Roxburgh, and Jedburgh, should be placed in the hands of King Henry. Even when the terms of the agreement had been duly complied with by the Scotch, Henry showed no inclination to relax from his severity upon a people who had caused him so much annoyance by their inveterate enmity. Contrariwise, he now required that Berwick and Roxburgh should be given up to him altogether, and that he should for a given time retain the castle of Edinburgh. Thus the eagerness with which William lent his aid in the endeavour to crush Henry, ended in the latter prince obtaining the first triumph over that kingdom which was ever obtained by an English monarch.

A. D. 1176.—Henry wisely employed the peace which his victories had procured him in remedying those disorders which had sprung up among his own subjects. He made or restored laws against those crimes which had the most flagrantly increased, such as counterfeiting coin, arson, robbery, and murder. If, when we read of his enacting such severe punishments for those offences as amputation of the right hand and foot, we feel inclined to censure the king, we must bear in mind that he had to deal with an age little better than semi-barbarous, and was probably obliged against his will to legislate *down* to the public intelligence. We are the more inclined to make this allowance for him in some cases, because in

others he gave very plain proofs that he possessed both understanding and good feeling far in advance of his age. In the case, for instance, of the absurd trial by battle, which disgraced the statute-book even so lately as the reign of George III., Henry, though the time was not ripe for its complete abolition, enacted that either of the parties might challenge in its stead a trial by a jury of twelve freeholders.

To make the administration of justice more certain, with a view both to repressing crime and to protect the community against the oppressions of the nobles, Henry divided England into four great circuits, to be traversed by itinerant justices selected from among those prelates and lay nobles most remarkable for learning and their love of justice. He also made some very useful regulations with a view to a defence of the kingdom, each man being obliged to arm himself according to his rank.

While the king was thus wisely employing his leisure, his sons were meditating further annoyance to him. Prince Henry renewed his demand for the complete resignation of Normandy, and on receiving a refusal proceeded to the court of France with his queen with the evident design of renewing his hostilities against his too indulgent father. But Philip, who had just succeeded to Louis on the throne of France, was not just now prepared for war against so powerful a king as Henry, and the young prince was therefore once more obliged to make his submission to his much-enduring sovereign and parent. Prince Henry and Geoffrey now became engaged in a feudal strife with their brother, Prince Richard. The king, with his usual anxiety for the welfare of these most turbulent and undutiful princes, interfered to restore peace among them, but had scarcely succeeded in doing so when he once more found Prince Henry arrayed against him.

A. D. 1183.—To what end the shameful conspiracies of this incorrigible and ungrateful prince would at length have arrived it is difficult to judge, though we may but too reasonably presume that his real aim was the actual deposition of his father. But the career of the prince now drew to an end. He had retired to the castle of Martel, near Turenne, to mature his schemes, and was there seized with a fever. Finding himself in danger, he sent to entreat that his father would visit him and personally assure him of forgiveness. But the king, though not less affectionate than of yore, had received so many proofs of his son's perfidy, that he feared to trust himself in his hands. The prince died on the 11th of June; and the king, who fainted on hearing the news, bitterly, but surely most unjustly, reproached himself with hard-heartedness in having refused to visit him.

Prince Henry, who died in the twenty-eighth year of his age, though married, left no children. The Prince Richard, therefore, now filled the important situation of heir to the English throne; and the king proposed that, in this altered state of things, Prince John, who was his favourite son, should inherit Guienne. But Richard, unmindful of the grief which his father was already enduring, not merely refused to consent to this arrangement, but proceeded to put that duchy into a condition to make war against his brother Geoffrey, who was in possession of Brittany, and to resist, if needful, the king himself. Well knowing how much more influence Eleanor had over their sons than he had, the king sent for her, and as she was the actual heiress of Guienne, Richard, so undutiful towards his father, at once delivered the duchy up to her.

A. D. 1185.—Scarcely had Richard become reconciled to his father, when Geoffrey, being refused Anjou, of which he had demanded the annexation to his duchy of Brittany, levied troops and declared war against his father; but before this unnatural prince could do any considerable portion of the mischief which he obviously intended, he was slain accidentally by one of his opponents at a tournament. His posthumous son

who was christened Arthur, was invested with the duchy of Brittany by King Henry, who also constituted himself guardian of the youthful prince.

The attention of both Henry and his rival, Philip of France, was soon called from their personal differences to a new crusade, which Rome was now anxious that the European sovereigns should engage in. Saladin, a gallant and generous-spirited prince, but no less a determined opponent of the cross, having seated himself on the throne of Egypt, boldly undertook the task of expelling the Christians from the Holy Land. His object was greatly favoured by the folly of the Christian leaders, who, instead of uniting to oppose the Infidels, were perpetually at enmity among themselves. To this general folly treason was added, and the count of Tripoli, who had the command of the Christian forces on the frontier, perfidiously allowed Saladin to advance, and deserted to him at Tiberiad, where the soldan was completely victorious, the long tottering kingdom of Jerusalem being completely overturned, and the holy city itself captured. The kingdom of Antioch was also subdued; and of all that the Christians had possessed in the Holy Land nothing now remained to them but a few petty towns upon the coast. So soon and so easily was that territory lost which it had cost the warrior-hosts of Christendom so much blood, treasure and time to conquer from the infidels of an earlier generation.

A. D. 1188.—The intelligence of this triumph of the crescent produced a general and profound grief in Europe. Pope Urban III. actually sickened and died from sorrow at the calamity, and his successor, Gregory VIII., bestowed nearly all his attention during his short reign upon the necessary preparations for attempting, at the least, the re-conquest of the holy city.

Henry of England and Philip of France, as by far the most powerful monarchs in Europe, were naturally appealed to by Rome, and William archbishop of Tyre, caused them to have a meeting at Gisors. His description of the sufferings of the Christians in the East, and his eloquent appeal to the love of military glory, which, after superstition, was the most powerful passion of both monarchs and private men in that age, so wrought upon both princes, that they at once assumed the cross and commenced the necessary preparations.

A. D. 1189.—As the clergy, notwithstanding the zeal of the papal court, did not show their usual alacrity in aiding the new enterprize either with money or eloquence, some delay and difficulty were experienced by both kings in obtaining the necessary supplies, and in the meantime new quarrels sprang up between them. Philip, always jealous of Henry's superiority, found that king's son, Prince Richard, fully as credulous and as prone to disloyal and undutiful conduct as his deceased brother Henry had been; and he had no difficulty in persuading him that he was more interested in the welfare of France than in that of the kingdom over which he was one day to rule. In a few words, Richard was the credulous and hot-headed dupe, and Philip the resolved and wily deceiver. Philip, desirous of a cause for quarrel with Henry, and yet unwilling to incur the disgrace which could not but attach to one crusader who should without strong provocation make war upon another while Palestine yet groaned beneath the yoke of the proud and bigoted pagan, persuaded Richard to furnish him with a pretext for war by making an inroad upon Toulouse. As Philip had foreseen, Raymond, count of Toulouse, appealed to him for support as superior lord; and with as much gravity as though he had then first heard of Richard's achievement, Philip complained to the king of England of his son's infringement upon the rights and property of a vassal of the crown of France. But Richard, if wicked or thoughtless enough to undertake the evil measures against his own sovereign and father, was not prudent enough to keep his own counsel; and Henry was able to reply to the hypocritical complaint of Philip, that Prince Richard had con-

fessed to the archbishop of Dublin that it was at the express desire and personal suggestion of Philip himself that he had made his unprovoked attack upon the county of Toulouse. Far from being either ashamed or dismayed by this discovery of his treacherous designs, Philip, on receiving Henry's reply, immediately invaded Berri and Auvergne, and did so under the pretence of retaliating the injury to the count of Toulouse, which it was so well known that he had himself caused to be done. Henry, now thoroughly provoked as Philip himself could have desired him to be, crossed the French frontier, and, besides doing much other damage, burned the town and fortress of Dreux. After much mutual injury and a futile attempt at treaty, the two kings were at length induced once more, but in vain, to attempt to come to terms; chiefly, however, as far as Philip was concerned, by the refusal of some of his most powerful vassals to serve any longer against Henry, whom, as well as their own sovereign, they desired to see combating for the redemption of Palestine. On Henry's side the feeling was as much more sincere as it was less compulsory; but the terms proposed by Philip were so insidiously calculated to work future evil to England, that Henry had no choice but to refuse them. For, well aware as he was of the mischief which had accrued to Henry in consequence of his having consented to the coronation of his former heir, he demanded that the same honour should now be bestowed upon Richard, and with this aggravation, that whereas Richard in the very act which had produced this war had shown how ready he was to do aught that would injure and annoy his father, Philip demanded his being put into immediate possession of all the French possessions of his father, and that his nuptials should forthwith be celebrated with Alice, Philip's sister. In full expectation, as it should seem, that Henry's good sense would dictate this refusal, Philip had caused Richard to agree that on receiving such a refusal he would immediately disclaim further allegiance, and do homage to Philip for all the Anglo-French possessions, as though he had already and lawfully been invested with them.

The war accordingly recommenced as furiously as ever between the two kings; and Cardinal Albano, the Pope's legate, despairing of ever seeing the two powerful monarchs arrayed side by side against the Infidels while these quarrels existed between them, and looking upon the unnatural conduct of Richard as a chief cause of them, pronounced sentence of excommunication against him. The sentence fell innocuously on his head, owing to the lukewarmness of the clergy, and Richard having formally received from Philip the investiture of Guienne, Normandy, and Anjou, the nobles of those provinces sided with him in spite of the declared will of Rome, and overran the territories of all who still maintained the cause of the king of England.

At Henry's request, Cardinal Adagni, who had succeeded Albano as legate, threatened Philip with an interdict upon his dominions; but Philip scornfully replied, that it was no part of the papal duty to interfere in the temporal quarrels of princes; and Richard, who was present at the interview, went so far as to draw his sword upon the cardinal, and was not without difficulty withheld from proceeding to still more outrageous and criminal lengths.

Mans, Amboise, Chateau de Loire, and several other places were successively taken by Philip and Richard, or treacherously delivered to them by their governors. In this state of the war, when everything seemed to threaten Henry with ruin, the archbishop of Rheims, the duke of Burgundy, and the earl of Flanders stepped forward as mediators. Intelligence at the same time reached Henry that Tours, long menaced, was at length taken; and; hard as were the terms proposed, he saw nothing left for him but to agree to them. And hard those terms indeed were to a prince who hitherto had been so much accustomed to

dictate terms to others. He consented to the immediate marriage of Richard and Alice—though some historians relate that he was himself enamoured of that princess—and should receive homage and fealty, not only for the Anglo-French dominions, but also for England itself; that the king of France should receive twenty thousand marks to defray his expenses in this war; that the barons of England should be security for Henry's due performance of his part in this treaty, and should undertake to join their forces with those of Richard and the king of France in the event of his breaking his engagement, and that all and sundry his vassals who had sided with his son should be held harmless.

If the last-mentioned clause was in itself calculated to wound the feelings of so proud a prince as Henry, it led to his being wounded in a feeling far deeper than pride; for, on his demanding a list of those whom he was thus engaged to pardon, the very first name that met his eye was that of his favourite son, Prince John, on whom he had conferred kindness even to the extent of arousing the anger and jealousy of the passionate Richard.

Though proud and bold, Henry was a singularly affectionate parent; he had already suffered much sorrow from the unnatural conduct of his sons, and this new proof of the utter callousness of heart of the best beloved and most trusted of them was a blow too severe for his declining strength. He sickened on the instant, and bestowed upon his ingrate and heartless children a solemn curse, which no entreaties of the friends who were about him could induce him to recal. As he reflected upon the barbarity of his children, his chagrin increased instead of diminishing, and a low nervous fever soon after deprived him of life, which happened on the 6th of July, in the fifty-eighth year of his age and thirty-fifth of his reign. His corpse was conveyed to Fontevraud by his natural son Geoffrey, who had ever behaved to him with the tenderness and duty so fearfully wanting in the conduct of his legitimate children. While the royal corpse lay in state at Fontevraud, Prince Richard visited the sad scene, and exhibited a sorrow sincere and passionate as it was tardy and useless.

Taken altogether, the reign of Henry II. was both a prosperous and a brilliant one; and it seems probable that had not the cruel misconduct of his sons engaged him in war when he fain would have been at peace, he would have done still more than he did towards providing for the internal welfare of his kingdom. What he did towards that end, if it appear of too stern and cruel a nature to us who live in times so much milder and more civilized, seems to be but too completely justified by what the historians tell us of the gross and evil daring of the populace of those early days. In the cities especially, where the congregating of numbers had given increased daring to offenders, but had not as yet led to any safe and sound arrangements of police, the insolent violence of the populace attained to a height of which we can form but a very faint notion. Street brawls and street robberies, attended with violence always and not unfrequently with actual murder, were every-day occurrences. Burglary was not then as now confined to the darkness and security of the night-hours, but even the wealthiest traders, though their shops were situated in the most public streets, had constant reason to fear assault and robbery even at noonday, so bold and strong were the gangs of thieves. A single specimen of the doings of the street robbers of those times may not be unacceptable. The house of a citizen of known and large wealth was attacked by a band of robbers who actually plied their wedges and axes so effectually as to make a breach in a substantial stone wall. Just as, sword in hand, they were making good their entrance, the citizen led on his servants to resist them, and so stoutly defended his premises that his neighbours had time to arm and assist him. In the course of the fight, which, though short, seem to have been severe, one of the robbers had

his right hand cut off. This man was subsequently taken prisoner, and as the loss he had sustained rendered all denial of his identity perfectly idle, he agreed, in order to save his own life, to give full information of all who were concerned with him. Among the accomplices thus named was a very wealthy citizen, who up to that time had been looked upon as a person of the greatest probity. Denying the charge, he was tried by the ordeal and convicted. He then offered the large sum of five hundred marks in commutation of his offence; but the king, rightly judging that the rank and wealth of the offender only made the offence the more shameful and unpardonable, sternly refused the money and ordered the citizen felon to be hanged.

Unlike the other Norman princes, Henry II. was not so attached to his game as to hold the lives of his subjects in utter contempt on its account. He greatly moderated the forest laws, which under his predecessors had been so fruitful a source of misery to the people, and punished infringements upon them, not by death or mutilation, but by fine or imprisonment.

Though generally of a grave and dignified habit, this king was not destitute of a certain dry humour. Thus Giraldus Cambrensis relates that the prior and monks of the monastery of St. Swithin made grievous complaint to Henry of the rigour with which, as they alledged, they had been treated by the bishop of Winchester in the ordering of their diet. "We have but ten dishes allowed us now!" they exclaimed. "But ten!" said the king, "I have but three! 'Tis the fitter number, rely upon it, and I desire that you be confined to it henceforth."

Henry was survived by two legitimate sons, Richard and John, and three legitimate daughters, Maud, Eleanor, and Joan. He also left two illegitimate sons, Richard, surnamed Longsword, and Geoffrey, who became archbishop of York. These sons were born to him by Rosamond daughter of Lord Clifford. Of all that romance, whether in its own guise or in that of history, has said of this lady, nothing seems to be true save that she was both fair and frail. Her bower at Woodstock, and the pleasant choice offered to her by the jealous Queen Eleanor, between the dagger and the poisoned chalice, are mere inventions.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE REIGN OF RICHARD I.

A. D. 1189.—The partiality with which, even down to the present time, the character of Richard I. has been looked upon, is a striking proof how far men can go in dispensing with other good qualities, in favour of him who is abundantly endowed with the mere animal quality of courage. The shameful ingratitude, amounting to actual barbarity, with which this prince treated his only too-indulgent father, and even the hot-headed selfishness with which he preferred warring abroad to beneficially and usefully ruling at home, and made his realm a mere depôt for the men and munitions requisite to the prosecution of his schemes of military ambition, are overlooked in consideration of his reckless daring and great exploits in the battle-field. Until men are much better taught than they have ever yet been as to the real value of courage and the precise limits within which its exercise is deserving of the homage now so indiscriminately paid to it, grave and thoughtful writers will, we fear, labour but vainly towards causing the reality of Richard's character to become visible through the false but gorgeous halo with which the error of long centuries has surrounded it. With this brief caution against too implicit a faith in the coexistence of virtue and courage, we proceed to the reign of the most war-

like of all of even England's kings, whose equally impetuous and enduring bravery obtained for him from the most warlike men of a warlike age the title of "*Cœur de Lion*," "the lion hearted."

The first act of Richard's reign gave some promise of a wise and just one. Instead of taking into favour and employment those who had so shamefully aided him in his undutiful and disloyal conduct, he treated them with marked disfavour, and contrariwise retained in their employments those ministers who had been the faithful and zealous advisers of his father. He released his mother, Queen Eleanor, from the confinement in which she remained at the death of Henry, and committed the regency of England to her till he should arrive to govern it in person. To his brother John, too, he showed the beginning of that favour which he continued to him throughout his reign, and of which John continually and flagrantly proved his unworthiness. The day of Richard's coronation was marked by an event which showed the intolerance of the age to be fully equal to and every way worthy of its superstition. The Jews, everywhere a proscribed people, were, however, everywhere an industrious and of course a prosperous and wealthy people. Being the largest possessors of ready money, they naturally engrossed the invidious, though often important, trade of money-lending; and when we consider the usage which the Jews too commonly received at the hands of Christians, and add to that the frequent losses they sustained, we need scarcely be surprised that they sometimes charged enormous interest, and treated their insolvent debtors with a rigour that almost frees Shakspeare from the charge of caricaturing in his terribly graphic character of Shylock. The necessities that ever wait upon unthrift made too many of the high-born and the powerful personally acquainted with the usurious propensities of the Israelites; and thus added personal feelings of animosity to the hate borne by the zealous *Christians*—alas! what a Christianity was theirs!—against the Jews. During the reign of Henry II. the animosities which were nourished against the Jews were not openly expressed; but Richard, who combined in his own person much of the evil as well as of the good that distinguished his stirring and bigoted time, had an especial hatred to Jews, and he gave orders that on the day of his coronation they should on no account make their appearance at the scene of that ceremony. Some of them, judging that their gold, at least, would obtain them exception from this rule, ventured to wait upon him with presents of great value. Having approached the banqueting hall of the king, they were soon discovered by the crowd and of course insulted. From words the rabble proceeded to blows; the Jews became terrified, fled, and were pursued; and, either in error or malignity, a report was spread that the king had ordered the general destruction of the Jews. Orders so agreeable at once to the bigotry and the licentiousness of such a populace as that of London, were believed without much scruple and executed without any remorse. Not contented with murdering all the Jews who were to be found in the streets, the rabble broke into and first plundered and then burned the houses of the wealthy individuals of that persecuted sect, who, driven to desperation, defended themselves bravely but ineffectually. From London the fierce cry against the Jews, and the false cry that the king had authorized their destruction, spread to the other great towns, where the unhappy people were equally plundered and slaughtered as in London. At York, in addition to the murders committed by the populace, a truly horrible tragedy took place. Upwards of five hundred of the Jews shut themselves up in the castle with their families. Finding that they could not much longer defend themselves against the infuriated and blood-stained rabble without, the men of this unhappy and persecuted band actually killed their own wives and children and threw their corpses over the walls, and then, setting fire to the place, chose

rather to perish in the tortures of the flames than in those which they knew would be adjudged to them by their enraged and bigoted enemies. As though this horrible tragedy had not sufficiently disgraced the nation the gentry of York, most of whom were deeply indebted to the unhappy Jews, added a characteristic trait of sordid dishonesty to the general horror, by making before the altar of the cathedral a solemn burnt sacrifice of the bonds in which they were confessed debtors. The detestation with which we are inspired by this whole affair almost makes us add without regret or pity, that long after the Jews were all either massacred or escaped, the plundering of the rabble went on with equal zeal in the houses of men who were not Jews, and who indignantly impressed that fact upon the minds of the plunderers. Though the known hatred which the king bore to the Jews was doubtless influential in encouraging the rabble to excess on this occasion, it is certain that he gave no direct orders or encouragement to them. On the contrary, as soon as actual force had restored comparative order in the country, Richard commissioned his chief justiciary, the celebrated Glanville, to make the necessary inquiries and to punish as many as could be discovered of the original instigators of these detestable enormities. But even partial inquiry showed that the rabble were, with all their violence and grossness, by no means the most blameworthy party upon this occasion, and so many powerful and wealthy men were found to be deeply implicated, that, after the punishment of a very few persons, to vindicate the laws from the reproach of complete inefficiency, the inquiry was wholly laid aside.

Scarcely had Richard finished the ceremony of his coronation ere he commenced his preparations for an expedition to Palestine. The distance of that country made it impossible for him to rely upon England to furnish him from time to time with the requisite supplies; his first care, therefore, was to provide himself with such an amount of money as would place him above any danger from want of means to provision his followers. His father had left him above a hundred thousand marks—a very large sum in that age—and, to add to that important treasure, the king resorted to the sale not only of the manors and revenues of the crown, but even of many offices, the nature of which rendered it especially important that they should be held by pure hands. The office of sheriff, which concerned both the administration of justice and the crown revenue, was thus sold, as was the scarce less important office of forester; and at length, as if to show that all considerations were trivial, in his judgment, when compared to that of forwarding his favourite scheme, Richard openly and shamefully sold the high office of chief justiciary—that office upon which the liberties and properties of the whole nation were to a very considerable extent dependant, to Hugh de Puzas, bishop of Durham, for a thousand marks, this prelate being also, "for a consideration, invested for his own life with the earldom of Northumberland." Completely reckless how he obtained money, and really seeming to have no single thought to bestow upon his country, except as a source of money, he next sold back to the king of Scotland the Scottish fortresses which his wiser father had so carefully guarded, and released William from all sign of vassalage beyond the ordinary homage for lands held by him in England, the price of all this advantage on the one side and disgraceful sacrifice on the other being ten thousand marks.

Besides selling in this reckless way much in which he justly and legally held only a mere life-interest, he wearied all ranks of his subjects for loans or gifts; the distinction in words being, it will easily be believed, the only distinction between the two ways of parting with their money! The utmost having been done to raise money in these discreditable ways, Richard next applied himself to selling permission to remain at home to those who, after having taken the cross had, from whatever cause, be-

come less enamoured of the task of combating the Infidels. To dwell no longer upon this disgraceful passage in our history, Richard, in his anxiety to raise money to aid him in his merely selfish pursuit of fame, showed himself so reckless a salesman that his ministers ventured to remonstrate with him, and he, shamelessly exulting in his own want of principle and true pride, replied, that he would gladly sell his good city of London, could he but find a purchaser.

While Richard was thus making such great sacrifices, nominally for the sake of the Christian cause in Palestine, but really for the sake of his own fierce vanity, of that peculiar quality to which men have slavishly agreed to give the more sounding name of love of glory, his life and conversation were by no means of the most Christian pattern, and gave great offence to those crusaders whose piety was sincere and practical, though occasionally carried to the extreme of bigotry in feeling and of grimace in manifestation. Fulke of Neuilly, a zealous and eloquent preacher of the crusade, preaching before Richard, boldly assured him that he had three favourite most dangerous daughters of whom it behoved him speedily to rid himself, namely, pride, avarice, and voluptuousness. "You are quite right," replied Richard, "and I hereby give the first of them to the Templars, the second to the Benedictines, and the third to my prelates."

Previous to departing for the east, Richard committed the administration of the government in England to Hugh, bishop of Durham, and Longchamp, bishop of Ely; but though he at first swore both his brother Prince John and his natural brother Geoffrey, archbishop of York, not even to enter the kingdom during his absence, he subsequently withdrew that politic prohibition. Longchamp, the bishop of Ely, though of mean birth, was a man of considerable talent and energy; and the better to enable him to govern with effect, Richard, who had already made him chancellor of the kingdom, also procured him to be invested with the authority of papal legate.

While Richard and Philip had been engaged in preparing for their eastern expedition, the Emperor Frederic had already led from Germany and the neighbouring countries of the north, an army of 150,000 men, and though the force of the Infidels and the intrigues of the court of the eastern empire—which feared the western Christians nearly as much as it did the Infidels themselves—caused him both great delay and a considerable loss of men, he had already reached the frontiers of Syria, when, bathing in the Cydnus, he was caused so violent an illness by the excessive coldness of the water, that he very shortly afterwards died. His son Conrad assumed the command of the army, which, however, reached Palestine reduced to about eight thousand men, and even of these many were in a state of pitiable weakness from the diseases incident to the climate and season under which so many of their comrades had perished.

Philip and Henry perceiving how much mischief accrued from the cutting off of such immense bodies of men from all chance of succour from Europe, resolved to equip fleets, not only for the purpose of carrying over their armies and such stores of provisions as would inevitably be requisite, but also to form, as it were, a line of communication with Europe whether for supply or retreat.

A. D. 1190.—And, indeed, when the forces of Richard and Philip met on the plains of Vezelay, on the frontiers of Burgundy, men the least sanguine in trusting to human prowess might have been pardoned for deeming that that mighty host must be invincible by any power that the Infidels could muster against it. After all the necessary and cautious weeding by which the minor leaders had taken care, as far as possible, to have none enrolled among their troops save those who were strong of body and masters of their weapons, this force amounted to more than a hundred thousand men, well armed, abundantly provided for, and animated to the

highest possible pitch of zeal by the double feeling of religious ardour and military ambition. Richard and Philip pledged both themselves and the other leaders of this mighty host to mutual faith and friendship in the field; and the two monarchs engaged their barons and prelates who remained at home, on oath, to refrain from any infringement of the respective kingdoms, and called down interdict and excommunication upon whosoever should break this solemn engagement. This done, Philip marched towards Genoa, and Richard towards Marseilles, where, respectively, they had rendezvoused their fleets. Though they sailed from different ports, they were both, and nearly at the same time, tempest-driven into the harbour of Messina, in which port they were detained during the whole remainder of the year.

The adage which represents a long confinement on board ship as a peculiar test of temper and touchstone of friendship, applies equally to all cases of very close companionship. Brought thus long into daily contact, these young princes, who were so well fitted to have been friends under almost any other circumstances, were the more certain to disagree, from their mutual possession, in a very high degree, of a haughty determination, ambition, courage, and obstinacy; and as Philip was as cool and reserved as Richard was passionate to the verge of frenzy, and candid to the verge of absolute folly, their disagreements were pretty sure to tend chiefly to the advantage of Philip.

While residing at Messina, and settling some difference which both kings, in some sort, had with Tancred, the reigning usurper of Sicily, Richard, extremely jealous of the intentions of both prince and people, established himself in a fort which commanded the harbour. A quarrel was the consequence, and Richard's troops having chastised the Messinese for an attack which he rather guessed than had any proof that they meditated, Richard had the English flag displayed in triumph on the walls of the city. Philip, who had previously done all that he could to accommodate matters, justly enough considered this display as being insulting to him, and gave orders to some of his people to pull the standard down. Richard, on the other hand, chose to treat this order as a personal insult to him, and immediately sent word to Philip that he had no objection to removing the standard himself, but that no one else should touch it, save at mortal risk. Philip, who was too anxious for the aid of Richard when they should arrive in the Holy Land to be willing to drive him to extremities, accepted the proposal with some cordiality; but the quarrel, petty as it was, left the seeds of dislike in the hearts of both princes.

A. D. 1191.—Tancred, the Sicilian usurper, deeming that his own safety would be promoted by whatever sowed discord between these two powerful princes, was guilty of a deception which in their mutual temper of suspicion might have led even to fatal consequences. He showed to Richard a letter which he stated he had received from the hands of the duke of Burgundy. This letter, which purported to be written by Philip, required Tancred to cause his troops suddenly to fall upon the English troops, and promised that the French should aid him in the destruction of the common enemy. Richard, with his usual fiery and unreflecting temper, believed this clumsy fiction without examination, and being wholly unable to dissemble his feelings, he at once told Philip what he was charged withal. Philip flatly denied the charge, branded the Sicilian usurper with his falsehood, and challenged him to support the atrocious charge he had made; and as Tancred was, of course, wholly unable to do so, Richard professed to be completely satisfied. As this attempt of Tancred and its near approach to success had warned each Philip and Richard of the danger to which their friendship, so important to both their kingdoms and to the great cause in which they were each engaged, was perpetually liable from the arts of the enemies of either, they agreed to have a

solemn treaty, in which every possible point of difference should be so arranged that no future difficulty could arise. But this very attempt at formalizing friendship was itself the cause of a dispute, which at the outset threatened to be a fatal one, inasmuch as the family honour of Philip was very much concerned in the matter.

It will be remembered that, in his shameful opposition to his father, Richard had constantly expressed the utmost possible anxiety for permission to espouse Alice, daughter of Louis, the late king of France, and the sister of that Philip who was now Richard's fellow-crusader. Alice, who long resided in England, was confidently, though perhaps only scandalously, reported to have been engaged in a criminal amour with Richard's own father; and Richard, well knowing the current report on that head, was far indeed from desiring the alliance which, as a sure means of annoying his father, he was thus perpetually demanding. Now that he was king, he not only had no longer any intention of marrying Alice, but had, in fact, made proposals for the hand of Berengaria, daughter of the king of Navarre, and was expecting that princess to follow him under the protection of his mother, Queen Eleanor. Philip, probably suspecting or knowing this new passion, formally required that Richard should espouse Alice, now that there was no longer any hostile father to oppose him. But Richard on this occasion gave proof that he was not actuated merely by his constitutional levity, by bringing forward proof so clear that it carried conviction even to the unwilling mind of Philip, that Alice had actually born a child to Richard's father, the late king of England. To such a reason for breaking off the engagement no valid reply could be made; and Philip departed for the Holy Land, while Richard remained at Messina to await the arrival of his mother and the princess Berengaria. They soon after arrived, and Richard, attended by his bride and his sister, the dowager queen of Sicily, departed for the Holy Land; Queen Eleanor returning to England.

Richard's fleet was met by a heavy storm, which drove part of it upon the isle of Cyprus, the prince of which, Isaac, a despot whose limited means and power did not prevent him from assuming all the state and tyrannous bearing of an emperor, threw the wrecked crews into prison, instead of hospitably administering to their wants, and even carried his barbarity so far as to prevent the princesses, on their peril, from being sheltered in his port of Limisso. But the triumph of this ill-conditioned tyrant was only brief. Richard, who soon after arrived, landed his troops, beat the tyrant before Limisso, took that place by storm, threw Isaac himself into prison, and established new governors in all the principal places of the island. A singular favour was in the midst of this severity conferred by Richard upon the defeated and imprisoned tyrant. Isaac complained bitterly of the degradation of being loaded, like a vulgar malefactor, with chains of iron; his sense of degradation being apparently limited to the material of his fetters, and not extending to the fact of his being fettered at all. With an indescribably droll courtesy, Richard not only admitted the justice of the complaint, but actually had a set of very substantial silver fetters made for Isaac's especial use!

The nuptials of Richard and Berengaria were celebrated with great pomp at Cyprus, and they again set sail towards Palestine, taking with them Isaac's daughter, a beautiful woman, who was reported to have made conquest of Richard's heart. A strange companion to be given to his newly-married wife by a prince professing the most chivalric feelings of old knighthood, and especially bound, too, on the service of religion! Richard and his troops arrived in time to take a distinguised part in the long-beleagured Acre.

At first the English and French troops and their kingly leaders acted most amicably together, alternately taking the duty of guarding the

trenches and mounting to the assault of the place. But this good feeling between the two princes would probably not have endured very long, even had there been no other cause for their disagreements but the warlike superiority of Richard, whose headlong courage and great personal strength made him conspicuous in every attack. But to this latent and ever-rankling cause of quarrel others were speedily added.

The first dispute that arose between the two kings to call into open ight the real feelings which policy or courtesy had previously enabled them to veil, originated in the claims of Guy de Lusignan, and Conrade, marquis of Montferrat, to the more showy than profitable title of king of Jerusalem. De Lusignan sought and obtained the advocacy of Richard, and Philip *ipso facto* was induced to give the most strenuous support to Conrade. Nor did the evil rest with giving the two monarchs a cause of open and zealous opposition to each other. Their example was naturally followed by the other Christian leaders. The knights of the hospital of St. John, the Pisans, and Flemings, gave their voices and support to the side embraced by Richard, while the Templars, the Germans, and the Genoese, gave theirs to Philip; and thus, while every circumstance of interest and duty demanded the most cordial and unwavering unanimity among the Christian princes and leaders, their camp was divided into two fierce parties, almost as ready to turn their arms upon each other as upon the infidels.

The distressed condition to which the infidels were already reduced, nowever, did not allow of their profiting, as they otherwise might have done, by the Christian dissensions; and they surrendered the long-contested city, stipulating for the sparing of their lives, and agreeing, in return, to give up all the Christian prisoners, and the true Cross. The joy of the Christian powers of Europe at this long-desired triumph was so rapturous as to make them unmindful of the fact, that, setting almost incalculable treasure wholly out of consideration, this result had in the course of a few years cost Christendom at least three hundred thousand of her bravest lives.

After the surrender of Acre, Philip, disgusted probably at finding himself cast so much in the shade in a scene in which, and in which only, Richard was so well calculated to outshine him, departed for Europe on the ground that the safety of his dominions would not allow of his remaining to take a part in what promised to be the very slow and difficult recapture of Jerusalem, which it was only reasonable to suppose would be still more obstinately defended and more dearly purchased than Acre had been. But though on the plea that the weal of his kingdom and the state of his own health would not allow of his own longer presence, he guarded himself against the imputation of being wholly indifferent to the Christian cause, by leaving ten thousand of his best troops to Richard, under the command of the duke of Burgundy. And in order to allay the very natural suspicions of Richard, lest he should make use of his presence in Europe to do any wrong to the English power, he solemnly made oath that he would, on no pretence, make any attempt on the English dominions during Richard's absence. But, so lightly were oaths held even by the highly born and the enlightened of that day, that scarcely had Philp landed in Italy ere he had the mingled hardihood and meanness to apply to Pope Celestine V. to absolve him from his oath. The pope, more just, refused to grant it; but though Philip was thus prevented from the open hostility which he had most dishonourably planned, he did not hesitate to avail himself to the utmost of every means to work evil to Richard, and opportunity was abundantly afforded him by the conduct of the ungrateful and disloyal John, and the discord that reigned among the English nobility, almost without an exception of any note.

It has already been mentioned that Richard on his departure for the Holy Land had delegated the chief authority in England to Hugh, bishop

of Durham and earl of Northumberland, and Longchamp, bishop of Ely. The latter was not only far superior to his colleague in point of capacity and experience in the arts of intrigue, but was also possessed of an audacious and violent spirit little becoming the churchman. The king had not long left England ere the domineering spirit of Longchamp began to manifest itself, not only towards the nobility in general, but also towards his milder colleague in the government. Having, in addition to his equality of civil authority, the legatine power, then so very tremendous as not easily to be resisted even by a powerful and wise king in his own proper person, Longchamp could not endure to treat the meeker bishop of Durham as anything more than his first subject. At first he manifested his feeling of superiority by petty means, which were rather annoying than positively hostile or injurious; but finding himself unresisted, he grew more and more violent, and at length went to the glaringly inconsistent length of throwing his colleague in the government into confinement, and demanding of him the surrender of the earldom of Northumberland which he had paid for in solid cash. This took place before the king had departed from Marseilles on his way to the east; and though immediately on Richard hearing of the dissension between the two prelates upon whose wisdom and perfect accord he so mainly depended for the peace and safety of his dominions, he sent peremptory orders for the earl-bishop's release, Longchamp had the consummate assurance to refuse to obey the king's command, assuring the astounded nobles that he knew that the king's secret wishes were directly opposed to his public orders!

This misconduct was followed up by so much insolence towards the nobility in general, and so many complaints were in consequence made to Richard, that he appointed a numerous council of nobles without whose concurrence Longchamp for the future was strictly forbidden to transact any important public business. But his vast authority as legate, added to his daring and peremptory temper, deterred even those named as his councillors from venturing to produce their commission to him, and he continued to display the magnificence and to exercise the power of an absolute sovereign of the realm.

The great abbots of the wealthy monasteries complained that when he made a progress in their neighbourhood, his train in a single day's residence devoured their revenue for years to come; the high-born and martial barons complained of the more than kingly hauteur of this low-born man; the whole nation, in short, was discontented, but the first open and efficient opposition was made by one whose personal characteristic was certainly not too great courage—the prince John.

That the bishop and legate misused his authority, to the insulting of the nobility and the impoverisment of the nation, would not a jot have moved John, but he could not endure that *he* too, should be thrown into shade and contempt by this overbearing prelate. The latter, with a want of policy strangely at variance with his undoubted ability, imprudently allowed himself to be guilty of personally disobliging John, who, upon that affront, conceived an indignation which all the disobedience shown to his brother, and all the injury inflicted upon his brother's best and most faithful subjects, had been insufficient to arouse. He summoned a council of prelates and nobles to meet him at Reading, in Berkshire, and cited Longchamp to appear there to account for his conduct. Aware when it was too late of the dangerous enemies he had provoked by the wanton abuse of his authority, the prelate, instead of appearing before the council, entrenched himself in the Tower of London. But the manner in which he had wielded his authority had left him so few and such lukewarm friends, that he soon found that he was not safe even in that strong fortress, and, disguising himself in female apparel, he contrived to escape to France where he was sure to find a cordial reception at the hands of Philip. He

was now in form deprived of the high civil offices which by his flight he had virtually surrendered, and the archbishop of Rouen, who had a high reputation for both talent and prudence, was made chancellor and justiciary in his stead. As Longchamp, however, held the legatine power, of which no civil authorities could deprive him, he still had abundant means, which he lost no opportunity of using, to aid the insidious endeavours of Philip to disturb the peace of England and injure the absent Richard.

A. D. 1192.—Philip's neighbourhood to Richard's French dominions held out an opportunity far too tempting to be resisted for invading them, which he was on the point of openly doing when he found himself prevented in his treacherous schemes by the almost general refusal of his nobles to aid him in so unjust an enterprise against the territories of a prince who was gloriously—though anything but prudently—periling life and limb in the distant wars of the cross. Philip was discouraged, moreover, in this part of his dishonorable plan by the pope, who, especially constituting himself the guardian of the rights of all princes engaged in the crusade, threatened Philip with the terrors of an interdict, should he venture to persist in attacking the territority of his far worthier brother-sovereign and fellow crusader.

But though obstacles so formidable rendered it impossible for him to persist in this open course of injustice, save at the hazard of destruction to himself, he resolved to work secretly to the same end. Thoroughly understanding the dishonourable character of John, he made overtures to that base and weak prince; offered him in marriage that princess Alice whose blotted character had caused her to be refused by the usually imprudent and facile Richard, and gave him assurance of investiture in all the French possessions of Richard, upon condition of his taking the risk of invading them. John, whose whole conduct through life showed him to be destitute of all feelings of faith or gratitude, was in no wise startled by the atrocity that was proposed to him, and was in the act of commencing preparations for putting it into execution when Queen Eleanor, more jealous of the kingly rights of her absent son than she had formerly showed herself of those of her husband, interposed her own authority, and caused the council and nobles of England to interpose theirs, so effectually, that John's fears overcame even his cupidity, and he abandoned a project which none but a wholly debased mind would ever have entertained.

While these things were passing in Europe, the high-spirited but unwise Richard was gathering laurels in Asia, and unconsciously accumulating upon his head a terrible load of future suffering; and an occurence which just now took place in that distant scene was, with an execrable ingenuity, seized upon by Philip to calumniate in Europe the absent rival, each new exploit of whom added to the pangs of his ever-aching envy.

There was in Asia a mountain prince, known to Europeans by the title of the "Old Man of the Mountain," who had obtained so absolute a power over the excessively superstitious minds of his subjects, that, at a word or a sign from him, any one of them would put himself to death with the unmurmuring and even cheerful compliance of a man in the performance of some high and indefeasible religious duty. To die at the order of their despotic prince was, in the belief of these unlettered and credulous beings, to secure a certain and instant introduction to the ineffable delights of paradise; and to die thus was consequently not shunned or dreaded as an evil, but courted as the supremest possible good fortune. It will readily be understood that a race of men educated to commit suicide at the word of command, would be found no less docile to their despot's orders in the matter of murder. The care with which they were instructed in the art of disguising their designs, and the contempt in which they held the mortal consequences of their being discovered, rendered it certain death to give such offence to this terrible potentate of a petty territory as might

induce him to dispatch his emissaries upon their sanguinary errand. Conrad, marquis of Montferrat, who seems to have possessed a considerable genius for quarrelling, was unfortunate enough to give deep offence to the Old Man of the Mountain, who immediately issued against him his informal but most decisive sentence of death. Two of the old man's devoted subjects, known by the name of assassins—which name their practices have caused to be applied to murderers—rushed upon Conrad, while surrounded by his guards, and mortally wounded him.

About the author of this crime there was not, and there could not be, the slightest difference of opinion. The practice of the Old Man of the Mountain was only too well known; it was equally notorious that the marquis of Montferrat had given him deep offence by the contemptuous style in which he refused to make any satisfaction for the death of certain of the old man's subjects who had been put to death by the citizens of Tyre; and to put the cause of Conrad's death beyond all seeming possibility of mistake, the two assassins, who were seized and put to death with the most cruel tortures, boasted during their dying agonies that they died in the performance of their duty to their prince. But the king of France pretended wholly to disregard all the circumstances which thus spoke trumpet-tongued to the truth, and loudly protested his belief in the foul murder of Conrad having been committed by order of Richard, the former opponent of the marquis; and affecting to imagine that his person was in danger of attack by assassins, this accomplished hypocrite ostentatiously surrounded himself with a body-guard. This calumny was far too gross to be believed by any one; but it was easy to seem to believe it, and to convert it into an excuse for violating both the rights and the liberties of the most valiant of all the crusaders.

The valour and conduct of Richard and the other Christian leaders, vast and brilliant as they were, could not counterbalance the dissensions which sprang up among them. An immense host of Infidels under Saladin was vanquished, nearly forty thousand of them remaining dead upon the field of battle; Ascalon was speedily afterwards taken; and Richard had led the victorious Christians within sight of Jerusalem, when the impolitic dissensions to which we have alluded compelled him to make a truce with Saladin, just as the perfect triumph of the cross seemed inevitable. The duke of Burgundy, whom Philip had left in command of the French, openly and obstinately declared his intention of immediately returning to Europe; the German and Italian companies followed the evil example thus set; and Richard, compelled to treat by this unworthy defection, could but exert himself to obtain from the chivalrous Saladin, terms as favourable as possible to the Christians. By the terms of this treaty, which was concluded for the fanciful period of three years, three months, three weeks, three days, and three hours, Acre, Joppa, and other parts of Palestine were to be held by the Christians, and Christian pilgrims were to proceed to Jerusalem without let or molestation. The concluding of this treaty was nearly the last important public act of Saladin, who shortly afterwards expired at Damascus. On his death-bed he ordered legacies to a large amount to be distributed among the poor of Damascus, without distinction of religion, and he ordered his winding-sheet to be exposed in the public streets, a crier the while making proclamation, "This is all that remains of the mighty Saladin, the conqueror of the East."

Taking advantage of the truce, Richard now determined to return to England, to oppose his own power and authority to the intrigues of his ungrateful brother John and the unprincipled king of France. Being aware that he would be exposed to great danger should he venture through France, he sailed for the Adriatic, and being shipwrecked near Aquileia, he took the disguise of a pilgrim, in the hope that it would enable him undiscovered to pass through Germany. Driven out of his direct road by

some suspicions of the governor of Istria, he was so imprudently lavish of his money during his short stay at Vienna that his real rank was discovered, and he was thrown into prison by Leopold, duke of Austria, who had served under and been grievously affronted by him at the siege of Acre. The emperor Henry VI., whom Richard by his friendship with Tancred of Sicily had also made his enemy, not only approved of Richard's arrest but required the charge of his person, and offered the duke of Austria a considerable sum of money as a reward for it.

A.D. 1195.—The gref of Richard's friends and the triumph of his enemies were alike excited when the news of his capture reached England; the possible consequencs being obvious to both parties. Queen Eleanor spiritedly demanded the interference of the pope, whose duty she very justly averred it to be to wield the thunders of the church in protection of the church's bravest and most zealous champion. The pope, probably influenced by some occult and crafty motive of policy, showed himself anything rather than eager to meet the urgent wishes of Queen Eleanor; but as foes are usually far more zealous than friends, so Philip seized upon this as a favourable opportunity to exert his utmost power against the fallen but still formidable Richard, and he exerted himself to this end with an activity worthy of a better cause. To those of his own barons who had formerly refused to join him in attacking the territories of the absent Richard, he now urged the alledged atrocity of that prince in causing the assassination of the marquis of Montferrat; to the emperor Henry VI., he made large offers either for yielding up Richard to French custody, or for solemnly engaging for his perpetual imprisonment; and having made a matrimonial alliance with Denmark, he applied for permission and a fleet to enforce the Danish claim to the English crown. Nor did Philip fail to apply himself to Prince John, whom he well knew for the most willing and eager of all the enemies of his absent brother. John had an interview with the king of France, at which, on condition of being invested with his brother's French territory, he consented to yield a great portion of Normandy to Philip; and it is with no little appearance of probability affirmed, that he even did homage to Philip for the English crown. Thus much is certain, Philip invaded Normandy and was well served by John, whose orders enabled him to take Neufchatel, Gisors, and several other forts, without striking a blow. The counties of Eu and Aumale were speedily overrun by Philip, and he then marched against Rouen, loudly threatening that he would put the inhabitants to the sword without mercy, in the event of his experiencing any resistance. But here Philip was at length destined to receive a check. The earl of Leicester, who had shared Richard's perils and toils in Palestine, was fortunately at Rouen, and he took the command of the garrison, to whom his example and his renown gave new courage; and they fought so steadily and so well, that Philip, after many severe repulses, consented to a truce; the English regency engaging to pay him twenty marks, and placing four fortresses in his hands by way of security.

While Philip was exerting himself in Normandy John was trying the effect of a most audacious falsehood in England. Well knowing that few indeed among the barons would for his sake consent to set aside the hero of Palestine, John boldly tried how far their credulity would go, and, pre tending that he had received undoubted news of the death of his brother, demanded the crown as his heir. He possessed himself of the important castles of Windsor and Wallingford; but the lords justiciaries were so well convinced that Richard still lived, that they and the barons by whom they were supported opposed the would-be usurper so gallantly and so effectually, that he was fain to sue for a truce, and before the term of it had expired he took refuge at the court of Philip of France.

It is scarcely possible to conceive a case more hopeless than that of he

royal prisoner. His own brother plotting against him; the papal court lukewarm in his cause, if not even possessed by a still worse feeling; already in the power of an enemy, and hourly expecting to be handed over to the custody of an enemy still more imbittered; the proud Richard was at the same time subjected to every petty hardship and galling indignity which might be supposed likely to exasperate his spirit and incline him to offer the higher ransom for his release. Philip caused his ambassadors to renounce all protection to Richard as his vassal; and when it was hoped that the captive's spirit was greatly broken by continued ill-usage, he was produced before the imperial diet at the city of Worms, and there accused by the emperor of having made alliance with Tancred, the usurper of Sicily; of having at Cyprus turned the arms of the crusaders against a Christian prince, those arms which were especially and solely devoted to the chastisement and quelling of the Infidels; of having grievously wronged and insulted Leopold, duke of Austria, while that prince was fighting for the cross before Acre; of having by his quarrels with the king of France injured the Christian cause in the East; of having planned and caused the murder of Conrad, marquis of Montferrat; and, finally, of having concluded a truce with the infidel Saladin, and left Jerusalem in his hands. If Richard's enemies calculated upon his sufferings having tamed his spirit, they were soon undeceived; if those sufferings were severe, so was his spirit high. His speech, as summed up by Hume, is a model of that best kind of eloquence, which springs from a sense of right, and is clothed in the brief and biting sentences of keen and shrewd common-sense. "After premising that his dignity might exempt him from answering before any jurisdiction except that of heaven, he yet condescended, for the sake of his reputation, to justify his conduct before that great assembly. He observed that he had no hand in Trancred's elevation, and only concluded a treaty with a prince whom he found in possession of the throne; that the king, or rather the tyrant, of Cyprus, had provoked his indignation by the most ungenerous and unjust proceedings, and though he had chastised this aggressor, he had not for a moment retarded the progress of his chief enterprise; that if he had at any time been wanting in civility to the duke of Austria, he had already been sufficiently punished for that sally of passion, and it better became men who were embarked together in so holy a cause to forgive each others infirmities, than to pursue a slight offence with such unrelenting vengeance; that it had sufficiently appeared by the event whether the king of France or he were the more zealous for the conquest of the Holy Land, and were more likely to sacrifice private passions and animosities to the great object; that if the whole tenor of his life had not shown him incapable of a base assassination, and justified him from that imputation even in the eyes of his very enemies, it was in vain for him at present to make his apology or to plead the many irrefragable arguments which he could produce in his own favour; and, finally, however he might regret the necessity, he was so far from being ashamed of his truce with Saladin, that he rather gloried in that event, and thought it extremely honourable that, though abandoned by all the world, supported only by his own courage and by the small remains of his national troops, he could yet obtain such conditions from the most powerful and most warlike emperor that the east had ever yet produced. After thus deigning to apologize for his conduct, he burst out into indignation at the cruel treatment which he had met with; that he, the champion of the cross, still wearing that honourable badge, should, after expending the blood and treasure of his subjects in the common cause of Christendom, be intercepted by Christian princes on his return to his own country, be thrown into a dungeon, be loaded with irons, be obliged to plead his cause as though he were a subject and a malefactor, and, what he still more regretted, be thereby prevented from making preparations for a new crusade

which he had projected, after the expiration of the truce, and from redeeming the sepulchre of Christ which had so long been profaned by the dominion of the Infidels."

The force of Richard's reasoning and the obvious justice of his complaints won nearly all present to his side; the German princes themselves cried shame upon the conduct of the emperor, whom the pope even threatened with excommunication. The emperor, therefore, perceived that it would be impossible for him to complete his ineffably base purpose of giving up to Philip of France and the false and cruel Prince John the person of Richard in exchange for sordid gold; and as it seemed unsafe even to continue to confine him, the emperor consented to his relief at a ransom of 150,000 marks; two-thirds to be paid previous to Richard's release, and sixty-seven hostages to be at the same time delivered to secure the faithful payment of the remainder. Henry at the same time made over to Richard certain old but ill-ascertained claims of the empire upon the kingdom of Arles, including Provence, Dauphiny, Narbonne, and some other territory.

A hundred thousand marks, equivalent to above two hundred thousand pounds of our money, was a sum to raise which required no small exertion on the part of Richard's friends. The king's ransom was one of the cases for which the feudal law made express provision. But as it was found that the sum of twenty shillings which was levied upon each knight's fee did not make up the money with the rapidity which friendly and patriotic zeal required, great individual exertions were made, the clergy and nobility giving large sums beyond what could have fairly been demanded of them, and the churches and religious houses actually melting down their plate to the amount of 30,000 marks. As soon as the money by these extraordinary exertions was got together, Queen Eleanor, accompanied by the archbishop of Rouen, went to Mentz and there paid it to the emperor, to whom she at the same time delivered the hostages for the payment of the remainder. There was something perfectly providential in the haste made by the friends of Richard; for had there been the least delay, he would have been sacrificed to the treacherous policy of the emperor, who, anxious to obtain the support of the king of France against the threatening discontent of the German princes, was induced to determine upon perpetuating the captivity of Richard, even after the release of that prince on the payment of the money and the delivery of the specified number of hostages. The emperor had so fully determined upon this flagitious breach of faith, that he actually sent messengers to arrest Richard, who, however, had sailed and was out of sight of land ere they reached Antwerp. Richard was received most rapturously by his faithful subjects, and, as if anxious to wipe away the stain of incarceration, he revived the custom which his father had allowed to fall into neglect, of renewing the ceremony of coronation. "Take care of yourself," wrote Philip to John, "the devil has broken loose." The barons in council assembled, however, were far more terrible to the ungrateful John than his fiery yet placable brother, for they confiscated the whole of John's English property, and took possession of all the fortresses that were in the hands of his partizans.

Having made some stay in England to rest himself after his many fatigues, and having found his popularity proof even against the somewhat perilous test to which he put it by an arbitrary resumption of all the grants of land which, previous to going to the East, he had made with an improvidence as remarkable as his present want of honesty, Richard now turned his attention to punishing the wanton and persevering enmity of Philip of France. A war ensued, but it was weakly conducted on both sides, and a truce was at length made between them for a year. At the commencement of this war John was on the side of Philip; but, as

f incapable of being faithful even in wickedness, he took an opportunity to desert, and having secured the powerful intercession of Queen Eleanor, he ventured to throw himself at the feet of Richard and entreat his pardon, "May I as easily forget his injuries as he will my forgiveness!" was the shrewd remark of Richard on forgiving his unnatural brother.

The truce between England and France being at an end, the emperor of Germany solicited Richard's offensive alliance against France, and though circumstances occurred to prevent the treaty with the emperor from being ratified, the mere proposal sufficed to renew the war between Richard and Philip; but on this occasion, as before, the operations were conducted most weakly and on a very insignificant scale. (A. D. 1196.) After some petty losses on each side a peace was made; but the kings were too inimical to each other to remain long at rest, and in about two months hostilities were recommenced.

On this occasion Richard was joined by the counts of Flanders, Boulogne, Champagne, and Toulouse, and by some other of his fellow-vassals of the crown of France; but the alliance was thus productive of far less benefit than Richard had anticipated.

The prelates of that day were more frequently than became them found on the battle-field. On one occasion during this war the bishop of Beauvais, a relative of the French king, was taken prisoner in battle, and Richard loaded him with irons and threw him into prison, as though he had been the vilest of malefactors. The pope, at the instance of the king of France, demanded the release of the valiant bishop, of whom he spoke as being "his son." Richard, with a dry and bitter humour, of which he seems to have possessed no inconsiderable share, sent to the pope the blood-stained armour which the prelate had worn in the battle, and quoted the words of Jacob's sons, "this have we found; know now whether it be thy son's coat or no." How long the alternation of weak war and ill-kept peace would have continued it is impossible to judge, for the great cruelty which both kings exercised upon their prisoners indicated a feeling of malignity too deep to be destroyed by the efforts of negotiators; but while such efforts were being made by the cardinal St. Mary, the pope's legate, Richard, who had escaped in so many furious conflicts both in the East and Europe, perished from the effect of a wound received in a petty quarrel.

A. D. 1199.—Vidomar, viscount of Limoges, who was a vassal of Richard's, found some treasure and sent a considerable share as a present to him; Richard demanded that all should be given up to him as superior lord, and, on receiving a refusal, led some troops to the siege of the castle of Chalus, in which the viscount was staying. On the approach of Richard at the head of a numerous force of Brabançons, the garrison offered to surrender on terms, but Richard cruelly replied that he would first take the place and then hang up every man of the garrison. After making this reply, which, unhappily, was only too characteristic of his temper, Richard, attended by one of his captains, approached the walls to reconnoitre, and had an arrow lodged in his shoulder by an archer named Bertrand de Gourdon. Almost at the same moment Richard gave the order for the assault, and on the place being taken he literally put his threat into execution upon the garrison, with the sole exception of de Gourdon, who was only temporarily spared that he might have the cruel distinction of a slower and more painful death. Richard was so much mangled by the awkwardness with which the barbed arrow was drawn from his wound, that mortification rapidly set in, and the monarch felt that his last hour approached. Causing de Gourdon to be brought into his presence, he demanded how he had ever injured him. "With your own hand," firmly replied the prisoner, "you slew my father and my two brothers. You also threatened to hang me in common with my fellow-

soldiers. I am now in your power, but I shall be consoled under the worst tortures that you can cause to be inflicted upon me while I can reflect that I have been able to rid the earth of such a nuisance." Richard, softened by pain and the near approach of death, ordered that the bold archer should be set at liberty and presented with a considerable sum of money; but Marcadee, the leader of the Brabançons in whose company Richard was wounded, brutally had de Gourdon flayed alive and then hanged. Richard's wound defied the rude science of his surgeons, and after considerable suffering he died on the 6th of April, 1199, in the forty-second year of his age and the tenth of his reign—a reign very brilliant as regards his warlike feats, but in all the high and really admirable qualities of a monarch very sadly deficient. His conduct was in some particular cases not merely oppressive, as regarded his ways of raising money, but absolutely dishonest. As, for instance, he twice in his reign gave orders that all charters should be resealed, the parties in each case having, of course, to pay the fees; and in many cases taxes were inflicted upon particular parties without any other authority than the king's mere will. But it was chiefly in the re-enactment of all the worst parts of the forest laws, those parts which inflicted the most cruel and disgusting mutilations upon the offenders. But while this particular branch of law was shamefully severe, the police of London and other great towns was in an equally lax state. Robbery and violence in the streets were very common; and at one time, in 1196, a lawyer named Fitzosbert, surnamed Longbeard, had acquired a vast and dangerous power over the worst rabble of London, numbering nearly fifty thousand, who under his orders for some time set the ill-consolidated authorities at defiance. When called upon by the chief justiciary to give an account of his conduct, he attended with so numerous a rabble, that the justiciary deemed it unsafe to do more with him at that time than merely call upon him to give hostages for his future good behaviour. But the justiciary took measures for keeping a watchful eye upon Fitzosbert, and at length attempted to take him into custody, on which he, with his concubine and some attendants, took refuge in Bow Church, where he defended himself very resolutely, but was at length taken and hanged. So infatuated were the populace, however, that the very gibbet upon which this man was executed was stolen, and it was pretended that pieces of it could work miracles in curing the diseased. Though so fiery in temper, and so excessively addicted to bloodshed, Richard was by no means destitute of a certain vein of tenderness and romance. He prided himself pretty nearly as much upon his skill as a troubadour as upon his feats as a warrior, and there are even some of his compositions extant. On the whole, however, we fear that the popularity of Richard does little credit either to his contemporaries or his posterity as far as good judgment is concerned. Brilliant qualities he undoubtedly had; but his cruelty and his dogged self-will threw a blemish over them all.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE REIGN OF JOHN.

A. D. 1199.—When Richard went to Palestine he by a formal will set aside the claim of John to be his successor, in favour of Arthur of Brittany, the son of their brother Geoffrey. But during Richard's absence John caused the prelates and nobles to swear fealty to him in despite of that deed; and Richard, on his return to England, so far from showing any desire to disturb that arrangement, actually in his last will constituted John his successor, in direct contradiction to his own former and

formal deed. But though John was thus authoritatively named as his brother's successor, many of the barons of Normandy thought the right of young Arthur wholly indefensible by even the will of his uncle; and Philip, who was glad of any opportunity to injure the peace of the English territories in France, cheerfully agreed to aid them in the support of the young prince, whom he sent to Paris to be educated with his own son. John acted with unusual alertness and good judgment on this occasion. Sending his mother, Eleanor, to secure the provinces of Guienne and Poictou, where she was greatly beloved, he himself proceeded to Rouen, and having made all the arrangements necessary to keep peace in Normandy, he proceeded thence to England. Here he found little or no difficulty in causing his claim to be preferred to that of a mere boy; and having received the homage of all the most powerful barons, he hastened to France to prepare the necessary opposition to whatever exertions Philip might make on behalf of young Arthur.

A. D. 1200.—The actions between John and Philip were of but little importance; and the latter having inspired young Arthur's mother with the notion that he sought to benefit himself rather than her son, seized an opportunity to withdraw Arthur from the French court, and placed him under the protection of John. Finding their mutual want of power to obtain any great and permanent advantage by war, the two kings now made a treaty in which the limits of their several territories were laid down with great exactitude; nine barons of each nation swore respectively to maintain the treaty in good faith, even should it be necessary to make war upon their own sovereign, and still farther to insure its due and faithful observance John gave his niece, Blanche of Castile, with certain fiefs of her dower, to Prince Louis, eldest son of the French king. Being thus relieved from all apparent danger on the side of France, John, though he had a wife living, determined to gratify his passion for Isabella, heiress of the count of Anjouleme, though she was already married to the Count de la Marche, her youth alone having hitherto prevented the consummation of the union. John, reckless of the double difficulty, persuaded Isabella's father to give him his daughter, whom he espoused after having unceremoniously divorced his lawful wife.

A. D. 1201.—The Count de la Marche, in the highest degree provoked at this flagrant and insolent wrong that thus was done him, found it no difficult task to excite commotion in Poictou and Normandy; the barons there, as elsewhere in John's dominion, being already offended and disgusted by the mixture of weakness and insolence in which, probably, John has never been equalled. Alarmed as well as enraged by the disobedience of his French barons, John determined to punish them; but on summoning the chivalry of England to cross the sea with him for that purpose, he was met with a demand that, before they crossed over to restore his authority in his transmarine dominions, they should have their privileges restored and placed upon a secure footing. Their demand was not attended to on the present occasion, but this union of the barons led, as we shall hereafter see, to the most important consequences. On the present occasion John contrived to break up the coalition of the barons, some of whom agreed to accompany him on his expedition, while the rest were mulcted two marks on each knight's fee as a substitute for their personal attendance.

The addition of the force he carried from England to that which remained faithful to him in Normandy gave John an ascendancy which, rightly used, might have spared him many a subsequent hour of care. But it was contrary to John's nature to make a right use of power; and the moment he found himself safe from the infliction of injustice he was seized with an ungovernable desire to inflict it upon others. He advanced claims which he knew to be unjust; and as disputes of the feudal kind were chiefly to be settled by the duel, he constantly kept about him skil-

ful and desperate bravos whose business it was to act as his champions in cases of appeal of duel. The Count de la Marche and other high spirited barons complained of the indignity offered to them in thus opposing to them, as fitting antagonists, men whose low birth and infamous character made them unworthy of the notice of warriors of good birth and gentle breeding, appealed to Philip as their superior lord, and called upon him to protect them against the wantonness of John's tyranny. Philip, who saw all the advantages which might possibly accrue to himself, affected the part of a just lord; and John, who could not disavow Philip's authority without at the same time striking at his own, promised that by granting his barons an equitable judgment in his own court he would deprive them both of the right and the necessity of appealing to the superior court of Philip. Again and again his promises were renewed, but only to be broken; Philip, finding that his sense of honour alone was no security, demanded that the castle of Boutavant and Tilleries should be placed in his hands as security for justice being done to the barons. John was too weak to resist this demand; but he was also too faithless to keep his promise, which was broken just as it would have been had he given no security whatever.

A. D. 1203.—Young Arthur of Brittany, who was now springing into manhood and who had a very decided taste for warfare, had by this time seen enough of the cruel and tyrannous character of his uncle to feel that he was not in safety while living with him; he therefore made his escape to Philip, who received him with the utmost distinction, knighted him, gave him his daughter Mary in marriage, and invested him not only in his hereditary Brittany, but also with Anjou and Maine. The French army was for a time successful in every attempt; Tilleries and Boutavant, Mortimar and Lyons, were taken almost without difficulty; and Gournay, completely flooded by a stratagem of Philip, was abandoned to him by the astounded garrison. At each new loss, John, timid in adversity as he was despotic and unsparing in prosperity, made new endeavours to obtain peace; but the sole condition upon which Philip would now consent to even listen to his proposals, was his full resignation of all his territory on the continent to Prince Arthur. An accident at length occurred which changed the prospects of that young prince, with fearful rapidity, from the utmost success to the most complete ruin. Well knowing how much his grandmother, Queen Eleanor, had ever been opposed to his welfare, and hearing that she was in the fortress of Mirabeau, in Poictiers, and but slenderly attended, it occurred to him that if he could obtain possession of her person he would obtain the means of exercising considerable influence upon his uncle's mind, and he accordingly sat down to besiege the place, the fortification of which promised no very long resistance. John, though at some distance when informed of his mother's danger, hastened to her assistance with a speed very unusual for him, surprized young Arthur's camp, dispersed his forces, and took Arthur, together with Count de la Marche and other distinguished leaders of the revolted barons, prisoners. Most of the prisoners were for greater security shipped off to England; but Arthur was confined in the castle of Falaise, where he was speedily admitted to the dangerous honour of an intereiew with his uncle. John reproached Arthur less with the injustice of his cause in general, than with the folly of his expecting to derive any permanent advantage from the French alliance, which would keep him at variance with his own family, merely to make him a tool; a view of the case which was none the less correct because taken by a prince of whose general character a just man finds it impossible to approve. Arthur, brave and sanguine, asserted that his claim was superior to that of his uncle, and that not only as regarded the French territories, but as regarded England also; and he called upon John to listen to the voice of justice and restore him to his rights.

Historians differ as to the way in which John freed himself from a competitor whose early boldness promised at no distant day to give him much trouble. We have always doubted the exact accuracy of all the accounts, for the timidity and distrust which formed so principal a part of John's unamiable character would surely never have deserted him so far on so terribly serious an occasion, as would be implied by his proceeding being known with circumstantial accuracy.

All that seems to us to be certain upon the very painful subject is, that after a stormy interview with his uncle young Arthur was seen no more for some time. A report got into very general circulation that he had been unfairly dealt with. Such, it seems, was not the case as yet. The king, it is affirmed, had applied to William de la Bray to put the young prince to death, but he nobly replied that he was a gentleman, not an assassin or a hangman. A less scrupulous person was at length found and sent to the castle of Falaise; but he was sent away by Hubert de Burgh, the governor of the fortress, with the assurance that he would himself do what was necessary;—which humane deception he followed up by spreading a report of the prince's death, and even going through the form of his funeral. But when the death of the young prince was thus authoritatively asserted, the general ill character of John caused him to be universally pointed at as the murderer; and Hubert de Burgh, fearing that all Brittany would break out into revolt confessed the innocent deception he had practised. John no sooner learned that his unfortunate nephew still lived, than he ordered his removal from the custody of the faithful and humane De Burgh, and had him taken to the castle of Rouen. Here John visited Arthur in the dead of night, and, though the young prince is said to have knelt to him and prayed for his life, stabbed him with his own hand.

That John was capable of this extreme atrocity we have unfortunately too much reason to gather from the universal detestation in which he was held by his contemporaries. But though there is little reason to doubt that Arthur perished by the order, at least, if not by the very hand, of his uncle, we would again direct the attention of the reader to the too great particularity of this account, in the first place, and to a discrepancy between the natural character of Arthur and that part of the story which represents him as kneeling in terror to his uncle. The story savours somewhat more than it should of a scene from Shakspeare, whose dramatic genius it would be idle to question, but whose historic authority we should be loth to pin our faith upon.

But though it is scarcely probable that so wily a person as John would allow the details of his tyrannous cruelty to be thus brought before the world, and though his personal timidity rendered him as unlikely to have undertaken with his own hand the murder of Arthur, as it was that this high-hearted young prince would show any terror, even in the death hour, the universal belief of John's contemporaries was that he, whether with his own hand or not, caused Arthur's death; and loud and terrible was the outcry of the people of Brittany, to whom Arthur was as dear as his wily and cruel uncle was hateful. Eleanor, Arthur's sister, was in the power of John, who kept her closely confined in England; but the Breons, resolved to do anything rather than willingly acknowledge the sway of John, chose for their sovereign young Alice the daughter of Constance by her second husband, Guy de Thouars, to whom they committed the affairs of the duchy as guardian of his daubhter, and they at the same time appealed to Philip as superior lord to do justice upon John for his violence to Arthur, who was feudatory to France. Philip summoned John to appear before him, and, in default of his doing so, he was declared a felon and sentenced to forfeit all seignory and fief in France to his superior lord, Philip.

No one who has accurately read what has already been related of the shrewd, grasping, and somewhat cunning character of Philip, can doubt

that, from the first, he took up the cause of young Arthur less with a view to the benefit of that young prince, than in the hope that the chapter of accidents would enable him, sooner or later, to deprive the English crown of some portion, if not all, of its French appanages. And the appeal of his Bretons to his justice, the unwise advantage afforded to him by John's default of appearance, and the unanimous sentence of the French peers, now seemed to give him something like a substantial and judicial right as against John.

The exertions and sagacious policy of Henry would have evoked French opposition to any such attempt; that skilful politician would have found but little difficulty in leading the French barons to abstain from endeavouring to add to the authority of their superior lord, lest in so doing they should insure their own ruin. Neither would it have been safe to try such a plan while the lion-hearted Richard lived to shout his fierce battle cry in that popular voice which would have been heard in hall and tower, and which would nowhere have been unheeded where chivalry still abode. But John, destitute alike of courage, popularity, and of true policy, was little likely to unravel or defeat a dexterous policy or long to withstand actual force, hated as he was even by his own barons. The opportunity was the more tempting to Philip, because those of his great vassals who would have been the most likely to oppose his aggrandizement were either absent or so much enraged against John, that their desire to annoy him and abridge the power he had so shamefully abused, overcame in their minds all tendency to a cooler and more selfish style of reasoning.

Philip took several of the fortresses situated beyond the Loire, some of which he garrisoned for himself, while others he wholly destroyed; and his early successes were followed up by the surrender to him, by the count d'Alençon, of all the places which he had been entrusted to hold for John. Elated by this success, and desirous to rest his troops, Philip disembodied them for the season. John, enraged by all that had passed in this brief campaign, took advantage of this too-confident movement of Philip, and sat down before Alençon with a strong army. But if Philip was capable of committing a military error, he was equally capable of seizing upon the readiest means of repairing it. To delay while he was re-collecting his scattered troops would be to expose the count to the whole force, and, in the case of defeat, to the whole vengeance, too, of John. But it fortunately happened that the most eminent nobles, not only of France but also of Italy and Germany, were at this very time assembled at a splendid tournament at Moret. Hither Philip directed his course, gave a vivid description of the evil character of John, of his own disinterested desire to punish the craven felonry of that prince, and of the danger in which the count de'Alençon was placed by his devotion to truth and chivalry, which had led him to dare the vengeance of one who was well known to be unsparing after the stricken field, as craven while the tide of battle still rolled; and he called upon the assembled chivalry, as they valued their noble and ancient names, to follow him to the worthy task of aiding a gallant and honourable noble against a dastardly and adjudged felon. Such an appeal, made to such hearts, could receive but one answer. Like one man, the assembled knights followed Philip to the plains of Alençon, resolved, at whatever cost, to raise the siege. But John saved them all trouble on that score. His conscience told him that there were men in that brave host who, if he should chance to be made prisoner, would be likely to take fearful vengeance for the untimely death of young Arthur; and he would not even await their approach, but raised the siege in such haste that he actually left all his tents and baggage of every description behind to be captured by the enemy.

For some time John kept his court at Rouen, showing no other feeling than a most ludicrous confidence in his own resources whenever he should

HUBERT AND PRINCE ARTHUR.

determine to make use of them. When information was brought to him of some new success on the part of the French, he would reply "Ah! let them go on; by and by I will just retake in a single day what they have spent years in taking."

Such conduct naturally disgusted the brave barons of England and the English provinces, and weakened their desire to combat for a prince who seemed so obstinately bent upon their disgrace and his own ruin. But though he had neglected those means of defence of which his brother would have been even too eager to avail himself, there was one resource of which John had not neglected to avail himself; he had humbly and pressingly appealed to Rome. Such appeals were always gladly received at that ambitious court, and Philip received a peremptory command to make peace with John, and abstain from trenching any farther upon his territory. But Philip had inspired his barons with a hatred equal to that which he himself felt for John; and, regardless of any possible injury which their own authority might suffer from the undue aggrandizement of their king, they loudly assured him that he should have their cordial support against all foes whosoever, and as loudly denied the right of the pope to the temporal authority which he thus took upon himself to exercise. Encouraged by this disposition of his barons, Philip, instead of complying with the orders of the pope, proceeded to lay siege to the chateau Gaillard, which was the most important fortress that was now left to defend the Norman frontier.

A. D. 1204.—This place was admirably strong both by nature and by art. Built partly upon an islet of the Seine and partly upon an opposite crag, neither labour nor expense had been spared upon it, and at this very time it was held by a numerous garrison commanded by Roger de Lacy, constable of Chester, a leader of determined courage as well as of great skill.

Philip, thinking it more facile to take such a place, so garrisoned, by famine than by main force, threw a bridge across the Seine, where he posted a part of his force, and he himself at the head of the remainder undertook its blockade by land. The earl of Pembroke, by far the ablest person whom John then had about him, assembled a force of four thousand foot and three thousand horse, with which he purposed to attack Philip's camp, while a fleet of seventy flat-bottomed craft, numerously manned, was simultaneously to sail up the Seine and attack the bridge, and thus throw relief into the fortress. The earl was exact in performing his part of the attack, and even at the outset obtained some considerable advantage over Philip; but the weather chancing to retard the fleet on its passage, its assistance arrived too late for the support of the earl, who was already defeated. Had the attack been made simultaneously and by night, according to the earl's plan, it had most probably been successful; as it was, Philip was enabled to deal with his assailants in detail, and beat them both off with very considerable loss. John, who was easily depressed by defeat, was so much discouraged by the ill success of the earl, that he could not be induced to make any farther attempt to relieve this important fortress, though ample opportunity and inducements were offered to him to do so by the gallant conduct of De Lacy, who for a whole year continued to defend himself, in spite of great suffering from want of provision. He was at length overpowered in a night-attack, and he and his whole garrison made prisoners. To the credit of Philip, he showed his sense of the courage and fidelity with which De Lacy had continued to serve his master even after he had been abandoned by him, by giving him for his place of confinement the whole extent of the city of Paris.

It is difficult fully to understand the indolence and incapacity which could induce John to neglect the relief of chateau Gailliard, upon which the safety of his whole Norman territory depended. This dependance he could not be ignorant of; and it was rapidly and perfectly illustrated by the

successes which Philip obtained after its capture. Falaise, Caen, Constance, Evreux, Bayeux, and other fortresses successively fell into his hands; Lupicaire, a Brabançon leader, to whom John had entrusted the defence of the first-named place, deserted with all his men to the standard of Philip, and while the lower division of Normandy was thus overrun by the French under Philip, Upper Normandy was entered by the Bretons under Guy de Thouars, who took Avranches, Mont St. Michel, and the other strong-holds of that part. Pressed thus by an active prince, who was served by men of conduct and courage, and abandoned by John, whose hasty and secret departure for England might almost be called a flight, the Normans had no resource but to submit to Philip, much as they disliked the idea of subjection to the French government.

A. D. 1205.—As there was still a portion of the Normans who, though abandoned by the king of England, determined to defer, if not wholly to avoid, their submission to Philip, Rouen, Argues, and Verneuil confederated for this purpose. Philip immediately advanced his troops against the first-named city, the inhabitants of which signalized their hatred of France by forthwith putting to death every man of that nation who was living among them. The cruel are rarely brave; and the defence of Rouen by no means answered to the promise of desperation given by this treacherous butchery. Scarcely had the besiegers commenced operations when the besieged lost heart, and merely demanded a truce of thirty days to enable them to obtain succour from their prince. Philip, who well understood the character of John, and therefore felt sure that he who had abandoned chateau Gailliard was little likely to show more courage in the less hopeful case of Rouen, complied with this demand. As Philip had foreseen, no supplies or aid arrived, and the city was yielded. All the rest of the province equally submitted to Philip, who thus had the credit—much abated, though, by the character of his opponent—of reuniting to France this important portion of its proper territory three centuries after Charles the Simple had alienated it by cession to the first duke, the valiant Rollo From Normandy, Philip easily extended his victorious arms to Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and a portion of Poictou; John, the while, instead of endeavouring to arrest the progress of his enemy, was railing against his barons for, what he called, their desertion of him, and adding to the national evils created by his indolence, the mischief which he still had the power to do; mulcting his barons in the seventh portion of all their moveable property as a punishment for this pretended offence.

Not content with even this impudent and excessive extortion, John next demanded a scutage of two and a half marks upon each knight's fee to enable him to conduct an expedition into Normandy; but the money once received, the expedition was no longer thought of! Subsequently he collected a fleet, as if fully determined to make an attempt to recover his transmarine possessions; but on some objections being made, he abandoned this design, too, on the plea that he was deserted and betrayed by his barons; and at length mustered courage enough to put to sea, but speedily returned to port without aught being done or attempted. Considering the fiery temper and warlike habits of the barons, it is perfectly astonishing that they so long endured the insults of a king whose very style of insulting was so characteristic of his weakness.

A. D. 1206.—An ally was at length presented to John in a person from whom he had but little right to expect aid or encouragement, Guy de Thouars, to whom, in right of his daughter Alice, the Bretons had committed their government. This noble, perceiving the immense strides made by Philip, became alarmed for the safety of Brittany, and therefore made a proposition to John for their junction against Philip, and John accordingly left England with a considerable force and landed in safety at Rochelle, whence he marched to Angers, which he captured and burned.

Philip now rapidly approached, and John, becoming alarmed, gained time by making proposals for peace, and then covertly fled back to England—safe, indeed, in person, but loaded with disgrace and contempt, which to any one less debased in sentiment would have been far more terrible than death itself. Thus all the vast sums which John had extorted from his barons, under pretence of recovering his lost footing in France, were expended, not in repairing the loss, but in adding disgrace and disgust to it.

We have already remarked that it was astonishing that fiery and martial men could so long endure the doings of a man so mean in act and weak in character as John; and astonishing it certainly was, even making all possible allowance for the extensive power which the very nature of the feudal tenure gave in reality, and the still greater power which it gave in idea, to the Norman sovereigns. It is to be considered, however, that this great power, wielded as it had been by the art of some of John's predecessors and the martial energy of others, was not to be either easily or early shaken, even by the personal misconduct of a John, in whom the king, the great feudal lord paramount, would still be feared and obeyed by the most powerful of his vassals, after the man John had overwhelmed himself with the contempt and the disgust of the meanest horseboy in his train. But even the vast prestige of the feudal monarchy was at length worn out by the personal misconduct of the weak monarch; and the church, ever ready to seize upon opportunity of extending and consolidating its immense temporal power, was the first to encroach upon the authority which John had so often proved himself unworthy to hold, and unable to wield with either credit to himself or advantage to his people.

A.D. 1207.—The then pope, Innocent III., having arrived at the papal power at the unusually early age of thirty-seven, had never been unmindful of the opportunities that presented themselves to him. Taking advantage of the plausible pretext afforded to him by the state of the Holy Land, he had so far stretched his authority over the clergy of Christendom, as to send among them collectors with authority to levy a fortieth part of all ecclesiastical revenues for the relief of Palestine; and to make this levy the more obviously and emphatically an act of authority and power of the popedom over the ecclesiastics, the same collectors were authorized to receive a like proportion of laymen's revenues, *not* as a tax, but as a voluntary contribution. A pope thus resolved and austute in riveting his chains upon a body so numerous and so powerful as the clergy, was not likely to be slow in exercising his power against so contemptible a prince as John; nor was an opportunity long wanting.

Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, dying in 1205, the monks of Christchurch, Canterbury, had the right of election, subject to the consent of the king; but a minority of them, consisting, too, almost without exception, of the juniors, assembled on the very night of Hubert's death, and elected as his successor their sub-prior, Reginald, who, having been hastily and covertly installed in the archiepiscopal throne, immediately set out for Rome to procure the pope's confirmation. The vanity of Reginald, or the want of prudence of his friends, caused the affair to reach the king's ears almost as soon as the new archbishop had commenced his journey. John was so far favourably situated, that his anger at this presumptuous and irregular proceeding of the junior monks of Canterbury was fully shared by the senior monks, and also by the suffragans of Canterbury, both of whom had a right to influence the election of their primate. In the hands of the monks John left the new election, only recommending that they should elect the bishop of Norwich, John de Gray. He was according elected, but as the suffragans had not even in this new election been considered, they now sent an agent to Rome to protest against it, while the king and the monks of Christchurch sent twelve of that order to support it. Here the great advantage was clearly thrown into the hands of the pope, for

while each of the three disputing parties opposed the pretensions of the other two, all three agreed in acknowledging the pope's authority to decide the question; and Innocent III. was not the man to allow that advantage to escape his notice. That the election of Reginald had been irregular and furtive, none but himself and his immediate friends could well deny; and the authority of the papal court easily overruled the pretensions of the suffragan bishops, which, to say the truth, were strongly opposed to the papal maxims and usages. These two points being decided it would at first sight have seemed clear that the decision must be in favour of the bishop of Norwich; but the pope decided that the first election being disputed as irregular, the decision of the pope upon that election should have preceded any attempt at a new one; that as it had not done so, such second election was uncanonical and null, and that, as a corollary, henceforth the appointment to the primacy must remain in the hands of the pope. Following up this decision by action, he commanded the monks who had been deputed to defend the election of the bishop of Norwich immediately to elect the cardinal Langton, a man of great talent, English by birth, but infinitely more attached to the interests of Rome than to those of his native land. All the monks objected to this course, that they should, even looking only to the pope's own recent decision, be committing a new irregularity, having neither the king's writ nor the authority of their convent to warrant them; but, with the single exception of Elias de Brantefield, they succumbed to the pope's authority, and the election was made accordingly.

Innocent now followed up his arbitrary proceedings by what our historians call a mollifying letter and present to John; but what would certainly be called an addition of mockery to injury in the case of any clearer-minded and higher-hearted prince, for by way of consoling John for the precedent thus set of transferring to the papal court one of the most valued and, in many respects, important prerogatives of the English crown, Innocent sent him him four gold rings set with precious stones, and an explanatory letter of no less precious conceits. "He begged him," says Hume in his condensed account of this admirably grave papal jest, "to consider seriously, the form of the rings, their number, their matter, and their colour. Their form, being round, shadowed out eternity, which had neither beginning nor ending; and he ought thence to learn his duty of aspiring from earthly objects to heavenly, from things temporal to things eternal. The number, four, being a square, denoted steadiness of mind, not to be subverted either by adversity or by prosperity, fixed forever on the firm basis of the four cardinal virtues. Gold, which is the matter, being the most precious of metals, signified wisdom, which is the most valuable of all accomplishments, and justly preferred by Solomon to riches, power, and all exterior attainments. The blue colour of the sapphire represented faith; the green of the emerald, hope; the redness of the ruby, charity; and the splendour of the topaz, good works."

Never, surely, were mystical conceits vended at a higher price! Even John, weak and tame as was his spirit, did not consider four rings and a bundle of conceits quite an adequate consideration for the more precious and substantial jewel of which the pope had so unceremoniously deprived him, and his wrath was tremenduous. As the monks of Canterbury showed themselves willing to abide by the election which their fellows at Rome had made in obedience to the pope, the first effects of his anger fell upon them. He despatched Henry de Cornhule and Fulke de Cantelupe two resolute knights of his retinue, to expel the prior and monks of Christchurch not only from their convent, but also from the kingdom, a duty which the knights performed quite literally at the point of the sword; a piece of violence at once partial and childish, which Innocent noticed only by a new letter, in which he earnestly advised the king no longer to oppose

himself to God and the church, nor longer to uphold that unrighteous cause which had cost the martyr St. Thomas of Canterbury his life, but at the same time exalted him to an equality with the highest saints in heaven—a very plain allusion to the possibility of Beckets being easily found to maintain the cause of Rome against a prince so much meaner than he to whom "the martyr" Becket had done so much evil!

As this significant hint had not as much effect as the pope had anticipated in reducing John to submission, Innocent now commissioned the bishops of London, Worcester, and Ely to assure him that should he persevere in his disobedience to the Holy See an interdict should be laid upon his kingdom; and both these and their brother prelates actually knelt to him, and with tears besought him to avert a result so fearful, by consenting to receive archbishop Langton and restoring the monks of Christchurch to their convent and revenue. But John, though well aware how little he could depend upon the love of his states, whom he did not even dare to assemble to support him in an open struggle, was encouraged by the very humility of the posture assumed by the prelates not merely to refuse compliance with their advice, but to couch his refusal in terms fully as disgraceful to him as they could be offensive to those to whom they were addressed. Not contented with personally insulting the prelates, he declared his defiance of the pope himself; swearing "by God's teeth" that should the pope lay an interdict upon his kingdom, he would send the whole of the English clergy to Rome for support and take their estates and revenues to his own use; and that if thenceforth any Romans ventured into his dominions they should lose their eyes and noses, that all who looked upon them might know them from other and better men. Innocent was not to be deceived by this vague and vulgar abuse; he well knew the real weakness of John's position, and finding that half measures and management would not suffice to reduce him to obedience, he at length issued the terrible sentence of interdict. As this sentence frequently occurs in our history, and as it is essential that readers should clearly and in detail understand the nature of the decree by which Rome could for ages send terror into the hearts of the mightiest nations in Christendom—a terror from which neither rank, sex, nor scarcely any stage of life was exempted—we pause here, in the regular march of our history, to quote the brief but clear description of it which we find succinctly given in Hume, from the accounts scattered in many pages of more prolix writers.

"The sentence of interdict was at that time the great instrument of vengeance and policy employed by the court of Rome; was denounced against sovereigns for the lightest offences; and made the guilt of one person involve the ruin of millions, even in their spiritual and eternal welfare. The execution of it was calculated to strike the senses in the highest degree and to operate with irresistible force on the superstitious minds of the people. The nation was suddenly deprived of all exterior exercise of its religion; the altars were despoiled of their ornaments; the crosses, the reliques, the images, the statues of the saints, were laid on the ground; and, as if the air itself were profaned and might pollute them by its contact, the priests carefully covered them up, even from their own approach and veneration. The use of the bells entirely ceased in all the churches, the bells themselves were removed from the steeples, and laid on the ground with the other sacred utensils; mass was celebrated with closed doors, and none but the priests were admitted to that holy institution; the laity partook of no religious rite, except baptism to newly-born infants and the communion to the dying; the dead were not interred in consecrated ground; they were thrown into ditches, or buried in common fields, and their obsequies were not attended with prayers, or any hallowed ceremony. Marriage was celebrated in the churchyards; and, that every action of life might bear the marks of this dreadful situation, the people

were prohibited the use of meat as in Lent; and, as in times of the highest penance, were debarred from all pleasures and entertainments, and were forbidden even to salute each other, or so much as to shave their beards and give any decent attention to their person and apparel. Every circumstance carried symptoms of the deepest distress, and of the most immediate apprehension of divine indignation and vengeance."

Unwarned by even the commencement of this state of things in his kingdom, and obstinately closing his eyes against the contempt in which he was held by those lay barons upon whom he must depend for whatever support he might need against the spiritual power, John now turned his vengeance especially against those of the clergy who ventured to pay attention to the interdict, and generally against the adherents of Archbishop Langton. The prelates of these classes he sent into exile, and the monks he confined to their convent with the barest possible allowance for their temporal necessities, and in both cases he made himself the recipient of their revenues. Concubinage being a common vice of the clergy, he seized upon that point to annoy them by throwing their concubines into prison, whence he would only release them upon payment of high fines; conduct which was the more egregriously tyrannical, because he well knew that, in most cases, those who were called the concubines of the clergy lived with all the decency and fidelity of wives, and only were not wives in consequence of the cruel, unnatural, and odious exercise of the power of Rome to compel the celibacy of the clergy.

Meantime the quarrel between John and the pope continued its invet eracy on both sides, and lasted for some years; the people, who had no part in the quarrel, being thus exposed to all the evils and vexations which we have described, excepting in the comparatively few cases where the threats or persuasions of John were powerful enough to induce the clergy to disregard the interdict. With these exceptions, upon which even the laity, much as they were injured by the interdict, looked with dislike and contempt, all the clergy remaining in England were the enemies of John. But he, affecting the utmost contempt for public opinion, clerical as lay, loaded all classes of his people with heavy imposts to defray the expenses of Scotch, Welsh, and Irish expeditions, in which success itself produced him no glory, as it proceeded rather from the weakness of those to whom he was opposed than from his own valour or conduct. As if desirous to irritate his subjects to the utmost, he made the very diversions of his leisure hours either insulting or injurious to them. His licentiousness insulted their families wherever he made his appearance; and he added to the odious character of his forest laws by prohibiting his subjects from pursuing feathered game, and by the purely spiteful act of causing the forest fences to be removed, so that the cultivated fields in the neighbourhood were trampled and fed upon by the vast herds of deer which the injured husbandman dared not destroy.

A. D. 1208.—A constant continuance in a course like this could not fail to excite against the king the hatred even of those among his subjects who had taken little or no interest in his original quarrel with Rome, and a consciousness of this hatred, so far from causing him to retrace his steps, only aroused him to grosser and more determined tyranny, and he demanded from all of his nobility whom he honoured with his suspicions that they should place their nearest relatives in his hands as hostages. Among those of whom this insulting demand was made was William de Bravuse, whose lady, a woman of determined spirit and plain speech, told the king's messenger, that for her part she would never consent to entrust her son in the hands of the man who had notoriously murdered his own nephew. The baron, though both wealthy and powerful, was sensible that there was no safety for him after such a reply had been returned to the king, and he sought shelter, with his wife and child, in a remote situa-

tion in Ireland. But John, like most tyrants, was only too faithfully served by his spies; the unfortunate baron was discovered, and although he contrived to escape to France, both his wife and their child were seized and actually starved to death in prison.

Never was that line of the heathen poet which says that "the gods first madden those whom they wish to destroy" more vividly illustrated than by the constant addition which, by tyrannies of this kind, John was rapidly making to the general hatred of his people, at the very time when he was aware that such hatred could at any moment have been allowed by Rome to break out into open rebellion.

For though the papal interdict, with all its severity upon the unoffending people, did not release them from their allegiance to the king who had called down that severity upon their heads, the next step was excommunication, which, as John well knew, put an end to allegiance, and would arm many a hand against him that now was bound by "that divinity which doth hedge a king." And yet this inexplicable man, usually so cowardly, still held out against the pope, though excommunication was certain to fall with such peculiar severity upon him, should he provoke the pope to pronounce it; and he exerted himself, alike in his rule and in his pastime, to increase that very hate from which much of its peculiar severity would spring.

The patience of the pope was at length exhausted, or, perhaps, to speak more correctly, his policy no longer required delay, and the terrible sentence of excommunication was issued. But even now there was no formal absolution of the people from their oath of allegiance. *That* most terrible step of all the pope still held in reserve, as a last resource, being well aware how powerful an effect the ordinary results of excommunication were calculated to have upon a king of far stronger nerve than John could boast; for how could he claim to be served with zeal and fidelity who was thus disclaimed and cut off by the church?

Scarcely had the pope's orders been obeyed by the bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester—those very prelates upon whom John had formerly heaped insult, as coarse as undeserved, and as unbecoming as impolitic—when a specimen was exhibited of its paralysing effect by Geoffrey, archdeacon of Norwich. Like most of the great churchmen of that day, he held a judicial situation, and he was engaged in its duties when he received the news, upon which he immediately rose and left the court, observing that it was too perilous to continue to serve an excommunicated king. This prompt abandonment of the archdeacon, however, cost him his life, for John threw him into prison, had a large leaden cope fitted tightly to his head, and inflicted other severities upon him until he literally sank under them. Warned, perhaps, by this severe example, other clerical dignitaries, though quite as ready to abandon their detested and dangerous king, took care to place themselves beyond his reach in the very act of abandonment. Among these was Hugh de Wells, the chancellor. Being appointed bishop of Winchester, he requested leave from the king to go to Normandy to obtain consecration from the archbishop of Rouen; but leave being granted, he went not thither, but to Pontigny, the residence of the archbishop Langton, to whom he paid the formal submission due from a suffragan to his primate. The frequency of these desertions among both the prelates and the lay nobility at length gave the king very serious alarm, and more especially as he received but too probable hints of a widely-spread conspiracy against him, in which he knew not who among those who still remained apparently faithful to him might be engaged. Now that moderate concession could no longer avail him; now that his nakedness and his weakness were so evident to his foes that they would richly deserve his contempt if they did not provide his violence with an effectual bridle for the future, even should they chose to show

some moderation in dealing with him as to the past; now, in a word when he no longer had it in his power to negotiate to advantage, John commenced a negotiation with the hitherto exiled and despised Langton. A meeting accordingly took place between them at Dover, and John offered to submit himself to the pope, to receive Langton as primate, to reinstate the whole of the exiled clergy, and to pay a certain sum in compensation of the rents which he had confiscated. But these terms, which John might have commanded at the outset of the dispute, and at which, in fact, he had then manifested such childish and unbecoming rage, were far too favourable to be allowed him now that Rome had at once his terror and his helplessness to urge her to severity. Langton demanded that, instead of a certain sum in the way of compensation for the wrong done to the clergy, John should pay all that he had unjustly received, and, still further, that he should make full and complete satisfaction for all injuries suffered by the clergy in consequence of their exile and the confiscation of their revenues. It was less, now, from unwillingness to make peace with Rome, on even the hardest terms, than from sheer terror at the thought of having to collect again all the vast sums he had wantonly dissipated, and of having still further to find money for damages which those who had suffered them were, of all men, the least likely to undervalue, that John pronounced it impossible for him to comply with Langton's demands.

A. D. 1212.—The pope, who most probably did not fully appreciate the extent of the pecuniary difficulties which caused John to shrink from Langton's proposal, now solemnly absolved John's subjects from their allegiance to him, and denounced excommunication upon all who should venture to have any commerce with him, at the council board or in the festive hall, in private or in public, as a monarch or even as an individual. As even this terrible severity, by which the most powerful men could be in an hour deprived of all support and of all demonstration of affection, and made—so much more powerful were superstitious fears than the urgings of either duty or affection—desolate and shunned as the pariah of the desert or the Hebrew leper, did not instantly force John to submission, Innocent followed it up by a solemn sentence of *deposition*.

The pontiffs in that superstitious age were wiser in their generation than the lay princes with whom they had to deal, and they well knew how to make those princes each the instrument of the other's subjection. Accordingly, on this occasion, the pope, who well understood the ambitious character of the king of France, and the animosity that mutually existed between John and Philip, promised the latter not only remission of sins, but also the sovereignty, as a vassal of the popedom, of John's kingdom of England, as the reward of his invading it and subduing John.

Philip readily consented to comply with the pope's wishes, and having levied a vast force and summoned all his military vassals to attend and aid him, he assembled a fleet of seventeen hundred sail on the coast of Normandy and Picardy, and prepared for the immediate and effectual invasion of England.

But the papal court, as usual, was playing a double and an interested game, and was by no means sincere in desiring to replace on the throne of England a despised and incapable monarch, like John, by a popular, warlike, and politic one like Philip, unless, indeed, the terror of the latter should, as was by no means probable, fail to reduce the former to submission.

In this decidedly the most serious of all his perils from without, John displayed something like a flash of the high and daring spirit of his Norman race. Issuing orders not only for the assembling of all his military vassals at Dover, but also for the arming and preparation of every man able to bear arms throughout the kingdom, he seemed determined either

to preserve his crown or to die in defence of it. But this temporary gleam of martial feeling came too late, and was too strongly opposed by his craven conduct on former occasions to obtain him any general sympathy among his people. His excommunication and his general unpopularity threw a damp on the spirits of even the bravest of his subjects, and the most zealous among the very few friends whom his vices had left him trembled for the issue. Nevertheless, patriotic feeling in some and habits of feudal obedience in others caused his orders to be obeyed by an immense number, from whom he selected for immediate service the large force of sixty thousand.

Philip, in the meantime, though anxious immediately to strike the blow which promised to give him so vast a prize, was, as a vassal to the pope, and directly and specially engaged in supporting the papal authority, obliged to be observant of the directions of Pandolf, the papal legate, to whom the whole conduct of the expedition was committed. Pandolf, well acquainted with the real and occult views of Innocent, required no more of Philip's aid after that prince had prepared and displayed his force. That done, Pandolf summoned John to a conference at Dover. Pointing, on the one hand, to the immense power and interested zeal of Philip, and, on the other, to those peculiar drawbacks upon the efficient action of the English force, of which John was already but too sensible, the legate, with wily and emphatic eloquence, urged John, by a speedy and complete submission to the pope, to embrace the only means of safety that now remained open to him; excommunicated by the pope, on the eve of being attacked by his mighty and vindictive rival of France, and secretly hated by his own vassals, who were not at all unlikely openly to desert him upon the day of battle. The statements of the legate were true, and John, who knew them to be so, passed in an instant from the extreme of bravado and obstinacy to an equally extreme and far more disgusting humility and obedience. John now promised the most entire submission to the pope; the acknowledgement of Langton as archbishop of Canterbury; the restoration of all, whether clergy or laymen, whom he had banished on account of this long and unfortunate dispute; restitution of all goods and revenues that had been confiscated, and full payment of all damages done by the confiscation; and an immediate payment of eight thousand pounds on account, together with an immediate acceptance to his grace and favour of all who had suffered in them for adhering to the pope. To all these terms the king swore agreement, and four of his great barons also swore to cause his faithful compliance. From the instant that Pandolf got the king to agree to these degrading conditions, the whole right and merit of the quarrel was substantially and unalterably assigned to Rome by the king's own solemn confession; and this point Pandolf was, for obvious reasons, anxious to secure prior to running the risk of stinging and startling even John's dastard spirit into desperation. But having thus made the king virtually confess that his share in the quarrel was such as to disentitle him to the support of his friends and subjects, Pandolf wholly threw off the mask, and showed John how much more of the bitter draught of degradation he still had to swallow.

John had sworn humble and complete obedience to the pope; he was now required, as the first convincing proof of that obedience, to resign his kingdom to the church; an act of obedience which he was assured was his most effectual mode of protecting his kingdom against Philip, who would not dare to attack it when placed under the immediate guardianship and custody of Rome. John had now gone too far to recede from that degradation which made him forever the mere temporal as well as spiritual vassal of haughty and overreaching Rome. He therefore subscribed a charter, in which, professing to be under no restraint, he solemnly renounced England and Ireland to Pope Innocent and his apostolic suc-

cessors, and agreed thenceforth to hold them at the annual rent of a thousand marks, as feudatory of the papal throne; binding his successors as well as himself to the due performance of this condition, on pain of absolute forfeiture in the event of impenitent disobedience. Even the signing of this degrading agreement was not allowed to terminate John's deep humiliation. He was compelled, in open court, to do homage in the usual feudal form to Pandolf as the representative of the pope, and at the same time to pay in advance a portion of the tribute, upon which the legate trampled in open scorn. And, so much had John's misconduct degraded his brave subjects as well as himself, that, with the single exception of the archbishop of Dublin, no one present had the spirit to resent Pandolf's rude and impolitic behaviour.

After John had submitted to all this ignominy, he was still compelled to feel himself dependent upon the very doubtful generosity of Rome; for Pandolf refused to remove the interdict and excommunication till the damages of the clergy should be both estimated and paid. Yet even in this terrible and galling state of his fortunes John relaxed not from his tyranny to his subjects. An enthusiast or impostor, named Peter of Pomfret, a hermit, had in one of his rhapsodies prophesied that the king would this year lose his crown, a prophecy which had been likely enough to be accomplished in any one of many preceding years. This man, and his son as his accomplice or abettor, were tried as impostors; and though the hermit stoutly maintained that the king's surrender to Rome, and the vassalage in which he had now consented to hold his formerly independent crown, verified the prophecy, they were both dragged at horses' heels to the gallows and there hanged.

John, the baseness of whose temper made him callous to many reflections which would have stung a prouder and more honourable man almost to madness, was, amid all his degradation, less to be pitied just now than the duped and baffled Philip. His rage on learning that his expensive display of force had only served the purpose of driving John into the protection of the pope, could scarcely be kept within either safe or decent bounds. He bitterly complained of the insincere offers and promises by which he had been gulled into an outlay of sixty thousand pounds; and, his indignation being shared by his barons, he went so far as to declare that not even the pope's protection should save England from him. It indeed seemed probable, that he would at all risks have invaded England but for the influence and intrigue of the earl of Flanders, who, being in a secret confederacy with John, loudly protested against the impiety of attacking a state that was now become a part of St. Peter's patrimony. Shrewdly judging that the earl would follow up his words by corresponding deeds, Philip resolved to chastise him; but while he was engaged in so doing, his fleet was attacked by John's natural brother, the earl of Salisbury, so that Philip deemed it the wisest plan to lay aside his meditated attack upon England, at least for the present.

John, as easily elated as depressed, was so puffed up by his novel safety, accompanied though it was by so much ignominy, that he boasted his intention to invade France. But he was met on the part of his barons with cold and contemptuous refusal to take part in his enterprise; and when, in the hope of shaming them into joining him, he sailed with only his personal followers as far as the island of Jersey, he had the mortification of being compelled to return, not one of the barons having so far relented as to follow him. On his return he threatened to chastise them for their want of obedience; but here he was met by the archbishop Langton, who reminded him that he was but the vassal of Rome, and threatened him with the most signal punishment if he ventured to levy war upon any of his subjects.

Rome removed the infliction upon John and his kingdom to the full as

gradually as she had laid them on; but in the end the pope himself interfered to protect him against the extortion of the clergy, and commanded them to take forty thousand marks instead of a hundred thousand, which John had offered, and instead of the infamously excessive sum beyond that which they had rated their losses at.

In the end, the king's submissive behaviour and his disbursement of large sums of money procured the interdict to be removed from his kingdom; and the prelates and superior clergy having received their damages, the inferior clergy were left to console themselves as they best might without any repayment at all; Nicholas, bishop of Frescati, who was now legate in England instead of Pandolf, showing himself more favourable to John than his predecessors had been.

A. D 1214.—Not deterred by the evident dislike of his barons, and their determination never to assist him when they could make any valid excuse, John now proceeded to Poictou, and his authority being still held in respect there, he was enabled to carry the war into Philip's territory. But before John had well commenced his depredations he was routed by Philip's son, young Prince Louis, and fled in terror to England, to engage once more in his congenial task of oppressing his subjects. For this amiable pursuit he deemed that his submission to Rome had furnished him with full immunity; but mortifications of the most severe description were still in store for him. The barons, shocked out of even their feudal notions of submission, became clamorous for the practical and formal establishment of the liberties and privileges which had been promised to them by both Henry I. and Henry II. In their demands they were much backed and aided by Archbishop Langton; less, it would seem pretty clear, from any genuine patriotism on his part, than from old detestation of John, exacerbated and festered by the obstinacy with which he had resisted Langton's admission to the primacy. At a private meeting of the most zealous of the barons, Langton not only encouraged them by his own eloquent advice, but also produced a copy of the charter of Henry I., which he had rummaged out of some monastic crypt, and urged them to make that the guide and basis of their demands, and to persevere until those demands were both fully and securely conceded to them. Perceiving the effect of this conduct, he repeated it at another and more numerous meeting of the barons at St. Edmund's Bury in Suffolk; and the charter, supported by its own vivid eloquence, so wrought upon the barons, that ere they separated they solemnly swore to be true to each other, and never to cease to make war upon their faithless and tyrannical king until he should grant their just demands. This done they separated, after fixing upon a day for their reunion to commence their open and, if need be, armed advocacy of their cause.

A. D. 1215.—On the given day they punctually met, and demanded their rights, as promised by his own oath and as laid down in the charter of Henry I. Alarmed at their union, John promised that they should be answered on the following Easter; and the primate with the bishop of Ely and the earl of Pembroke becoming surety for the performance of the king's words, the barons contentedly retired to their castles.

But John had sought delay, not for the purpose of considering the nature and propriety of the demands, but for that of finding, if possible, some means by which at once to baulk the barons and to be avenged of them. Having experienced to his cost the power of Rome, he thought his best way to baffle his nobles was to conciliate the church, to which he voluntarily made many concessions and compliments; one of the former being his voluntary relinquishment of that right to investiture which the previous Norman kings had so stoutly battled for, and one of the latter, an equally voluntary proffer and promise to lead an army against the infidels in the Holy Land; and, to signify his entire sincerity upon this last point,

he at once assumed the Cross. Both from John's urgency for his protection and from the counter and no less urgent instances of the barons, the pope was excited to much alarm about England, for the peace and prosperity of which he had, since John basely became his vassal, conceived a sort of paternal interest. Knowing full well how much more difficult it would be to deal with the power of England under the bold barons than under a despised and weak prince like John, it was obviously to the interest of Innocent to uphold the latter as far as possible against the former, and he therefore issued a bull, in which he characterised the proceedings of the barons as illegal and treasonable; forbade them, under pain of excommunication, from persisting in their demands; and enjoined John, under the same penalty, not to comply with them.

The primate, being in favour of the barons, refused to give formal publicity to this bull; and though he was suspended for his conduct in this respect, the failure of the bull was not the less insured; and thus a new proof was afforded how much the pope's power depended upon the extent and cordiality of the co-operation of the rest of the church. But though the pope and the king thus exerted themselves to defeat the barons, the latter succeeded in wresting from the king that well known declaration of rights and definition of prerogative known as *Magna Charta*, or the Great Charter—a document which we need not insert here, on account of its general notoriety. But no charter or agreement could bind the king; he introduced foreign mercenaries, besieged and took Rochester castle, and barbarously put all but the very highest of the garrison to death, and then carried fire and sword into the towns and villages throughout England. The barons, chiefly from some faults or omissions on their own part, were reduced to such straits, that they ventured in the unpatriotic and dangerous expedient of offering the crown of England to Prince Louis, son of Philip of France.

A. D. 1216.—The prince accordingly landed in England with a large force, in spite of the menaces and orders of the pope; John was deserted by the foreigners upon whom he chiefly depended, and who, though willing enough to slaughter his English subjects, were naturally unwilling to fight against their own native prince. Most of the English nobility who had heretofore sided with John, now deserted him; town after town, and castle after castle, fell into the hands of his enemies; and everything seemed to threaten him, when a report, true or false, got currency, that Louis merely used the English nobles as his tools, and would execute them as traitors whenever his success should be complete. This report had visibly turned the scale once more in favour of John. Several nobles returned to their allegiance, and he was rapidly collecting powerful forces to combat for his kingdom, when a heavy loss of treasure and baggage, which occured as he was passing towards Lincoln, so much aggravated an illness under which he already laboured, that he expired at Newark, on the 17th of October, 1216, in the forty ninth year of his age, and in the eighteenth of his agitated, mischievous, and inglorious reign.

It was in this reign that the citizens of London first were privileged annually and from their own body to choose their mayor and common council, and to elect and discharge their sheriffs at pleasure Of the king's character no summary is needed; both as man and as sovereign he is but too forcibly depicted in the events of which we have given a brief, but complete and impartial account.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE REIGN OF HENRY III.

A.D. 1216.—At the death of John his eldest son, Henry, was only nine years old; but happily he had in the earl of Pembroke a friend and guardian who was both able and willing to prevent his infancy from being any disadvantage to him; and Louis of France, who expected to derive great benefit from the death of John, found, on the contrary, that very circumstance most injurious to him.

Immediately after the king's death, the earl of Pembroke took every necessary precaution on behalf of the young prince. He had him crowned immediately after the funeral, and caused him publicly to swear fealty to the pope; measures most important towards insuring the enthusiasm of the people, on the one hand, and the support of Rome, on the other. Still farther to increase the popularity of the young king, the earl of Pembroke, now regularly authorized with the title of protector of the realm, conferred upon him by a great council, issued in his name a new charter, chiefly founded on that which John had granted and broken through; and subsequently he added several still more popular articles to it, disaforesting much of the vast quantity of land which had arbitrarily been enclosed by Richard and John, and substituting fine and imprisonment for the more cruel punishments which had heretofore been awarded for forest offences.

While active in taking these general measures to secure the affections of the people, the earl did not omit to exert his individual influence to detach the barons who had sided with Louis. He pointed out, with admirable tact, the vast difference between fighting against a sovereign of mature years who had wronged and insulted them, and warring against an infant prince of the race of their ancient monarchs, to set up in his place the son of the French king; he dwelt upon the good measures which had already been effected by the government of the infant king, and besought them to take the favourable opportunity now offered, of abandoning the cause of Louis, which was unjust in itself, anathematized by the pope, and had hitherto been as singularly unfortunate as it was obviously unblessed. The character of Pembroke was so high that his remonstrances had a great effect on those to whom they were addressed. Many barons forthwith abandoned Louis, and carried over their strength to their native prince; and many more, though not yet quite prepared to go all that length, entered into a correspondence with Pembroke which showed their leaning that way. Louis added to this leaning by the impolitic openness with which he evinced his distrust of the English. Robert Fitz-Walter, that powerful noble under whom all the barons of England had thought it no disgrace to range themselves when they commenced the struggle with the tyrant John, applied to Louis for the government of the castle of Hertford, and was refused, although he had a personal claim upon the fortress. With such an example before their eyes, how could the barons help feeling that he was, indeed, making mere tools of them?

Louis being obliged, by the great losses he had sustained, to go into France for reinforcements, afforded the doubtful an opportunity to return to their allegiance and join Pembroke, who at length laid siege to Lincoln city, which was garrisoned by the French under Count Perche, who in their turn hemmed in and besieged the English garrison of Lincoln castle. A sally from the castle was made at the same moment that Pembroke and his troops mounted to the assault of the town; and so complete was the success of the English on this occasion, that the fate of the kingdom may be said to have depended on the issue.

When Pembroke obtained this great advantage Louis was besieging Dover castle, which was as ably as obstinately defended by Hubert de Burgh; and on hearing the tidings from Lincoln he hastened to London,

where the farther ill news awaited him of the defeat and dispersion of a French fleet which was bringing him over reinforcements.

These two events caused new desertions of the English barons to Pembroke; and instead of entertaining farther hope of winning the English crown, Louis now thought only of securing a safe and speedy departure from a kingdom in which he had met with so many misfortunes; he accordingly agreed to evacuate the kingdom forthwith, upon the sole condition that neither in property nor in liberties should those barons who had adhered to his cause be made to suffer for that adherence.

The protector readily agreed to so easy a condition; and the civil war being thus happily terminated, Pembroke, as regarded the lay barons who had supported Louis, fully performed his part of the agreement, not only restoring them to their possessions, but also taking every opportunity to show that their former conduct was not allowed to have the slightest weight in preventing favour or preferment from reaching them. For the clerical rebels a far severer fate was in store. As far as regarded the merely civil portions of their offence Pembroke molested none of them; but Gualo, the pope's legate, dealt somewhat more sternly for the contempt and disobedience with which, in spite of the interdict and excommunication, they had dared to continue to support Louis. In so numerous a body of men it was obviously impossible but that there should be degrees of guilt; and accordingly, while some where deposed, others were only suspended; some were banished, but all, whatever their degree of guilt, had to pay a fine to the legate, to whom this wholesale chastisement of the erring clerks produced an immense sum.

The earl of Pembroke, to whom the peace was so greatly owing, died soon after its conclusion, and the protectorate passed into the hands of Hubert de Burgh, the justiciary, and Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester. Though the former, who took the chief part in the government, was a great and able man, he had not that personal reputation among the barons which had been enjoyed by the earl of Pembroke, and which had chiefly enabled that nobleman to curb the evil dispositions which now broke forth into full and fell activity, insulting the royal authority, and everywhere pillaging and coercing the people. Among the most disorderly of these was the earl of Albemarle. He had served under Louis, but had quickly returned to his duty and distinguished himself in fighting against the French. His disorderly conduct in the north of England now became so notorious and so mischievous, that Hubert de Burgh, though greatly averse to harsh measures against those powerful nobles whose future favour might be of such important consequence to his young king, seized upon the castle of Rockingham, which the earl had filled with his licentious soldiery. The earl, supported by Fawkes de Breauté and other warlike and turbulent barons, fortified the castle of Bilham, put himself upon his open defence, and seized upon the castle of Fotheringay; and it seemed not unlikely that the daring and injustice of this one man would again kindle the so lately extinguished flames of civil war. Fortunately, Pandolf, who was now restored to the legantine power in England, was present to take a part on behalf of the constituted authorities. He issued a sentence of excommunication not only against Albemarle, but also in general terms against all who should adhere to that nobleman's cause; and an army, with means of paying it, were provided. The promptitude and vigour of these measures so alarmed Albemarle's adherents, that he was on the instant deserted by the most powerful of them, and saw nothing left but to sue for the king's pardon, which was not only granted him as regarded his person, but he was at the same time restored to his whole estate.

It was probably the confidence of being, in the last resort, able to insure himself a like impolitic degree of lenity, that encouraged Fawkes

de Breauté to treat the government with a most unheard-of insolence and contempt. Having been raised from a low origin by King John, whom he followed in the discreditable capacity of a military bully, this man carried the conduct and manners of his original station into the higher fortune to which he had attained, and was among the most turbulent and unmanageable of all the barons.

To desire a freehold, and forcibly to expel the rightful owner and take possession, were with him but one and the same thing; and for literal robberies of this summary and wholesale description, no fewer than thirty-five verdicts were recorded against him at one time. Far from being abashed or alarmed by such a plurality of crime, Fawkes marched a body of his staunchest disorderlies to the court of justice which was then sitting, seized upon his bench the judge who had ventured to decide against so potent an offender, and actually imprisoned that judicial dignitary in Bedford castle. Having gone to this extent, Fawkes could have but little compunction about going still farther, and he openly and in form levied war upon the king. But he had now gone to the full length of his tether; he was opposed so vigorously that his followers were soon put to the rout, and he, being taken prisoner, was punished by confiscation and banishment.

A. D. 1222.—In this year a riot broke out in the metropolis. Commencing in some petty dispute that occurred during a wrestling match between a portion of the rabble of London and Westminster, it at length rose to a desperate and dangerous tumult, in the course of which several persons were much hurt, and some houses were plundered and demolished. These houses belonging to so important a person as the abbot of Westminster, that circumstance alone would probably have caused the riot to be looked upon in a serious light at court. But it farther appeared, that in the course of the conflict the combatants on either or both sides had been heard to use the French war-cry "Mountjoy St. Denis!" and the recent attempt by Louis upon the English crown caused the use of this war-cry to give to an ordinary riot something of the aspect of a political and treasonable attempt; and Hubert, the justiciary, personally took cognizance of the matter. The ringleader, Constantine Fitz-Arnulf, behaved with much self-possession and audacity when before the justiciary, and was forthwith led out from his presence and hanged; while several of those whose guilt was confessedly less heinous had their feet amputated; an awful severity under any possible circumstances—how much more so when contrasted with the lenity shown to so desperate an offender as Fawkes de Breauté!

Shortly after this affair, which was much complained of as being contrary to the Great Charter, Hubert procured a bull from the pope, pronouncing the king of full age to govern. He then resigned into the young king's hands the Tower of London and Dover castle, which had been entrusted to him; and having by this example acquired the greater right to demand at the hands of other nobles a similar strengthening of the much-impaired power of the crown, he formally did so. But the barons of that day were like the rake of a later dramatist; they "could admire virtue, but could not imitate it." All murmured, most refused to comply, and many, among whom were the earls of Chester and Albemarle, John, constable of Chester, John de Lacy, and William de Courtel, absolutely met in arms at Waltham and prepared to march in hostile array upon London. But before they had time to commence this actual levying of civil war they had tidings that the king was prepared to outnumber and defeat them. They, therefore, abandoned their design, and appeared at court, whither they were summoned to answer for their conduct. But though, as a matter of prudence, they had laid aside the design of levying absolute war upon their sovereign, they made no profession of repent-

ance. On the contrary, while they eagerly disavowed any personal hostility to the king himself, they equally admitted that they were hostile to Hubert, and that they were still as determined as ever to insist upon his removal from his power and authority. They were too numerous and potent to be subjected to the punishment which their insolent sedition merited; and probably it was their perception of that as the real cause of their being suffered to retire unscathed from court after so open a declaration of their hostility to Hubert, that encouraged them very shortly afterwards to hold another armed meeting at Leicester. Here again they determined that the king, then resident at Northampton, was too strong and too well prepared to allow of their seizing upon his person, which, despite their former disclaimer, it was all along their desire to do. But, as if watching for some relaxation of the vigilance of the justiciary, or some diminution of the royal forces, they kept together under the pretence of celebrating Christmas. As it was evident that mischief would speedily occur to both king and people, unless these bold bad men were stopped before they had encouraged each other too far, the archbishop and the prelates sternly remonstrated with them, and threatened them with immediate excommunication as the penalty of their longer delaying their submission to the king and the disbanding of their hostile array. Most of the castles were, upon this threat, given up to the king, and we may judge how necessary a step Hubert had taken on behalf of his young sovereign, when we read that there were in England at that time no less than eleven hundred and fifteen of these castles. When Hubert's just and wise design was fulfilled, the king restored to that faithful subject and servant the fortresses he had surrendered, and this restoration was bitterly complained of by the factious barons, who chose not to perceive the immense difference between fortresses held for the king and fortresses held against him.

Parliament having granted the king a fifteenth, he was obliged to employ it in carrying on war against France, in spite of the disaffected state of so many of his most powerful subjects. For Henry having demanded the restitution of his ancestral Normandy, Louis VIII. was so far from making that restitution, that he made a sudden attack upon Poictou, besieged and took Rochelle, and showed an evident determination to deprive the English of their very small remaining continental territory. The king sent over, as his lieutenants, his brother the earl of Cornwall, and his uncle the earl of Salisbury, who succeeded in preventing any farther progress on the part of Louis, and in keeping the vassals of Gascony and Poictou in obedience; and, after two years' stay in France, during which the military operations amounted to nothing higher than what modern generals would term a skirmish, the earl of Cornwall returned to England.

A. D. 1227.—Though Richard, earl of Cornwall, seems to have cared little enough for the ordinary ends of ambition, he had a greediness of gain which answered all the purposes of ambition in arraying him against his brother and king; and a petty dispute which arose out of the earl's greed and his unjust course of gratifying it, not only produced feud among the brothers, but had well nigh involved the whole nation in a civil war, and certainly would have done so but for the weak and yielding character of Henry, whose irresolution even thus early became manifest to both his friends and his enemies.

Taking advantage of a dispute which had occurred between Richard and one of the barons, relative to the possession of a certain manor, a powerful confederacy of discontented nobles was formed against the king, who at length yielded the point through fear, and made concessions as impolitic as they were inglorious to him as a sovereign. So weak and pliant, in fact, was the character of Henry, that it may be doubted whether

he would ever have reigned at all had the care of his minority fallen into the hands of a less able and upright man than Hubert de Burgh. And it was no small proof of his weakness that after all the important and steadfast services which he had received from De Burgh, that minister was dismissed his office, deprived of his property, driven to take sanctuary, drawn thence and committed to close custody in the castle of Devizes, for no other reason than that he *had* been faithful to the king. Other *real* charge than this there was none; though several pretences were urged against him, such as the frivolous ones of his having gained the king's favour and affection by acts of enchantment, and of purloining from the royal treasure a gem which had the virtue of rendering its wearer invulnerable! Hubert was at length driven into exile; but recalled and taken into favour with just as little apparent reason as there had been for his persecution. He seems in his adversity to have at least learned the valuable lesson of the danger of counselling wisely a weak king; for, though he was now personally as much a favourite as ever, he never afterwards showed any desire to resume his perilous authority, which was bestowed at his overthrow upon Peter, bishop of Winchester, a native of Poictou, arbitrary and violent, but without any of Hubert de Burgh's talent or courage, and so little fitted for the almost sovereign authority that was entrusted to him, that it was mainly owing to his misconduct and tyranny as judiciary, and regent of the kingdom during an absence of King John in France, that the barons had been stung into that memorable combination which resulted in the great charter, the foundation of constitutional liberty in England.

A. D. 1231.—Like all weak persons, Henry, while he felt his own incapacity for governing, was unwilling to abide by the advice of those who were worthy of his confidence; and feeling that his true nature was shrewdly understood by his own subjects, he invited over a great number of Poictevins, in whom he rightly supposed that he would find more pliancy and less restraint. Upon these foreign sycophants he conferred various offices of trust and power which he feared to bestow upon his English subjects. Confident in the protection of the king, inflated by the stream of good fortune which so suddenly flowed in upon them, and either ignorant or heedless of the hate and jealousy of which they were the objects, these foreign favourites, by their insolence, added to the rancour of the powerful enemies by whom the mere favour and profuse liberality of the king were of themselves sufficient to surround them. The barons, on the other hand, finding all indirect tokens of their displeasure unattended to, at length refused to attend their parliamentary duties, under pretence of fearing the power of the foreigners; and when the king remonstrated and plainly commanded their attendance, they replied that they would attend no more until the king should have dismissed the Poictevins, and that if he did not speedily dismiss those men, both they and he should be driven from the kingdom. At length, however, the barons, altering their plan, did proceed to parliament, but in so warlike a guise, that it was evident they intended to overawe the king, and make their own will serve for law both to him and to the kingdom. And this they doubtless would speedily have done with the strong hand, had they been opposed by no abler antagonist than the king. But the justiciary, Peter des Roches, so ably employed their interval of irresolution, that he detached from them not only the earls of Chester and Lincoln, but also the earl of Cornwall, the king's brother, and thus so much weakened the confederacy, that it was broken up and its leaders exposed to the vengeance of the king. Richard, the earl marshal, fled into Wales and thence to Ireland, where he was assassinated; others of the barons were fortunate enough to escape, but their estates were confiscated, and, with the king's usual folly and profusion, distributed among the already wealth-gorged foreigners;

and the justiciary publicly said that the barons of England must learn to know themselves as inferior to those of France!

To what extent of insolent tyranny he who uttered such a speech might have proceeded it is not easy to guess; but his pride met with a sudden check, and that from a quarter whence he might reasonably have least anticipated it. The church became alarmed for its own interests; several of the prelates, well knowing the general discontent that was spreading among the people in consequence of the insolent and tyrannical conduct of the justiciary, attended the archbishop of Canterbury to court, where he strongly represented to Henry the impolicy as well as injustice of the course he had pursued himself and allowed the justiciary to pursue in his name; and, attributing all the evil to the justiciary, demanded his dismissal on pain of an instant sentence of excommunication against the king himself. Timid by nature, though well enough inclined towards despotism while it could be practised safely, Henry was struck with alarm at the threat of excommunication, which he rightly judged would be satisfactory to the oppressed people as well as to the barons, and he consented to the dismissal of Peter des Roches. The primate succeeded him in the task of ordering state affairs; and being a man of promptitude as well as of good sense, he speedily restored content by banishing the detested foreigners and reinstating the English magnates in the offices from which they had, as insultingly as unjustly, been banished.

A.D. 1236.—The inclinations of a weak prince, however, are usually too strong for the advice of the most prudent minister, and the complaints of the king's preference of foreigners soon became louder than ever.

Having married Eleanor, daughter of the count of Provence, Henry surrounded himself with her countrymen and those of her maternal uncle, the bishop of Valence, who was of the house of Savoy. The Provençals and Savoyards now tasted of the king's indiscriminate bounty as largely as the Poictevins had. The bishop of Valence became as potent a personage as Peter des Roches had been; another member of the family of Peter was presented with the manor of Richmond and the great wardship of the earl of Warenne, and Boniface, also of Savoy, was made archbishop of Canterbury. Nor were the men alone thus fortunate; to the ladies of Savoy the king gave in marriage the young and wealthy nobles who were his wards. Profusion like this soon exhausted even the monarch's ample means, and an attempt was made to put the king in possession of funds for farther liberalities, by obtaining an absolution for him from Rome from the oath which he had taken to support his former grants to his English subjects. In truth, it soon became necessary either that the king should obtain new funds, or that he should abandon his system of profusion; for a new claim, which had some show of reason, was now made upon him. It will be remembered that Henry's mother, Isabella, had been by the violence of King John taken from her lawful husband, the count de la Marche; and to him, as soon after John's death as decency would allow, she had given her hand in second marriage. By this second marriage she had four sons, Guy, William, Geoffrey, and Aylmer, whom she sent over to visit Henry. Their being foreigners would perhaps have been quite sufficient to procure for them a cordial reception; but having the additional recommendation of being his half-brothers, they were rapturously received by him, and he heaped wealth and dignities upon them, with a most entire unconcern as to his own means and as to the feelings and claims of his subjects. In church as in state, foreigners were constantly preferred to natives, and while Henry was lavishing wealth and civil honours upon the Poictevins, Savoyards, and Gascons, the overwhelming influence of Rome filled the richest church benefices of England with nameless Italian monks, and it was at one time proved to demonstration

that the Italian intruders into the church were in the yearly receipt of a revenue considerably larger than that of the king himself!

Under such circumstances it was natural that the parliament should show some unwillingness to grant supplies to a king who so ill knew how to use his funds, or that men of all ranks should murmur against a king so entirely destitute of patriotic feeling; and the more especially, as he was thus lavish to foreigners while utterly careless to flatter the English with that martial enterprise which then, as long after, was viewed by them as ample covering for many defects, personal and political. Whenever he demanded supplies he was obliged to listen to the complaints of the violence done to his faithful subjects, of the mean marriages forced upon those of the highest ranks, of the actual violence by which his table was supplied, his person decorated, and his religious solemnities adorned.

A.D. 1253.—To all the complaints of this nature Henry listened with impatience, and replied with vague and general promises of amendment; at length, in 1253, having exhausted the patience of his long-enduring subjects, he hit upon a new mode of obtaining funds from them, by soliciting a supply to aid him in the pious design of a crusade against the Infidels. But he had now so often been tried and found wanting, that the parliament could not put faith in this specious profession. The clergy, too, who rightly deemed their interests perilled by the infatuated conduct of the king, were as much opposed to him as the laity; and they sent the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops of Winchester, Salisbury, and Carlisle, to remonstrate with him upon his general extravagance, as well as upon the irregular manner in which he disposed of church dignities. Upon this occasion Henry displayed more than his usual spirit. Availing himself of the fact that he had greatly favoured these very personages, he replied, "It is true, I *have* been in error on this point of improper promotions; I obtruded you, my lord of Canterbury, upon your see; I was obliged to employ both threats and persuasions, my lord of Winchester, to have you elected; and irregular, indeed, was my conduct, my lords of Salisbury and Carlisle, when from your lowly stations I raised you to your present dignities." There was much truth in this, but there was no apology; and the prelates shrewdly replied, that the question was not of errors past, but of the avoidance of future errors.

Notwithstanding the sarcasm with which the king met the complaints of the prelates, he promised so fairly for the reformation of both ecclesiastical and civil abuses, that the parliament at length consented to grant him a tenth of the ecclesiastical benefices, and a scutage of three marks upon each knight's fee, on condition of his solemnly ratifying the great charter, while, with the ceremony of "bell, book, and candle," they cursed whoever should henceforth violate it. The king joined in the ceremony, audibly and emphatically agreed in the awful curse invoked upon any violation of his oath—and immediately afterwards returned to his old practices as though nothing extraordinary had occurred!

A.D. 1258.—Conduct so infatuated on the part of the king almost seemed to invite rebellion, and at length tempted one ambitious and daring noble so far, that he determined to endeavour to win the throne from a king who proved himself so unworthy of filling it with dignity or honour. Simon de Montford, a son of the great warrior of that name, having, though born abroad, inherited large property in England, was created earl of Leicester, and in the year 1238 married the dowager countess of Pembroke, sister to the king. The earl had been sometimes greatly favoured, sometimes as signally disgraced by the king, but being a man of great talent he had contrived always to recover his footing at court, and, whether in or out of favour with the king, to be a general favourite with the people, who at his first marrying the king's sister had hated and railed against him for his foreign birth.

Perceiving how inveterately the king was addicted to his tyrannies and follies, this artful and able nobleman determined to put himself at the head of the popular—or, more properly speaking, the baronial and church—party, believing that Henry would so far provoke his enemies as to lose his throne, in which case Leicester trusted to his own talents and influence to enable him to succeed to it. Accordingly he took up the cry, now become as general as it was just, against the king's oppression of the people, and his preference of foreigners—Leicester conveniently overlooking his own foreign birth!—and sought every occasion of putting himself forward as the advocate of the native barons and the prelates. When by persevering efforts in this way he had, as he considered, sufficiently strengthened his own hands and inflamed the general resentments against the king, he took occasion of a quarrel with Henry's half-brother and favourite, William de Valence, to bring matters to a crisis. Calling a meeting of the most incensed and powerful of the barons, he represented to them all those violations of the charter to which we have already alluded, and demanded whether they had so far degenerated from the high feelings of the barons who had wrested the charter from John, that they were prepared, without even a struggle, to see it a mere dead letter in the hand of Henry, whose most solemn promises of reformation they had so often experienced to be unworthy of belief.

There was so much of truth in Leicester's harangue, that the position which he had occupied as a favoured foreigner was overlooked, his recommendations were made the rule of the barons' conduct, and they agreed forthwith to take the government of public affairs into their own hands. They were just then summoned to meet the king for the old purpose, namely, to grant him supplies, and to his astonishment he found them all in complete armour. Alarmed at so unusual a sight and at the solemn silence with which he was received, he demanded whether he was to look upon them as his enemies and himself as their prisoner; to which Roger Bigod, as spokesman, replied, that they looked upon him not as their prisoner, but as their sovereign; that they had met him there in the most dutiful desire to aid him with supplies that he might, as he wished, fix his son upon the throne of Sicily; but they at the same time desired certain reforms which the experience of the past plainly showed that he could not make in his own person, and that they therefore were under the necessity of requiring him to confer authority upon those who would strenuously use it for the national benefit. The evident determination of the barons and the great and instant need which he had of supplies, left the king no choice; he therefore assured them that he would shortly summon another parliament for the election of persons to wield the authority spoken of, and also to settle and define that authority within precise limits.

A parliament was accordingly called, at which the barons made their appearance with so formidable an armed attendance, that it was quite clear that, whatever they might propose, the king had no power to resist them.

Twelve barons were selected by the king and twelve by the parliament, and to the body thus formed an unlimited reforming power was given, the king himself swearing to agree to and maintain whatever they should deem fit to order. Their instant orders were most reasonable; that three times in each year the parliament should meet; that on the next meeting of parliament each shire or county should send four knights to that parliament, that so the especial wants and grievances of every part of the kingdom might be known; that the sheriffs, officers of great power and influence, should thenceforth be annually elected by the counties, and should no longer have the power to fine barons for not attending their courts or the justiciaries' circuits; that no castles should be committed to the custody and no heirs to the wardships of foreigners, that no new forests or war

rens should be made; and that the revenues of counties or hundreds should no longer be farmed out.

Thus far the barons proceeded most equitably. But bare equity and the good of the people did not include all that the barons wanted. As the shameful profusion of the king had heaped wealth upon foreigners, so the destruction of these foreigners would yield an abundant harvest to the native barons. Accordingly, when the king, having acquiesced in the regulations above-mentioned, looked for the promised and much-needed supplies, he was met by loud outcries against foreigners in general, and against his half-brothers in particular. So loud was the clamour against these latter, that even the king's presence seemed insufficient to secure their lives, and they took to flight. Being hotly pursued by some of the more violent of the barons, they took refuge in the palace of Winchester, to which see Aylmer had been promoted. Even here they were surrounded and threatened, and the king, as the sole mode of saving them from destruction, agreed to banish them. Having thus nearly attacked the king in the persons of those who had some reasonable and natural claim upon his favour, the barons next proceeded to dismiss the justiciary, treasurer, and other chief ministers; and having filled these important posts with persons upon whom they could implicitly rely, they next proceeded to the virtual usurpation of the throne, by administering an oath to all the lieges to obey and execute all the regulations of the twenty-four barons, under pain of being declared public enemies; and such was the power which, under the pretence of the purest patriotism, these barons had usurped, that even the powerful earl Warenne and Prince Edward, the heir to the throne, were not exempt from the obligation to take this oath.

A. D. 1261.—So arrogantly did the barons use their extensive and usurped authority, that the earl of Gloucester, from being a chief in their confederacy, separated from it to side with the king; and Prince Edward, encouraged by the general murmurs of the people that the barons were becoming more tyrannous than even a king could be, threatened the barons that he would peril his life in opposing them if they did not speedily bring their reforms to a close.

The spirit of the prince Edward rallied so much favour to the side of the crown, that Henry thought that he might safely venture to endeavour to put a curb upon the exorbitant power of the twenty-four barons; but as he knew how prejudicial to his interests it would be to leave it in the power of his enemies to accuse him of perjury, he in the first place applied to Rome for absolution from the oath he had made to support the barons in their authority—an absolution which he readily received, both because of the misconduct of the barons, and because the pope was seriously offended with the English clergy for having shown a greater tendency towards independence than squared with either the papal interests or the papal maxims. Prince Edward refused to avail himself even of this absolution until the outrageous misconduct of the barons compelled him to do so; and the scrupulous fidelity with which he thus kept to an engagement which he had been forced into, procured him a general admiration which subsequently was very importantly beneficial to him.

A. D. 1262.—As soon as Henry received the absolution he had solicited from Rome, he issued a proclamation, in which he bitterly, and, for the most part, truly painted the personal and selfish views with which the twenty-four barons had both sought and used their authority, and declared that in duty to himself and his people he should from that time forth use his royal authority without its diminution or participation by any one; he changed all the chief officers of state and of his own household, as also most of the sheriffs of counties and governors of castles. Having thus far secured himself he summoned a parliament, which met on the twenty

third of April in this year, and which, with but five dissenting votes, confirmed his resumption of his authority.

But the snake of disaffection was only "scotched, not killed;" many of the barons still corresponded with Leicester, and that haughty noble, though resident in France, was busily employed in fomenting evil for England, which he now the more confidently hoped to reign over, because his powerful rival Gloucester was dead, and Gilbert, that nobleman's son and successor, had given his adhesion to Leicester.

While Leicester and his adherents were busily preparing to attack the power of the king, the Welsh suddenly made an irruption over the border, probably prompted by Leicester. The prince Edward, however, repulsed Llewellyn and his ill-disciplined troops, and then returned to aid his father, against whom Leicester was now openly and in great force arrayed.

Leicester directed his attacks chiefly against the king's demesnes, and excited the zeal of his followers to perfect fury by encouraging them to spoil and plunder to their utmost. The bishops of Hereford and Norwich were seized and imprisoned, and in spite of the determined and able conduct of Prince Edward, the king's cause began to wear an unpromising aspect. The rabble of the great towns were the zealous adherents of Leicester, whose cause and liberty to plunder they coupled; and in London, especially, the very dregs of the population were up in arms, headed and encouraged by the mayor, a violent and ill-principled man named Fitz-Richard, by whom large gangs of desperadoes were encouraged to pillage the wealthy and assail the peaceable. The season of Easter was especially marked by these outrages in the metropolis. A cry was at first raised against the Jews; from attacking them the mob proceeded to attack the Lombards, then the chief bankers and money lenders; and, as usual in such cases, the violence speedily proceeded to be directed indiscriminately against all who had or were suspected of having any thing to be plundered of. To such a height did the fury of the mob proceed, that the queen, who was then lodging in the Tower, became so seriously alarmed, that she left it by water with the intention of seeking safety at Windsor. But as her barge approached London Bridge the rabble assailed her, not only with the coarsest abuse, but also with vollies of filth and stones, so that she was obliged to return to the Tower.

Prince Edward was unfortunately made prisoner during a parley at Oxford, and that event so much weakened the king's party, that Henry, finding Leicester's party triumphant and insolent all over the kingdom, was fain to treat for peace. Aware that they had the upper hand, the rebels would allow of no terms short of the full power formerly given to the twenty-four barons being again entrusted to a like number, of whom a list was given to the king; and as Prince Edward had shown great talent and daring, Leicester stipulated that the treaty now made should remain in force during the life of the prince as well as that of the king. Henry had no choice but to submit; the barons restored their own creatures to office in the fortresses, the counties, the state, and the king's household, and then summoned a parliament to meet them at Westminster, and determine upon future measures for the government of the country.

Prince Edward being restored to liberty by this treaty, lost no time in exerting himself to prepare for a new struggle against the insolent pretensions of Leicester; but though many powerful barons gave him their adhesions, including the lords of the Scotch and Welsh marches, Leicester's party was still too strong to give the young prince hopes of success; and the people clamouring loudly for peace, the prince and king proposed that the dispute between them and the barons should be referred to the arbitration of the king of France. That upright prince, on examination of the affair, decided that the king should be fully restored to his power and prerogatives on the one hand; and that, on the other hand, the people were entitled to all the benefits of the great charter. Unfortunately, though

this decision was just, it only left the contending parties precisely where they were at the commencement of the quarrel, and stated in form that which was perfectly notorious before, namely, that the king had overstretched the power to which he was entitled, and that the barons had assumed a power to which they were not entitled. Leicester, to whose personal views peace was utterly destructive, represented to his party, that the award of the French king was wholly and unjustly on the side of Henry; he caused seventeen other barons to join him in a compact with the discontented Londoners, by which they mutually bound themselves never to make peace with the king but with the full and open concurrence of both these contracting parties; and while some of Leicester's friends rekindled the civil war in the provinces, he and Fitz-Richard did the like in London; so that the whole country once more bristled with arms and resounded with cries of war.

Finding civil war inevitable, the king and his brave son promptly made their preparations. In addition to their military vassals, whom they summoned from all quarters, they were joined by forces under Baliol, lord of Galloway, Brus, lord of Annandale, John Comyn, and other northern leaders of power. With this array they commenced their proceedings by laying siege to Northampton, in which was a strong garrison commanded by some of the principal barons. This place being speedily taken by assault, the royal army marched against Leicester and Nottingham, which opened their gates. Prince Edward now led a detachment against the property of the earl of Derby, whose lands were laid waste as a punishment of his disloyalty. Leicester, in the meanwhile, taking care to keep up a communication with London, upon the support of which he greatly depended, laid siege to Rochester castle, which was the only strong-hold in Kent that still held out for the king, and which was ably defended by Earl Warenne, its governor. The royal army, flushed with its success elsewhere, now marched in all haste to relieve this important fortress; and Leicester, hearing of their approach, and fearing to be outnumbered in a disadvantageous position, hastily raised the siege and fell back upon London. From London, Leicester sent proposals to Henry, but of so arrogant and exorbitant a character, that he must have been aware they would not be listened to; and, on a stern answer being returned by the king, Leicester publicly renounced his allegiance and marched the whole force he could collect towards Lewes, in Sussex, where the royal army lay; the bishop of Chichester giving the rebels a formal and general absolution, and assuring them that all who should fall in fighting against the king would undoubtedly go to heaven.

Leicester, though a shameful rebel, was a skilful general, and on this occasion he so ably conducted his march, that he almost surprised the royalists in their quarters; but the short time that elapsed between the alarm and the arrival of the rebels sufficed to enable the active prince Edward to march the army to the field in good order; one division being led by himself, the Earl Warrenne, and William de Valence, a second by the king of the Romans and his son Henry, and the third forming a reserve under the personal command of the king himself. The prince led his division against the enemy's vanguard, which was composed of the Londoners, who fled at the very first charge. Forgetting that his assistance might be required elsewhere, Prince Edward allowed himself to be governed entirely by his headlong rage against these inveterately disloyal men, and pursued them, with great slaughter, for nearly five miles from the field of battle. This impetuosity of the prince lost his father the day; for Leicester, promptly availing himself of the prince's absence, charged so hotly upon the remaining two divisions of the royalists, that they were defeated with terrible loss, and both the king and his brother, the king of the Romans, were taken prisoners; as were Brus, Comyn, and all the most considerable leaders on the king's side. Earl Warenne, Hugh Bigod,

and William de Valence escaped beyond sea; but Prince Edward, unappalled by the consequences of his own imprudence, kept his force together, added to it as many as could be rallied of the defeated divisions, and presented so bold a front, that Leicester thought it more prudent to amuse him with pretended desire to treat, than to urge him to a desperate attack. The earl accordingly proposed terms; and though they were severe, and such as under other circumstances the prince would have laughed to scorn, a little examination of the royal resources showed so hopeless a state of things, that Edward, despite his pride, was obliged to agree. These terms were, that Prince Edward and Henry d'Allmaine, son of the king of the Romans, should surrender themselves prisoners in exchange for their fathers; that six arbiters should be named by the king of France, that these six should choose two others, also French, and that one Englishman should be named by these last; the council thus named to have power definitely to decide upon all matters in dispute between Henry and his barons. In compliance with these terms, Edward and his cousin yielded themselves, and were sent prisoners to Dover castle; but Leicester, though he nominally gave the king his liberty, took care to keep him completely in his power, and made use of the royal name to forward his own designs. Thus the most loyal governors readily yielded up their important fortresses in the king's name; and when commanded by the king to disarm and disband, no loyal soldier could longer venture to keep the field. Leicester made, in fact, precisely what alterations and regulations he pleased, taking care to make them all in the king's name; and so evidently considered himself virtually in possession of the throne at which he had so daringly aimed, that he even ventured to treat with insolent injustice the very barons to whose participation of his disloyal labour he owed so much of its success. Having confiscated the large possessions of some eighteen of the royalist barons, and received the ransom of a host of prisoners, he applied the whole spoil to his own use, and when his confederates demanded to share with him, he coolly told them that they already had a sufficiency in being safe from the attainders and forfeitures to which they would have been exposed but for his victory.

As for the reference to parties to be named by the king of France and his nominees, though the earl, in order to hoodwink Prince Edward, laid so much stress upon it during their negotiation, he now took not the slightest notice of it, but summoned a parliament, so selected that he well knew that his wishes would be law to them. And, accordingly, this servile senate enacted that all acts of sovereignty should require the sanction of a council of nine, which council could be wholly or in part changed at the will of the earls of Leicester and Gloucester, and the bishop of Chichester, *or a majority of these three.* Now the bishop of Chichester being the mere convenient tool of Leicester, the earl was in reality in full power over the council—in other words, he was a despotic monarch in every thing but name. The queen, secretly assisted by Louis of France, collected a force together, with an intention of invading England on behalf of her husband, in whose name the coast of England was lined with forces to oppose her; but the queen's expedition was first delayed and then broken up altogether by contrary winds. The papal court issued a bull against Leicester, but he threatened to put the legate to death if he appeared with it; and even when the legate himself became pope under the title of Urban IV., Leicester still ventured to brave him, so confidently did he rely upon the dislike to Rome that was entertained, not only by the people in general, but also by the great body of the English clergy.

A.D. 1265.—Still desirous to govern with a show of legality, Leicester summoned a new parliament, which more nearly resembled the existing form of that assembly than any which had preceded it. Before this parliament the earl of Derby—in the king's name—was accused and commit-

ted; and the earl of Gloucester was intended for the same or a worse fate by his powerful and unscrupulous colleague, but avoided all present collision with him by retiring from parliament and the council. This obvious quarrel between the earls gave great encouragement to the king's friends, and the general voice now began loudly to demand the release of the brave prince Edward who had remained a close prisoner ever since the battle of Lewes. Leicester consented on conditions to release the prince, but he took care to keep both him and the king within his reach; and they were obliged to accompany him on his march against the earl of Gloucester, who had retired to his estates on the borders of Wales. While Leicester lay at Hereford, threatening the earl of Gloucester, the latter nobleman continued to communicate with Prince Edward, and so to arrange matters that the young prince escaped from the "attendance," as it was called, but really the confinement, in which he had been kept, and was speedily at the head of a gallant army, which daily received accession, when the glad news of his real liberty became generally known. Simon de Montfort, Leicester's son, hastened from London with an army to the assistance of his father. Prince Edward, having broken down the bridges of the Severn, turned away from the earl's position, and fell suddenly upon Simon de Montfort, who was carelessly encamped at Kenilworth, put his force utterly to the rout, and took the earl of Oxford and several other barons prisoners. Leicester, ignorant of this, had in the meantime managed to get his army across the Severn in boats, and halted at Evesham, in Worcestershire, in daily expectation of the arrival of that force which had already been put to the rout. Prince Edward, vigilant himself and well served by his scouts, dexterously availed himself of the earl's misapprehension of the state of affairs, and having sent part of his army on its march towards the earl, bearing De Montfort's banners and otherwise provided for representing his routed force, he with the main body of his army took another route, so as to fall upon the earl in a different quarter; and so completely was the deception successful, that when Leicester at length discovered the real state of the case, he exclaimed, "Now have I taught them to war to some purpose! May the Lord have mercy on our souls, for our bodies belong to Prince Edward!" But there was not much time for reflection; Edward led his troops to the attack vigorously and in excellent order; Leicester's troops, on the other hand, were dispirited by their bad position and suffering much from sickness; and victory speedily declared for the prince. In the heat of the battle Leicester was struck down and immediately dispatched though he demanded quarter, and his whole force was routed, upwards of a hundred of the principal leaders and knights being taken prisoners. The king himself was on the point of losing his life. The earl had cruelly placed him in the very front of the battle, and a knight who had already wounded him was about to repeat his blow, when Henry saved himself by exclaiming, "I am Henry of Winchester, your king."

The victory of Evesham re-established the king's authority; and to the great credit of the royal party, no blood disgraced that victory. Not a single capital punishment took place; the family of Leicester alone was attainted to full effect; for though many other rebellious families were formally attainted, their sentences were reversed on payment of sums, trifling indeed when the heinousness of the offence they had committed is considered.

The kingdom being thus restored to peace and released from all danger from the turbulent Leicester, Prince Edward departed for the Holy Land, where he so greatly distinguished himself, that the Infidels at length employed an assassin to destroy him; but though severely and even dangerously wounded, the prince fortunately escaped with life, and his assailant was put to death on the spot.

A.D. 1272.—Lest Gloucester should imitate his late rival in rebellion, Edward took that powerful nobleman with him to the East; but his own absence was very injurious to the public peace in England. No one presumptuous and even powerful baron, indeed, dared to dispute the crown with his royal master, but there was a general tendency to disorder among both barons and people; and the rabble of the great towns, and especially of London, became daily more openly violent and licentious. Henry was little able to contend against such a state of things. Naturally irresolute, he was now worn out with years, and with infirmities even beyond those incident to age. Perhaps, too, the disorder of his kingdom aggravated his sufferings; he perpetually expressed his wish for the return of his son, and lamented his own helplessness, and at length breathed his last on the 16th of November, 1272, aged sixty-four; having reigned fifty years, with little ease and with little credit, being obviously, from his youth upwards, rather fitted for a private than for a public station.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE REIGN OF EDWARD I.

A. D. 1273.—Prince Edward was already as far as Sicily on his way home when he received tidings of the death of his father. He at the same time heard of the death of his own infant son John; and when it was observed to him that the former loss seemed to affect him the most painfully, he replied that the loss of his son might be supplied, but that of his father was final and irreparable.

Hearing that all was peaceable in England he did not hasten home, but passed nearly twelve months in France. Being at Chalons, in Burgundy, he and some of his knights engaged in a tournament with the Burgundian chivalry, and so fierce was the spirit of rivalry that the sport became changed into earnest; blood was spilt on both sides, and so much damage was done before the fray could be terminated, that the engagement of this day, though commenced merely in sport and good faith, was seriously termed the little battle of Chalons.

A. D. 1274.—After visiting Paris, where he did homage to Philip the Hardy, then king of France, for the territory which he held in that kingdom, he went to Guienne to put an end to some disorders that existed there, and at length arrived in London, where he was joyfully received by his people. He was crowned at Westminster, and immediately turned his attention to the regulating of his kingdom, with an especial view to avoiding those disputes which had caused so much evil during the life of his father, and to putting an end to the bold practices of malefactors by whom the country was at once much injured and disgraced.

Making the great charter the standard of his own duty towards the barons, he insisted upon the same standard of conduct towards their vassals and inferiors, a course to which they were by no means inclined.

A. D. 1275.—Having summoned a parliament to meet him in February, 1275, he caused several valuable laws to be passed, weeded the magistracy of those who lay under the imputation of either negligence or corruption, and took measures for putting a check alike upon the robberies committed by the great, under the colour of justice and authority, and upon those which, in the loose state into which the kingdom had fallen during the close of the late reign, were so openly and daringly committed on the highways, that men of substance could only safely travel under escort or in great companies. For the suppression of this latter class of crimes the king showed a fierce and determined spirit, which might almost be judged to have been over severe if we did not take into consideration the des-

perate extent to which the evil had arrived. The ordinary judges were intimidated, the ordinary police was weak and ill-organized, and the king therefore established a commission which was appointed to traverse the country, taking cognizance of every description of evil doing, from the pettiest to the most heinous, and inflicting condign and prompt punishment upon the offenders. The old Saxon mode of commuting other punishments for a pecuniary fine was applied by this commission to minor offences, and a large sum was thus raised, of which the king's treasury stood much in need. But the zeal of this commission—and perhaps some consideration of the state of the royal treasury—caused the fines to be terribly severe in proportion to the offences. There was, also, too great a readiness to commit upon slight testimony; the prisons were filled, but not with the guilty alone; the ruffian bands, who had so long and so mischievously infested the kingdom, were broken up, indeed, but peaceable subjects and honest men were much harrassed and wronged at the same time. The king himself was so satisfied of the danger of entrusting such extensive powers to subjects, that when this commission had finished its labours it was annulled, and never afterwards called into activity.

Though Edward showed a real and creditable desire to preserve his subjects, of all ranks, from being preyed upon by each other, truth compels us to confess that he laid no similar restraint upon himself. Having made what profit he could by putting down the thieves and other offenders in general, Edward now turned for a fresh supply to that thrifty but persecuted people, the Jews. The counterfeiting of coin had recently been carried on to a most injurious extent, and the Jews being chiefly engaged in trafficking in money, this mischievous adulteration was very positively, though rather hastily, laid to their charge. A general persecution of the unhappy people commenced, of the fierceness and extent of which some judgment may be formed from the fact, that two hundred and eighty of them were hanged in London alone. While death was inflicted upon many in all parts of the kingdom, the houses and lands of still more were seized upon and sold. The king, indeed, with a delicacy which did not always characterise him in money matters, seized in the first instance only upon one half of the proceeds of these confiscations, the other being set apart as a fund for the Jews who should deem fit to be converted to Christianity; but so few Jews availed themselves of the temptation thus held out to them, that the fund was in reality as much in the king's possession as though no such provision had been made. It had been well for Edward's character if this severity had been exercised against the Jews only for the crime with which they were charged; but, urged probably still more by his want of money than by the bigoted hatred to this race which he had felt from his earliest youth, Edward shortly after commenced a persecution against the whole of the Jews in England; not as coiners or as men concerned in any other crimes, but simply as being Jews. The constant taxes paid by these people, and the frequent arbitrary levies of large sums upon them, made them in reality one of the most valuable classes of Edward's subjects; for whether their superior wealth was obtained by greater industry and frugality than others possessed, or by greater ingenuity and heartlessness in extortion, certain it is that it was very largely shared with their sovereign. But the slow process of taillages and forced loans did not suit Edward's purposes or wants; and he suddenly issued an order for the simultaneous banishment of the whole of the obnoxious race, and for their deprivation of the whole of their property, with the exception of so much as was requsite to carry them abroad. Upwards of fifteen thousand Jews were at once seized and plundered, under this most inexcusably tyrannous decree; and as the plundered victims left the country, many of them were robbed at the sea-ports of the miserable pittance which the king's cupidity had spared them, and some were murdered and thrown into the sea.

While taking this cruel and dishonest means of replenishing his treasury, Edward had at least the negative merit of frugally expending what he had unfairly acquired.

Aided by parliament with a grant of the fifteenth of all moveables, by the pope with a tenth of the church revenues for three years, and by the merchants with an export tax of half a mark on each sack of wool and a whole mark on every three hundred skins, he still was cramped in means; and as he was conscious that during the late long and weak reign many encroachments had been unfairly made upon the royal demesnes, he issued a commission to inquire into all such encroachments, and also to devise and seek the best and most speedy ways of improving the various branches of the revenue. The commission, not always able to draw the line between doubtful acquisitions and hereditary possessions of undoubted rightfulness, pushed their inquiries so far that they gave great offence to some of the nobility. Among others they applied to the Earl Warenne, who so bravely supported the crown against the ambition of Leicester during the late reign, for the title deeds of his possessions; but the indignant earl drew his sword and said, that as his ancestors had acquired it by the sword so he would keep it, and that he held it by the same right that Edward held his crown. This incident and the general discontent of the nobles determined the king to limit the commission for the future to cases of undoubted trespass and encroachment.

A. D. 1276.—Not even pecuniary necessities and the exertion necessary to supply them could prevent Edward's active and warlike spirit from seeking employment in the field. Against Llewellyn, prince of Wales, Edward had great cause of anger. He had been a zealous partizan of Leicester; and though he had been pardoned, in common with the other barons, yet there had always been something of jealousy towards him in the mind of Edward, which jealousy was now fanned into a flame by Llewellyn refusing to trust himself in England to do homage to Edward, unless the king's eldest son and some nobles were put into the hands of the Welsh as hostages, and unless Llewellyn's bride, a daughter of the earl of Leicester, who had been captured on her way to Wales and was detained at Edward's court, were released.

A. D. 1277.—Edward was not sorry to hear demands, his refusal to comply with which would give him the excuse he wished for, to march into Wales. He accordingly gave Llewellyn no other answer than a renewal of his order to him to come and do homage, and an offer of a personal safe conduct.

Edward was both aided and urged into his invasion of Wales by David and Roderick, brothers of Llewellyn, who having been despoiled of their inheritance by that prince, had now sought shelter and taken service with his most formidable enemy.

When the English approached Wales, Llewellyn and his people retired to the mountain fastnesses of Snowdown, judging that he could maintain against Edward that desultory warfare which had harrassed and tired out the Saxon and Norman invaders of an earlier day. But instead of exposing his forces to being harrassed and beaten in detail, Edward guarded every pass which led to the inaccessable retreats of the enemy, and then coolly waited until sheer hunger should dispose them either to treat or to fight. Nor was it long in occurring; brave as Llewellyn was, he saw himself so completely hemmed in that he was unable to strike a blow, and he was compelled to submit to the terms dictated to him by Edward. And severe those terms were; Llewellyn was to pay 50,000*l* by way of expenses of the war; to do homage to the king; to allow all the barons of Wales, save four of those nearest to Snowdown, to swear fealty to Edward; to yield to the English crown the whole of the country between the river Conway and the county of Cheshire; to settle a thousand marks

EARL VARENNE DEFENDING THE TITLE TO HIS ESTATES.

per year on his brother Roderick and half that sum upon David; and to give ten hostages for his future good and peaceable behaviour. All the articles having been duly performed, with the exception of the large sum of fifty thousand pounds, Edward forgave that; and considering his great love of money, or rather his great need of it, we may suppose that he gave up so large a sum only because the payment of it was rendered impossible by the excessive poverty of the country.

But the imperfect subjection of a country like Wales could not co-exist with peace. The Welsh, impetuous, proud and courageous, remembered the noble and obstinate defences their land had formerly made: the English, on the other hand, referred in tones of insolence and taunting to the bloodless and undisputed conquest they had now made. The lords of the marches, too, connived at or encouraged many insults and depredations; a general spirit prevailed among the Welsh that preferred destruction itself to the insults they had to endure, and this spirit caused David to forget his personal wrongs, and to join hand and heart with his brother in opposing the English. The Welsh flew to arms, and Edward entered their country with an army which seemed to leave them but little hope. Luke de Tenay, commanding a detachment of Edward's troops, was attacked as he passed the Menai, and his defeat inspired the Welsh with the most extravagant hopes; but Llewellyn was shortly afterwards surprised by Mortimer, defeated, and killed in the action, together with upwards of two thousand of his men. David who now succeeded to the Welsh sovereignty, exerted himself, but in vain, to collect another army sufficiently numerous to allow of his facing Edward in the open field. Terror had been struck into the inmost heart of the people by the defeat and death of Llewellyn. David with a few followers was obliged to seek shelter among the most difficult fastnesses of his native hills, and he was at length betrayed to Edward and sent in chains to Shrewsbury, where he was tried by the English peers, and condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, as a traitor—a sentence so disgraceful to Edward, that not even his deeds of a brighter and nobler character can wash off the stain of it.

The death of Llewellyn and David put an end to all hope of successful opposition on the part of the Welsh, who fully submitted; English laws and English officers were permanently established, and Edward conferred the principality upon his eldest surviving son, the prince Edward, who was born at Caernarvon.

A. D. 1286.—Though, as was inevitable, some national rancours still existed between the two people, the Welsh were now so completely subdued, that Edward found himself at liberty to go abroad to interfere in the differences which had arisen between Alphonso, king of Arragon, and Philip the Fair, of France, who disputed the kingdom of Sicily. While Edward was engaged in settling this dispute, which occupied him for nearly three years, his absence from England had given rise to numerous disorders and mischiefs. The administration of justice was openly defied by lawless bands; and robberies had become nearly as common as they were before the severe examples made at the beginning of his reign.

The disputes which existed in Scotland about the crown of that kingdom gave Edward an opportunity, of which he was not slow to avail himself, to interfere in the affairs of that nation; and at every interference he made larger and more obvious claims, not to the mere fealty of its king but to its actual sovereignty.

A. D. 1292.—The two principal competitors were Baliol and Bruce. It was agreed that Edward should arbitrate between them, and the castles of Scotland were put into his hands. This demand, alone, would go far to show Edward's real intentions; yet, while he was fully bent upon subduing Scotland to his own rule, he put the dispute upon the true footing, as though he meant to act justly, in the following question to the com-

missioners appointed to report to him on the case, and to the principal legists of Europe. Has a person descended from an elder sister, but farther removed by one degree, the preference as to succession to a kingdom, to one descended from a younger sister, but one degree nearer to the common stock? This question was answered him in the affirmative; and Baliol, being in the first category, was pronounced by Edward to be the rightful sovereign; a decision which so much enraged Bruce that he joined himself to Lord Hastings, who was another claimant, but only for a portion of the kingdom, which he maintained to be divisible.

A. D. 1293.—John Baliol having taken the oath of fealty to Edward as his feudal superior, was put into possession both of his throne and the fortresses of the kingdom. But having thus far acted with apparent good faith, Edward now began to exercise his feudal authority in so vexatious a manner, that it was quite evident that he desired either to cause Baliol to throw up his sovereignty in disgust, or to burst out into "some sudden flood of mutiny," such as would by the feudal usages cause the forfeiture of his fief. He gave every encouragement to appeals to his authority from that of the Scottish king, harassed Baliol by repeated summonses to London upon matters comparatively trivial, and instead of allowing him to answer by his procurator, compelled him to appear personally at the bar of the English parliament. Such treatment could not fail to urge even the quiet temper of Baliol into anger, and he at length returned into Scotland with the full determination to abide the chances of a war rather than continue to endure such insults. In this determination he was encouraged by a dispute in which Edward was now involved in another quarter.

It will readily be understood that in an age in which robbery and violence were so common on land, piracy and violence were no less common upon the sea; and both French and English sailors were but too ready to engage in contests, without care as to the possible consequences to their respective countries. It chanced that a Norman and an English vessel met off Bayonne, and both sending a boat ashore for water the parties quarrelled at the spring. From words they proceeded to blows, and one of the Normans having drawn a knife, an Englishman closed with him; both fell, and the Norman died on the spot; the English alledging that he accidentally fell upon his own knife, the Normans loudly affirming that he was stabbed. The Normans complained to King Philip, who bade them avenge themselves without troubling him. The words, if lightly spoken, were taken in all seriousness; the Normans seized upon an English ship, hanged some of the crew side by side with an equal number of dogs, and dismissed the rest of the ship's company, tauntingly assuring them that they had now satisfactorily avenged the Norman sailor who was killed at Bayonne.

When this intelligence reached the mariners of the Cinque ports they retaliated upon French vessels, and thus an actual war was soon raging between the two nations without a formal declaration of hostility having been made or sanctioned by either sovereign. As the quarrel proceeded it grew more and more savage; seamen of other nations took part in it, the Irish and Dutch joining the English, the Genoese and Flemish joining the French. At length an incident in this singular war rendered it impossible for Edward and Philip any longer to remain mere spectators of it. A Norman fleet, numbering two hundred vessels, sailed southward for a cargo of wine, and to convey a considerable military force; and this powerful fleet seized on every English ship it met with, plundered the goods, and hanged the seamen. This news more than ever enraged the English sailors, who got together a well-manned fleet of sixty sail, and went in quest of the Normans, whom they met with and defeated, taking or sinking most of the vessels; and these being closely stowed with military, and the English giving no quarter, it was asserted that the Norman loss

was not less than fifteen thousand men; an enormous loss at any time, but especially so in an age when battles which altered the destinies of empires were frequently decided at a far less expense of life.

Philip now demanded redress from Edward, who coldly replied that the English courts were open to any Frenchman who had complaints to make; and then he offered to refer the whole quarrel to the pope, or to any cardinals whom himself and Philip might agree upon. But the parties most concerned in the quarrel were by this time too much enraged to hold their hands on account of negotiations; and Philip, finding that the violence was in no wise discountenanced by Edward, summoned him, as duke of Guienne and vassal of France, to appear in his liege lord's court at Paris and answer for the offences his subjects had committed.

A. D. 1294.—The king instructed John St. John to put Guienne into a state of defence, and at the same time endeavoured to ward off attack from it by sending his brother, the earl of Lancaster, to Paris to mediate with Philip. The earl of Lancaster having married the queen of Navarre, mother of Jane, the queen of France, the latter offered him her aid in accommodating the dispute; and the queen-dowager of France joined her, in all apparent good faith. But the two princesses were acting most insidiously. They assured the earl that if Edward would give Philip siezin or possession of Guienne, to heal the wound his honour had received from his sub-vassals of that province, Philip would at once be satisfied and immediately restore it. To this Edward agreed, and gave up the province as soon as his citation to Paris was withdrawn; but the moment he had done so, he was again cited, and, on his non-appearance, condemned to forfeit Guienne. The trick thus played by Philip was so precisely similar to that which Edward had himself planned for Scotland, that it is truly wonderful how so astute a prince could ever have fallen blindfold into such an uncovered pit.

A. D. 1295.—Edward sent an army to Guienne, under the command of his nephew, John de Bretagne, earl of Richmond, together with John St John, and other officers of known courage and ability; and as his projects upon Scotland did not enable him to spare so many regular soldiers as were needed, he on this occasion opened all the gaols of England and added the most desperate of their tenants to the force he sent over to France.

While a variety of petty actions were carried on in France, Philip endeavoured to cause a diversion in his favour by entering into an alliance with John Baliol, king of Scotland; and he, smarting under the insults of Edward and longing for revenge, eagerly entered into this alliance, and strengthened it by stipulating a marriage between his own son and the daughter of Charles de Valois.

A. D. 1296.—Conscious how deep was the offence he had given to Baliol, Edward had too carefully watched him to be unaware of his alliance with France; and having now obtained considerable supplies from his parliament, which was more popularly composed than heretofore, he prepared to chastise Scotland on the slightest occasion. In the hope, therefore, of creating one, he sent a haughty message desiring Baliol, as his vassal, to send him forces to aid him in his war with France. He next demanded that the castles of Berwick, Roxburgh, and Jedburgh should be placed in his hands during the French war, as security for the Scottish fidelity; and then summoned Baliol to appear before the English parliament at Newcastle. Baliol, faithful to his own purpose and to the treaty that he had made with Philip, complied with none of these demands; and Edward having thus received the ostensible offence which he desired, advanced upon Scotland with an army of thirty thousand foot and four thousand horse.

The military skill of Baliol being held in no very high esteem in Scotland, a council of twelve of the most eminent nobles was appointed

to advise and assist him—in other words to act, for the time, at least, as "viceroys over him."

Under the management of this council vigorous preparations were made to oppose Edward. An army of forty thousand foot and about five hundred horse marched, after a vain and not very wisely planned attempt upon Carlisle, to defend the southeastern provinces threatened with Edward's first attacks. Already, however, divisions began to appear in the Scottish councils; and the Bruces, the earls of March and Angus, and other eminent Scots, saw so much danger to their country from such a divided host attempting to defend it against so powerful a monarch, that they took the opportunity to make an early submisson to him. Edward had crossed the Tweed at Coldstream without experiencing any opposition of either word or deed; but here he received a magniloquent letter from Baliol, who, having obtained from Pope Celestine an absolution of both himself and his nation from the oath they had taken, now solemnly renounced the homage he had done, and defied Edward.

Little regarding mere words, Edward had from the first moment of commencing his enterprise been intent upon deeds. Berwick had been taken by assault, seven thousand of the garrison put to the sword, and Sir William Douglas, the governor, made prisoner; and now twelve thousand men under the command of the veteran earl Warenne, were despatched against Dunbar, which was garrisoned by the very best of Scotland's nobility and gentry. Alarmed lest Dunbar should be taken, and their whole country thus be laid open to the English, the Scots marched an immense army to the relief of that place; but the earl Warenne, though his numbers were so inferior, attacked them so vigorously that they fled with a loss of twenty thousand men; and Edward with his main army coming up on the following day, the garrison perceived that further resistance was hopeless, and surrendered at discretion. The castles of Roxburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling now surrendered to Edward in rapid succession; and all the southern parts of Scotland being subdued, Edward sent detachments of Irish and Welsh, skilled in mountain warfare, to follow the fugitives to their recesses amidst the mountains and islets of the north.

But the rapid successes which already attended the arms of Edward had completely astounded the Scots, and put them into a state of depression proportioned to the confidence they had formerly felt of seeing the invader beaten back. Their heavy losses and the dissensions among their leaders rendered it impossible for them to get together anything like an imposing force; and Baliol himself put the crowning stroke to his country's calamity by hastening, ere the resources of his people could be fully ascertained, to make his submission once more to that invader to whom he had but lately sent so loud and so gratuitous a defiance. He not merely apologized in the most humble terms for his breach of fealty to his liege lord, but made a solemn and final surrender of his crown; and Edward, having received the homage of the king, marched northward only to be received with like humility by the people, not a man of whom approached him but to pay him homage or tender him service. Having thus, to all outward appearance, at least, reduced Scotland to the most perfect obedience, Edward marched his army south and returned to England carrying with him the celebrated inauguration-stone of the Scots, to which there was a superstition attached, that wherever this stone should be, there should be the government of Scotland. Considering the great power which such legends had at that time, Edward was not to blame, perhaps, for this capture; but the same cannot be said of his wanton order for the destruction of the national records.

Baliol, though his weak character must have very effectually placed him beyond the fear or suspicion of Edward, was confined in the Tower of London for two years, at the end of which time he was allowed to retire

to France, where he remained during the rest of his life in that private station for which his limited talents and his timid temper best fitted him The government of Scotland was entrusted to Earl Warenne, who, both from policy and predilection, took care that Englishmen were preferred to all offices of profit and influence.

In Guienne Edward's arms had been less successful; his brother the earl of Lancaster had at first obtained some advantages; but, he dying, the earl of Lincoln, who succeeded to the command, was not able to make any progress. Edward's success in Wales and Scotland, had, however, made him more than ever impatient of failure; and he now projected such a confederacy against the king of France as, he imagined, could not fail to wrest Guienne from him. In pursuance of this plan, he gave his daughter, the princess Elizabeth, to John, earl of Holland; and at the same time stipulated to pay to Guy, earl of Flanders, the sum of 75,000*l.* as his subsidy for joining him in the invasion of the territory of their common enemy, Philip of France. Edward's plan, a very feasible one, was to assemble all his allies and march against Philip's own capital, when Philip would most probably be glad to remove the threatened danger from himself by giving up Guienne. As a large sum of money was requisite to carry out the king's designs he applied to parliament, who granted him—the barons and knights—a twelfth of all moveables, and the boroughs an eighth. But if the king laid an unfair proportion of his charges upon the boroughs, he proposed still more unfairly to tax the clergy, from whom he demanded a fifth of their moveables. Pope Boniface VIII. on mounting the papal throne had issued a bull forbidding the princes of all Christian nations to tax the clergy without the express consent of Rome, and equally forbidding the clergy to pay any tax unless so sanctioned; and the English clergy gladly sheltered themselves under that bull, now that the king proposed to burden them so shamefully out of all proportion to his charges upon other orders of his subjects. Though Edward was much enraged at the tacit opposition of the clergy, he did not instantly proceed to any violence, but caused all the barns of the clergy to be locked up and prohibited all payment of rent to them. Having given thus much intimation of his determination to persist in his demand, he appointed a new synod to confer with him upon its reasonableness; but Robert de Winchelsey, archbishop of Canterbury, who had suggested to Boniface that bull of which the clergy were now availing themselves, plainly told the king that the clergy owed obedience to both a temporal and a spiritual sovereign, and that the obedience due to the former would bear no comparison as to importance with that which was due to the latter; and that consequently it was impossible that they could pay a tax demanded by the king when they were expressly forbidden to pay it by the pope.

A.D. 1297.—Really in need of money, and at the same time equally desirous of avoiding an open quarrel with the pope on the one hand, and of making any concessions to obtain a relaxation of his bull on the other, Edward coolly replied that they who would not support the civil power could not fairly expect to be protected by it. He accordingly gave orders to all his judges to consider the clergy as wholly out of his protection. He, of course, was obeyed to the letter. If any one had a suit against a clerk the plaintiff was sure of success, whatever the merits of his case, for neither the defendant nor his witness could he heard; on the other hand, no matter how grossly a clerk might have been wronged in matters not cognizable by the ecclesiastical courts, all redress was refused him at the very threshold of those courts whose doors were thrown open to the meanest layman in the land.

Of such a state of things the people, already sufficiently prone to plunder, were not slow to avail themselves; and to be a clerk and to be plundered and insulted were prettly nearly one and the same thing. The rents

both in money and in kind were cut off from the convents; and if the monks, in peril of being starved at home, rode forth in seach of subsistence, robbers, emboldened by the king's rule, if not actually prompted by his secret orders, robbed them pitilessly of money, apparel and horses, and sent them back to their convents still poorer and in a worse plight than they had left them. The archbishop of Canterbury issued a general excommunication against all who took part in these shameful proceedings; but it was little attended to, and had no effect in checking the spoliation of the clergy, upon which the king looked with the utmost indifference, or, rather, with the double satisfaction arising from feeling that the losses of the clergy would at length induce them to submit, even in despite of their veneration for the papal commands, and that the people were thus gradually accustoming themselves to look with less awe upon the papal power. Whether, in wishing the latter consummation, Edward wished wisely for his successors we need not now stay to discuss; in anticipating the former consummation he most assuredly was quite correct; for the clergy soon began to grow weary of a passive struggle in which they were being tortured imperceptibly and incessantly, without either the dignity of martyrdom or the hope of its reward. The northern province of York had from the first paid the fifth demanded by the king, not in any preference of his orders to those of the pope, nor, certainly, with any peculiar and personal predilection for being taxed beyond their ability, but because their proximity to Scotland gave them a fearful personal interest in the ability of the king to have sufficient force at his command. The bishops of Salisbury and Ely, and some others, next came in and offered not indeed *literally* to disobey the pope by paying the fifth directly to Edward, but to deposit equivalent sums in certain appointed places whence they could be taken by the king's collectors. Those who could not command ready money for this sort of commutation of the king's demand privily entered into recognizances for the payment at a future time, and thus either directly or indirectly, mediately or immediately, the whole of the clergy paid the king's exorbitant demand, though reason warranted them in a resistance which had the formal sanction, nay the express command, of their spiritual sovereign. In this we see a memorable instance of the same power applied to different men; the power that would have crushed the weak John, however just his cause, was now, with a bold and triumphant contempt, set at naught by the intrepid and politic Edward, though it opposed him in a demand which was both shameful in its extent and illegal even in the manner of its imposition.

But with all this assistance, the supplies which Edward obtained still fell far short of his necessities, and the manner in which he contrived to make up the difference was characterized by the injustice which was the one great blot upon what would otherwise have been a truly glorious reign. Though the merchants had ever shown great willingness to assist him, he now arbitrarily fixed a limit to the exportation of wool, and as arbitrarily levied a duty of forty shillings on each sack, being something more than a third of its full value! Nor did his injustice stop here; this, indeed, was the least of it; for he immediately afterwards seized all the wool that remained in the kingdom, and all the leather, and sold them for his own benefit. The sheriffs of each county were empowered to seize for him two thousand quarters of wheat and two thousand of oats. Cattle and other requisites were seized in the same wholesale and unceremonious fashion; and though these seizures were made under promise to pay, the sufferers naturally placed little reliance upon such promise made under such circumstances. In the recruiting of his army Edward acted quite as arbitrarily as in provisioning it; compelling every proprietor of land to pay the yearly value of twenty pounds, either to serve in person or find a proxy even though his land were not held by military tenure. Notwithstanding

the great popularity of Edward, and the terror of his power, he could not under such circumstances of provocation prevent the people from murmuring; nor were the murmurs confined to the poorer sort or those who were personally sufferers from the king's arbitrary conduct, but the highest nobles also felt the outrage that was committed upon the general principle of liberty. Of this feeling Edward was made aware as soon as he had completed his preparations. He divided his forces into two armies, intending to assail France on the side of Flanders with one of them, and to send the other to assail it on the side of Gascony. But when everything was ready and the troops actually assembled on the sea coast, Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk and marshal of England, and Bohun, earl of Hereford and constable of England, to whom he intended to entrust the Gascon portion of his expedition, refused to take charge of it, on the plea that by their offices they were only bound to attend upon his person during his wars. Little used to be thwarted, the king was greatly enraged at this refusal, and in the high words that passed upon the occasion he exclaimed to the earl of Hereford, "By God, Sir Earl, you shall either go or hang;" to which Hereford coolly replied, "By God, Sir King, I will neither go nor hang;" and he immediately left the expedition, taking with him above thirty other powerful barons and their numerous followers.

Finding himself thus considerably weakened in actual numbers, and still more so by the moral effect this dispute had upon men's minds, Edward now gave up the Gascon portion of his expedition; but the opposition was not yet at an end, for the two earls now refused to perform their duty on the ground that their ancestors had never served in Flanders. Not knowing how far the same spirit might have spread, Edward feared to proceed to extremities, aggravated and annoying as this disobedience was, but contented himself with appointing Geoffrey de Geyneville and Thomas de Berkeley to act for the recusant officers on the present occasion; for as the offices of marshal and constable were hereditary, he could only have deprived the offenders of them by the extreme measure of attainder. He farther followed up this conciliatory policy by taking the primate into favour again, in hope of thus securing the interest of the church; and he assembled a great meeting of the nobles in Westminster Hall, to whom he addressed a speech in apology for what they might deem exceptionable in his conduct. He pointed out how strongly the honour of the crown and the nation demanded the warlike measures he proposed to take, and how impossible it was to take those measures without money; he at the same time protested, that should he ever return he would take care that every man should be reimbursed, and that wherever there was a wrong in his kingdom that wrong should be redressed. At the same time that he made these promises and assured his hearers that they might rely upon his fulfilment of them, he strongly urged them to lay aside all animosities among themselves, and only strive with each other who should do most towards preserving the peace and upholding the credit of the nation, to be faithful to him during his absence, and, in the event of his falling in battle, to be faithful to his son.

Though there was something extremely touching in the politic pleading of the king, coming as it did from a man usually so fierce and resolute, his arbitrary conduct had injured too widely, and stung too deeply, to admit of words, however pathetic, winning him back the friendship of his people; and just as he was embarking at Winchelsea, a remonstrance which Hereford and Norfolk had framed was presented to him in their names and in those of other considerable barons. In this remonstrance, strongly though courteously worded, complaint was generally made of his recent system of government, and especially of his perpetual and flagrant violation of the great charter and of the charter of the forests, and his arbitrary taxation and seizures, and they demanded redress of

these great and manifest grievances. The circumstances under which this memorial was delivered to the king furnished him with an excuse of which he was by no means sorry to avail himself, seeing that he could neither deny the grievances nor find the means of redressing them; and he briefly replied, that he could not decide upon matters of such high importance while at a distance from his council and in all the bustle of em barkation.

But the two earls and their partizans were resolved that the king's em barkation should rather serve than injure their cause; and when the prince of Wales and the government summoned them to meet in parliament they did so with a perfect army of attendants, horse and foot, and would not even enter the city until the guardianship of the gates was given up to them. The council hesitated to trust so much to men who had assumed so hostile an attitude; but the archbishop of Canterbury, who sided with the earls, overruled all objections and argued away all doubts: the gates were given into the custody of the malcontents, and thus both the prince and the parliament were virtually put into their power.

That power, however, they used with an honourable moderation, demanding only that the two charters should be solemnly confirmed by the king and duly observed for the time to come; that a clause should be added to the great charter, securing the people from being taxed without the consent of parliament; and that they who had refused to attend the king to Flanders should be held harmless on that account and received into the king's favour. Both the prince of Wales and his council agreed to these really just and moderate terms; but when they were submitted to Edward, in Flanders, he at first objected to agree to them, and even after three days' deliberation he was only with difficulty persuaded to do so.

The various impediments which the king had met with in England caused him to reach Flanders too late in the season for any operations of importance; and enabled Philip to enter the Low Countries before his arrival, and make himself master, in succession, of Lisle, St. Omers, Courtrai, and Ypres. The appearance of Edward with an English army of fifty thousand men put an end to this march of prosperity; and Philip not only was compelled to retreat on France, but had every reason to fear that he should be early invaded there. Edward, however, besides being anxious for England, exposed as it was to the hostilities of the Scots, was disappointed of a considerable force for the aid of which he had paid a high price to Adolph, king of the Romans; and both monarchs being thus disposed to at least temporary peace, they agreed to a truce of two years, and to submit their quarrel to the judgment of the pope.

A. D. 1298.—Though both Edward and Philip expressly maintained that they referred their quarrel to the pope, not as admitting the papal right to interfere in the temporal affairs of nations, but as respecting his personal wisdom and justice, he was too anxious to be seen by the world in the character of mediator between two such powerful princes, to make any exception to the terms upon which his mediation was accepted. He examined their differences, and proposed that a permanent peace should be made by them on the following terms, viz.: that Edward, who was now a widower, should espouse Margaret, sister of Philip, and that the prince of Wales should espouse Isabella, daughter of Philip, and that Guienne should be restored to England. Philip wished to include the Scots in his peace with Edward, but the latter was too inveterate against Scotland to listen to that proposal, and after some discussion the peace was made—Philip abandoning the Scots, and Edward in turn abandoning the Flemings. So careless of their allies are even the greatest monarchs when their own interests call for the sacrifice of those allies!

It is but seldom that projects of conquest will bear scrutiny; still more

seldom that they merit praise. But certainly, looking merely at the geographical relations of England and Scotland, it is impossible to deny that the latter seems intended by nature to belong to the former whenever any considerable progress should be made in civilization. That Scotland should long and fiercely struggle for independence was natural, and excites our admiration and sympathy; but, on turning from sentiment to reason, we cannot but approve of the English determination to annex as friends and fellow-subjects a people so commandingly situated to be mischievous and costly as enemies. It is probable that Scotland would never have made a struggle after the too prudent submission of John Baliol, had the English rule been wisely managed. But Earl Warenne was obliged by failing health to retire from the bleak climate of Scotland; and Ormesby and Cressingham, who were then left in possession of full authority, used, or rather abused it in such wise as to arouse to hate and indignation all high-spirited Scots, of whatever rank, and of whatever moderation in their former temper towards England. Their shameful and perpetual oppressions, in fact, excited so general a feeling of hostility, that only a leader had been for some time wanting to produce an armed revolt and such a leader at length appeared in the person of the afterwards famous WILLIAM WALLACE.

William Wallace, a gentleman of moderate fortune, but of an ancient and honourable family in the west of Scotland, though his efforts on behalf of his country deserve at least a part of the enthusiastic praise which his countrymen bestow upon him, would probably have died unknown, and without one patriotic struggle, but for that which often leads to patriotic efforts—a private quarrel. Having, like too many of his fellow-countrymen, been grossly insulted by an English officer, Wallace killed him on the spot. Under so tyrannous a rule as that of the English in Scotland, such a deed left the doer of it but little mercy to hope; and Wallace betook himself to the woods, resolved, as his life was already forfeit to the law, to sell it as dearly as possible, and to do away with whatever obloquy might attach to his first act of violence by mixing up for the future his own cause with that of his country. Of singular bodily as well as mental powers, and having a perfect acquaintance with every morass and mountain path, the suddenness with which Wallace, with the small band of outlaws he at first collected round him, fell upon the English oppressors, and the invariable facility and safety with which he made good his retreat, soon made him looked up to by men who longed for the deliverance of their country, and cared not if they owed it even to a hand guilty of deliberate murder. The followers of Wallace thus speedily became more and more numerous, and from the mere outlaw's band grew at length to the patriot's army.

Every new success with which Wallace struck terror into the hearts of the English increased the admiration of his countrymen; but though the number of his adherents was perpetually on the increase, for a long time he was not joined by any men of rank and consequence sufficient to stamp his exertions with a national character. But this great difficulty was at length removed from his path. After a variety of minor successes he prepared his followers to attack Scone, which was held by the hated English justiciary, Ormesby; and that tyrannical person being informed by his spies of the deadly intentions of Wallace towards him, was so alarmed, that he precipitately departed into England; and his example was closely followed by all the immediate accomplices and tools of his cruelty and tyranny.

The panic flight of Ormesby added greatly to the effect which the courage and conduct of Wallace had already produced upon the minds of his fellow-countrymen; and even the great, who hitherto had deemed it prudent to keep aloof from him, now showed him both sympathy and confi

dence. Sir William Douglas openly joined him, and Robert Bruce secretly encouraged him; the smaller gentry and the people at large gave him the full confidence and support of which the efforts he had already made proved him capable of profiting; and so general was the Scottish movement, that in a short time the English government was virtually at an end in Scotland. The more sanguine among the Scots already began to hope that their country's independence was completely re-established, but the wiser and more experienced judged that England would not thus easily part with a conquest so desirable and, perhaps, even essential to her own national safety; and their judgment was soon justified by the appearance of Earl Warenne at Irvine, in Annandale, with an army of upwards of forty thousand men; a force which, if prudently used under the existing circumstances, must on the instant have undone all that Wallace had as yet done for the enfranchisement of his country. For the mere appearance of so vast and well appointed an army, under the command of a leader of the known valour and ability of Warenne, struck such terror into many of the Scottish nobles who had joined Wallace, that they hastened to submit to Warenne, and to save their persons and property by renewing the oath of fealty to Edward; while many who were secretly in correspondence with Wallace, and among his most zealous friends, were compelled, though sorely against their will, to join the English. Wallace, being then thus weakened, a prudent use of the vast English force was all that was required to have insured success; and had Warenne acted solely upon his own judgment, success most certainly would have been his. But Cressingham, the treasurer, whose oppressions had only been second to those of Ormesby, was so transported by personal rage, and had so much influence over Warenne, as to mislead even that veteran commander into an error as glaring as in its consequence it was mischievous.

Urged by Cressingham, Warenne, who had advanced to Cambuskenneth, on the banks of the Forth, resolved to assail Wallace, who had most skilfully and strongly posted himself on the opposite bank. Sir Richard Lundy, a native Scotchman, but sincerely and zealously attached to the English cause, in vain pointed out to Warenne the disadvantages under which he was about to make the attack. The order was given, and the English began their march over the bridge which crossed the river at that point. Wallace allowed the leading divisions to reach his side of the river, but before they could fully form in order of battle he gave the word, his troops rushed upon the English in overwhelming force, and in an incredibly short time the battle became a mere rout, the English flying in every direction, and thousands of them being put to the sword or drowned in their vain endeavours to escape from their enraged enemies. Cressingham, who behaved with much gallantry during the short but murderous conflict, was among the number of the English slain; and so inveterate and merciless was the hatred with which his tyranny had inspired the Scots, that they actually flayed his corpse and had his skin tanned and converted into girths and belts. The great loss sustained by the English upon the field, and the complete panic into which the survivors were thrown, left Warenne no alternative but to retreat into England. The castles of Berwick and Roxburgh were speedily taken, and Scotland was herself free once more, and loudly hailed Wallace as her deliverer. The title of regent was bestowed upon him by acclamation; and both from being elated by his almost marvellous success, and from the absolute famine which prevailed in Scotland, he was now induced to carry the war into England. He accordingly marched his troops across the border, and spreading them over the northern counties, plundered and destroyed without mercy, till at length having penetrated as far as the bishoprick of Durham, he obtained enormous booty, with which he returned in triumph to Scotland.

The news of this great triumph of the Scots reached Edward while in Flanders, where, fortunately, he had just completed a truce with France. He was thus at liberty to hasten to England and endeavour to retrieve the loss of his most valued conquest. Sensible that his past conduct had greatly offended as well as alarmed his people, of whose utmost aid and zeal he now stood in so much need, his first care was to exert every art to regain his lost popularity. To the citizens of London he paid his court by restoring to them the privelege of electing their own magistrates, of which his father had deprived them; and he gave ostentatious directions for exact inquiry to be made as to the value of corn, cattle, and other commodities, which a short time before he had ordered to be seized; thus leading the more sanguine among the sufferers to believe, and persuading others, that he intended to pay for the goods thus violently obtained. To the nobles he equally endeavoured to recommend himself by solemn professions of his determination to observe the charters; and having thus ingratiated himself with all orders of men, he made extensive levies and preparations for the re-conquest of Scotland, against which he was soon enabled to march with an army of nearly a hundred thousand men.

The magnitude and excellent equipment of Edward's force were not his only advantages; dissensions were rife and fierce among the Scots at the very moment when it was obvious that nothing but the most unanimous and disinterested zeal could give them even a chance of success. Wallace had done wonders in raising his country from the extreme degradation and despair in which he had found her; but then Wallace was only the son of a private gentleman, and his elevation to the important post of regent gave deep offence to the proud nobility, each of whom deemed himself more worthy than the other. Perceiving both the cause and the danger of the divided spirit, Wallace showed himself truly noble in soul, by disinterestedly resigning the authority he had so well won, and retaining only the command of his immediate followers, who would have obeyed no other commander; and the chief authority was divided between Cummin of Badenoch and the steward of Badenoch, who agreed in concentrating all the Scottish forces at Falkirk, there to await the attack of the English. Each of the Scottish commanders-in-chief headed a great division of their army, while a third division was under the immediate command of Wallace himself. The pikemen formed the front of each division, and the intervals between the three were occupied by strong bodies of archers; and as the English had a vast superiority in cavalry, the whole front of the Scottish position was protected as well as possible by stakes strongly secured to each other by ropes.

Edward, on arriving in front of his enemy formed his army, also, into three divisions. His archers, probably the most skilful in the world, commenced the attack, and so galled the Scottish bowmen, that they were seized with a panic and fled from the field. The fearful shower of the English bolts and arrows was now turned upon the Scottish pikemen, and the charge of the English pikemen and cavalry followed up the advantage thus obtained. The Scots fought bravely and well, but the superiority of the English, in discipline and equipments as well as in numbers, was so great, that the utmost efforts of the Scotch were in vain, and they were at length routed, with a loss of ten thousand men, but which the popular lamentation rated as high as fifty thousand.

Even in this appalling scene of confusion and slaughter, Wallace contrived to keep his division unbroken, and to lead it in good order behind the river Carron, lining the bank of that river in such wise as to render the attack of the English highly perilous, if not actually impracticable.

An interview here took place between Wallace and young Bruce, who, despite his own high birth and not weak claim upon the Scottish royalty was then serving in Edward's army The account given by the Scottish

historians of this interview is so precise as to be somewhat suspicious, especially as authors quite as credible affirm that Bruce was not then with the English army, or even in that part of the country. If, however, the interview took place, the subsequent conduct of Bruce shows, that, so far from succeeding in his endeavour to induce Wallace to struggle no longer for his country's independence, he was himself converted by the great hero into a nobler way of thinking.

A. D. 1299.—While Wallace still remained unconquered and in some force, Edward felt that his triumph was not complete; but after having subjected the south of Scotland, Edward was obliged, by sheer want of provisions, to march his troops back into England and to leave the north of Scotland still unconquered.

A. D. 1300.—The Scotch having in vain applied for aid to Philip of France, now betook themselves to the mediation of Rome; and Boniface wrote on their behalf a long and justly-argued letter to Edward, in which he strongly put forward all the solid arguments that existed against his equally unjust and arrogant claim to Scotland. But as the ambition of Boniface was fully equal to his ability, he weakened the justice of his opposition to the arrogant claim of Edward, by putting forward an equally arrogant and unfounded one on the part of Rome, to which he asserted Scotland to have by right appertained from the most remote antiquity.

The real claim of Edward was plainly founded upon the right of the strongest; his only justification was to be found in the geographical connection of Scotland and England. But, in replying to the letter of the pope, Edward advanced arguments which were quite as remarkable for grave and absurd assurance as even the claim of the pope himself. Commencing with Brutus the Trojan, Edward cited and assumed historical sayings and doings down to the time of Henry II. in support of his claim; but carefully leaving out everything that told for Scotland, though he commenced his elaborate document by a solemn appeal to the Almighty to witness his sincerity and good faith! It is still more extraordinary that Edward's pretensions were backed by no fewer than a hundred and four barons, who, to his defence of his claims, added, that though they had condescended to justify them to Boniface, they by no means acknowledged his right to judge, and that if their sovereign were willing to give up the prerogatives which they were determined at all hazards and all sacrifices to uphold, they for their parts would in no wise allow him to do so.

A. D. 1303.—While Edward was thus endeavouring to give to a politic and tempting usurpation the character of a just and ancient claim, the Scots, relieved from his immediate and fatal activity, were exerting themselves for another effort in behalf of their national independence. John Cummin was made regent, and he did not content himself with keeping a force together in the north, but made frequent incursions upon the subdued southern provinces. John de Segrave, whom Edward had left as his representative in Scotland, at length led out his army to oppose the Scotch, and a long and sanguinary action took place at Roslin, near Edinburgh, in which the English were completely defeated, and the whole of the southern provinces freed from them by the regent.

Edward, to his infinite indignation, now perceived that he had not to complete, merely, but actually recommence the conquest of this brave people, and he made preparation for so doing with his accustomed vigour and activity. Assembling naval as well as military forces, he entered Scotland with a large army, which his navy, sailing along the coast, put out of all danger as regarded want of provisions. The superiority which this arrangement gave to Edward rendered the resistance of the Scotch as hopeless as it was gallant. Place after place was taken, the chieftains in succession yielded in despair, and Cummin himself and his most zeal-

ous friends at length submitted. But though Edward had marched triumphantly from one end of the country to the other, and had received the submission of the ablest and the bravest, his conquest was still incomplete, for Wallace was yet at liberty and was still undaunted.

A. D. 1304-5.—Edward on many occasions during his busy reign displayed great talents, but his really clear judgment was usually vanquished when it became opposed by his love of arbitrary rule. He had now done enough to display his power, and his truest policy would have been to endeavour to reconcile the existing generation of Scots to their loss of real independence by flattering them with as much as possible of the appearance of it, by governing them by their own laws, and by indulging them in their national customs, until, habituated to rule and influenced by the propensity of imitation, which is everywhere so strong, they should gradually assimilate themselves in those respects to their conquerors. But this slow though sure process did not accord with his passionate disposition; and he not only made sweeping alterations in the Scottish laws, but still more deeply wounded the national pride by the malignant zeal with which he destroyed all their most precious records, and most valued monuments.

By this injudicious cruelty he powerfully excited the hatred of the Scots, and that hatred was now pushed to its utmost excess by what even an English historian can only term the murder of the brave but unfortunate Wallace. Resolved never to despair of his country, nor to cease his exertions for her but when he should cease to live, Wallace sought shelter in the mountain fastnesses, confiding the secret of his retreat to only a few upon whom he thought he could implicitly rely, and watched eagerly and hopefully for some opportunity of again rousing Scotland to resistance. But the anxiety of Edward to get into his power this most formidable enemy to him, because most devoted friend to his native land, led him to hold out the promise of such reward and favour to whomsoever would put Wallace into his power, that a traitor was found even among the mere handful of Scots to whom the power of being thus treacherous was confined. The man to whose name this eternal infamy attaches was Sir John Monteith, an intimate and confidential friend of Wallace. This dastardly and treacherous nobleman revealed the place of the patriotic chieftain's shelter, and he was siezed, loaded with irons, and sent to London. Distinguished as Edward himself was for courage, the almost romantic bravery and devotion of Wallace might have been expected to have excited his admiration. It is scarcely possible to read this portion of our history without, for Edward's own sake, feeling shocked and disappointed at the unknightly want of generosity he displayed. Had he kept Wallace even a close prisoner, though the wrong doer would still have been exercising the unjust right of the strongest, Edward had been excusable, as it was quite obvious that so long as Wallace was at liberty the conquest of Scotland was not secure for a single day. But the courage and perseverence which ought to have secured Edward's sympathy, only excited his implacable hatred; and the unfortunate Scottish patriot, after the mere mockery of a trial for treason and rebellion against that power to which he had never made submission, was publicly beheaded on Towerhill.

If Edward hoped by this shameful severity to put an end to the Scottish hopes and determination, he was signally mistaken; the dying resentment of the people was aroused; even those who had been foremost in envying the supremacy of Wallace now joined in deploring his fate, and the general mind was put into the most favourable state for insuring welcome and support to the next champion of independence, who soon presented himself in the person of Robert Bruce.

A. D. 1306.—Robert Bruce, grandson of the opponent of Baliol, was now, by the decease of both his grandfather and father, the inheritor of, at the

least, a plausible claim to the Scottish crown, and had therefore a personal as well as a patriotic motive for opposing the tyranny of Edward. Though he was himself personally well treated, though, indeed, he was viewed less as a prisoner at large than a favoured native noble, Bruce could not but feel disgust and indignation at the numerous cruelties of Edward, crowned as they were by the damning injustice of the murder of Wallace; and after having long pondered the subject, he determined to succeed to that hero in his task, even at the risk of succeeding also to his violent end. This determination Bruce confided to his intimate friend, John Cummin, who approved of his design and encouraged him in it. Whether Cummin from the first listened only to betray, or whether he at first entered sincerely into the views of Bruce, and only betrayed them from horror at the magnitude of the danger, does not clearly appear. But certain it is that, from whatever motives, he did reveal the sentiments and intentions of Bruce to the king.

Edward, though little prone to sparing, knew how to dissemble; and being desirous of getting into his power the three brothers of Bruce, who were still at liberty in Scotland, and fearing to alarm them ere he could do so, should he take any decisive measure against Robert, he for the present contented himself with putting his every act and word under the most severe surveillance of persons practised in that most contemptible species of employment. This policy, intended to make the ruin of Robert Bruce more certain and complete, proved his safety; for an English nobleman who was privy to Edward's design put Bruce on his guard in time. The friendly nobleman in question, being aware how closely Bruce was watched could not venture to warn him personally and in plain terms of the danger which beset him, but sent him by a sure hand a pair of spurs and a purse of money. The sagacity of Bruce rightly interpreted the meaning of this double present, and he instantly set off for Annandale, and arrived there safely; having taken the precaution to have his horse shod backward, so that even had a pursuit been commenced, the pursuers would speedily have been thrown out.

High as Bruce ranked in the Scottish nobility, he had hitherto been looked upon as wholly lost to Scotland; as the mere minion of the English king; less anxious about the land to which he owed his birth than to that in which he lived a life of splendid slavery. It was, therefore, with no little surprise, and perhaps in some cases even with suspicion, that the Scottish nobility then assembled at Dumfries saw him suddenly appear before them, with the avowed determination of following up the mighty efforts of Wallace, and of liberating his trampled country or nobly perishing in the attempt. The eloquence and spirit with which Bruce declared his intentions and exhorted the assembled nobles to join him in his efforts, roused their spirits to the highest enthusiasm, and they at once declared their intention to follow the noble Bruce even to death. To this enthusiasm and assent there was but one exception:—Cummin, who had already betrayed the designs of Bruce to the king, now endeavoured to introduce discord into the council, by dwelling with great earnestness upon the little probability that existed of their being successful against the tremendous power of England, and upon the still smaller probability of Edward showing any mercy to them, should they fall into his hands after insulting him by a new breach of their oath and fealty.

The discourse of Cummin had the greater weight because he was held to be a true patriot; and Bruce clearly perceived that this man, who had so nearly betrayed him to certain imprisonment and very probable execution, had so strong a hold on the minds of the nobles, that they would most likely follow his advice, until the arrival of Edward with an overwhelming power would render exertion useless. Enraged at such an opposition being added to the treachery of which he was aware that Cum

min had already been guilty, Bruce, when the meeting of the nobles was adjourned to another day, followed Cummin as far as the monastery of the Grey Friars, in the cloister of which he went up to him and ran him through the body. Bruce imagined that he had killed the traitor, but on being asked by a friend and confidant, named Fitzpatrick, whether he had done so, he replied, "I believe so." "Believe!" exclaimed Fitzpatrick, "and is that a thing to leave to chance? I will secure him!" So saying the fierce knight went back to the spot where Cummin lay, and stabbed him through the heart. This brutal violence, which in our more enlightened day we cannot even read of without horror and disgust, was then deemed a matter not of shame but of triumph and boasting, and the murderer Fitzpatrick actually took for his crest a hand and bloody dagger, and the words "I will secure him!" for his motto.

The murder of Edward's spy—and murder it assuredly was, however base the character of the victim—left the assembled nobles, and Bruce especially, no choice as to their future course; they must either shake off the power of Edward, or perish beneath Edward's aroused vengeance. Bruce in this emergency proved himself well adapted for the lofty and perilous mission to which he had devoted himself. He flew from one part of the country to the other, everywhere raising armed partisans, and sending them against the most important towns and castles that ventured to hold out for Edward; and by this activity he not only obtained strong-holds in every direction, but organized and concentrated a force so considerable, that he was able to declare Scotland independent, and to have himself crowned as her king in the abbey of Scone, the archbishop of St. Andrew's officiating. Bruce, though both policy and ambition led him to be crowned, did not suffer mere ceremonial to occupy much of the time for which he had so much more important a use, but busily pursued the English until they were all driven from the kingdom, save those who found shelter in the comparatively few fortresses that still held out for Edward.

A. D. 1307.—Edward, who seemed as enthusiastic in his desire to conquer Scotland as the Scots were in their desire to live free from his yoke, received the tidings of this defeat of his purpose only as a summons to advance to the conquest yet once more; and, while making his own arrangements, he sent forward a large advance force under Sir Aylmer de Valence, who fell suddenly upon Bruce, in Perthshire, and put him completely to the rout. Bruce himself, with a mere handful of personal friends, took shelter in the western isles; Sir Simon Fraser, Sir Christopher Seton, and the earl of Athol were less fortunate; being taken prisoners, Edward ordered their immediate execution, as rebels and traitors. Similar severity was shown in the treatment of other prisoners, and Edward now in person commenced his march against Scotland, vowing vengeance upon the whole of the nation for the trouble and disappointment to which it had exposed him. But a mightier than Edward was now at hand to render farther cruelty or injustice impracticable. He was already arrived as far on his journey of vengeance as Cumberland, when he was suddenly siezed with illness, and died on the 7th of July, 1307, in the thirty-fifth year of his reign and the sixty-ninth of his age.

Warlike, politic, and so especially attentive to amending and consolidating the laws of his country that the title of the English Justinian was not quite unjustly bestowed upon him, Edward yet was rather a great than a good monarch; better calculated to excite the pride of his subjects than to deserve their love. Self-will, a necessary ingredient, perhaps, to a certain extent, of every great character, was in him carried to an excess, and made him pass from a becoming pride to arrogance, and from just command to unprincipled extortion and unsparing despotism. With less of arrogance he would have been in every way a better king; yet, such is

the temper of all uncultivated people, the tyrannies of this splendid and warlike tyrant were patiently, almost affectionately, borne by the nation who revolted at the far less extensive and daring tyrannies of John.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE REIGN OF EDWARD II.

A. D. 1307.—The dying commands of Edward I. to his son and successor were, that he should follow up the enterprise against Scotland, and never desist until that nation should be completely subdued. An abundantly sufficient force was ready for the young king Edward II.; and as Bruce had by this time rallied forces round him, and inflicted a rather important defeat upon Sir Aylmer de Valence, the English people, too fond of glory to pay any scrupulous attention to the justice of the cause in which it was to be acquired, hoped to see Edward II., at the very commencement of his reign, imitating the vigorous conduct of his martial father; and they were not a little disgusted when Edward, after marching some short distance over the border, gave up the enterprise, not from any consideration of its injustice, but in sheer indolence, and returned into England and disbanded that army upon the formation of which his father had bestowed so much exertion and care. Hitherto the character of this prince had been held in esteem by the English people, who, with their accustomed generosity, took the absence of any positive vice as an indication of virtue and talent, which only needed opportunity to manifest themselves. But this first act of his reign, while it disgusted the people in general, at the same time convinced the turbulent and bold nobles that they might now with safety put forward even unjust claims upon a king who bade fair to sacrifice all other considerations to a low and contemptible love of his personal ease. The barons, who had not been wholly kept from showing their pride even by the stern and determined hand of Edward I., were not likely to remain quiet under a weaker rule; and the preposterous folly of the new king was not long ere it furnished them with sufficiently reasonable cause of complaint.

The weak intellect of Edward II. caused him to lean with a child-like dependency upon favourites: but with this difference, that the dependency which is touching and beautiful in a child, is contemptible in a man, and must to the rough and warlike barons have been especially disgusting The first favourite upon whom Edward bestowed his unmeasured confidence and favour was Piers Gaveston, a Gascon, whose father's knightly service in the wars of the late king had introduced the son to the establishment of the present king while prince of Wales. The elegant though frivolous accomplishments of which Gaveston was master, and the pains which he took to display and employ them in the amusement of the weak-minded young prince whom he served, obtained for Gaveston, even during the lifetime of Edward I., so alarming an influence over the mind of the heir-apparent, that the stern monarch, who had little taste for childish pursuits, banished Gaveston not only from the court, but from the realm altogether, and exacted the most positive promise from the prince never on any account to recall him.

His own interests and his promise to his deceased father were utterly forgotten by the young Edward in his anxiety again to enjoy the company of his accomplished favourite, and having astounded his rugged barons by disbanding his army, he completed their wondering indignation by hastily sending for Gaveston. Before the favourite could even reach England the young king conferred upon him the rich earldom of Cornwall, which had lately escheated to the crown by the death of Edmond, son of the king

of the Romans. In thus bestowing upon an obscure favourite the rich possessions and liege title that had so recently sufficed a prince of the blood royal, Edward had only commenced his career of liberality; wealth and honours flowed in upon the fortunate young man, whom Edwald at length allied to the throne itself by giving him for his wife, his own neice the sister of the earl of Gloucester.

The folly of the king was in nowise excused or kept in the back ground by the favourite. Instead of endeavouring to disarm the anger and envy of the barons by at least an affectation of humility, Gaveston received each new favour as though it were merely the guerdon and the due of his eminent merit; in equipage he surpassed the highest men in the realm, and he took delight in showing the wisest and most powerful that he, relying only upon the king's personal favour, had in reality a power and influence superior to all that could be won by wisdom in the council or valour in the field. Witty, he made the nobles his butt in the court conversation; accomplished, he took every opportunity to mortify them by some dexterous slight in the tilt yard or at the tourney; and the insolence of the favourite thus completed the hatred which the folly of the king had first aroused.

Soon after his accession to the throne Edward had to visit France, in order to do homage to Philip for Guienne, and also to espouse that monarch's daughter Isabella, to whom he had a long time been betrothed; and on his departure he gave a new proof of his infatuated affection for Gaveston, by not only preferring him to all the English nobles for the honourable and important office of guardian of the realm, but also giving him in that capacity more than usually extensive powers.

When Edward brought his young queen to England he introduced Gaveston to her, and showed so anxious an interest in the favourite's welfare, that Isabella, who was both shrewd in observation and imperious in temper, instantly conceived a mortal hatred for the man who evidently possessed so much power over a mind which she deemed that she alone had a right to beguile or to rule. Gaveston, though too quick of perception to be unaware of the queen's feeling, was not wise enough to aim at conciliating her, but aggravated her already deadly emnity by affronts, which were doubly injurious as being offered to a queen by the mere creature and minion of her husband; a prosperous and inflated adventurer, whom a breath had made and whom a breath could just as easily destroy.

A. D. 1308.—Enraged that such a person should both share her husband's confidence and openly deride or defy her own influence, Isabella gave every encouragement to the nobles whom she perceived to be inimical to Gaveston; and it was with her sanction, if not actually at her suggestion, that a confederacy was formed for the express purpose of expelling the insolent favourite from the court. At the head of this confederacy was the king's own cousin, Thomas, earl of Lancaster. First prince of the blood, he was also possessed of both greater wealth and greater power than any other subject in the realm; and it was probably less from any patriotic feeling than from vexation at seeing his private influence with the king surpassed by that of an upstart favourite, that he now so strenuously opposed him. This powerful noble assembled around him all those barons who were inimical to Gaveston, and they entered into an agreement, which they solemnized by an oath, never to break up their confederacy until Gaveston should be expelled from the kingdom. From this under-current of opposition many open disturbances arose in the kingdom, and there were evident symptoms of a near approach to actual civil war. At length a parliament was summoned to meet at Westminster, which Lancaster and his associates attended with so great a force, that they were able to dictate their own terms to the king. Gaveston was accordingly banished, being at the same time sworn never to return, and the prelates

threatening him with excommunication should he venture to do so. Though Edward could not prevent this sentence being passed upon his minion, he contrived to deprive it of its sting. Instead of sending Gaveston home to his own country, he conferred upon him the office of lord lieutenant of Ireland, went with him on his way thither as far as Bristol, and made him a parting gift of some valuable lands.

During his residence in Ireland, Gaveston displayed both courage and conduct in putting down rebellion, and probably was far happier in his post than while mingling in the inane gaities of the English court. But Edward was absolutely wretched at the loss of his favourite. Comparative peace was restored by that person's absence, but peace itself to the weak king seemed valueless until Gaveston should return to grace it. In order to pave the way for the restoration for which he was so anxious, the king endeavoured to gratify the most powerful of the barons. The office of hereditary high steward was given to Lancastar, and gifts and grants were profusely lavished upon the earls Warenne and Lincoln. When by these means Edward had, as he thought, sufficiently mollified Gaveston's enemies, he applied to the pope for a dispensation for the favourite, recalled him from Ireland, and hastened to Chester to meet him at his landing. As the absence of Gaveston had in a great measure caused his insolence to be forgotten, the barons, willing to oblige the king, consented to the favourite's re-establishment at court.

Had Gaveston been taught by the past to enjoy his good fortune unobtrusively and inoffensively, all might now have been well with him. But the doting folly of his master was fully equalled by his own incurable insolence and presumption, and he had not long been restored to his former station, ere his misconduct aroused the barons to even more than their former hate and indignation.

At first they silently indicated their anger by refraining from their attendance in parliament; but perceiving that no alteration was made in the profusion of the king or the insolence of Gaveston, they attended parliament, indeed, but did so, in contempt of an especial law to the contrary, with a force powerful enough to enable them once more to dictate to the king, to whom, in the form of a petition, they presented their demand that he should delegate his authority to certain barons and prelates, who, until the following Michaelmas, should have power to regulate both the kingdom and the king's household; that the regulations thus made should become perpetual law; and that the barons and prelates in question should further be empowered to form associations for securing the observance of those regulations. In brief terms, this petition did really create an *imperium in imperio*; and the degradation of the royal authority was not a jot the less complete because the petitioners professed to receive the vast powers they demanded solely from the free grace of the king, and promised that this concession should not be drawn into a precedent, and that the powers demanded should determine at the appointed time.

A.D. 1311.—Many of the regulations made under the extraordinary powers thus usurped by the barons deserve all praise, inasmuch as they tended to provide for the security of the people at large and the regular administration of justice. But the main object of the barons was to rid themselves of Gaveston, who was accordingly again banished, and it was at the same time ordained that should he ever again return he should be considered and treated as a public enemy.

To all other alterations Edward was wholly indifferent; but the banishment of Gaveston filled him with rage and grief. He therefore retired to York, and, gathering forces about him, openly invited Gaveston back from Flanders, while he declared that he had been tyrannously and illegally banished, and re-established him in all his former pomp and power. The insolent and haughty nature of Gaveston was now so well known to

the barons, that they felt they must either wholly crush him or prepare to be crushed by him; Lancaster accordingly summoned around him a formidable confederacy, at the head of which were Guy, earl of Warwick, Bohun, earl of Hereford, and Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke. Robert de Winchelsea, archbishop of Canterbury, brought the whole of the clergy to the aid of this mighty confederacy; and so general was the disgust caused by the king's absurd and ruinous folly, that Earl Warenne, so long faithful, now openly declared against him.

Lancaster led the army of the confederacy to York, but the king escaped thence to Teignmouth, whence he embarked for Scarborough castle. Here he left the favourite, while he himself returned to York, to endeavour to raise an army sufficiently numerous to admit of his meeting the barons in the field.

In the meantime Gaveston was far less secure than Edward had supposed. The castle of Scarborough was very strong, but it was insufficiently garrisoned, and still more insufficiently provisioned; and, Pembroke being sent to besiege it, Gaveston found himself compelled to capitulate He did so on condition that he should remain in the custody of Pembroke during two months, which time should be employed in endeavours to bring about an accommodation between the king and the barons; that should such endeavours fail, the castle should be restored unimpaired to Gaveston; and that Henry Piercy and the earl of Pembroke should with all their lands guarantee the due performance of these articles.

On the surrender of Gaveston, the earl of Pembroke treated his prisoner with all civility, and conducted him to Dedington castle, near Banbury, where, on pretext of business, he left him with only a very weak guard. Scarcely had Pembroke departed, when Guy, earl of Warwick, who had from the first exhibited a most furious zeal against Gaveston, attacked the castle, which was readily surrendered to him by the feeble and probably tutored garrison. Gaveston was now hurried away to Warwick castle, where Warwick, Hereford, Arundel, and Lancaster, after a very summary ceremony, ordered him to be beheaded, in contempt alike of the terms granted to him by Pembroke, and of the general laws of the land.

When Edward first heard of the death of his favourite, his rage seemed unappeasable and his grief inconsolable. But he was too weak-minded to be dangerous; and even while he was threatening the utter extermination of the barons, they reconciled themselves to him by the politic and empty form of feigning to regret the deed that was irrevocable, and proffering to ask upon their knees pardon for the offence. The quarrel between the king and the barons was, for the present at least, patched up; and the people hoped from this reunion of such powerful interests some signal vindication of the national honour, especially as regarded Scotland, where Bruce had for some time been both bravely and successfully exerting himself. Of the hill country he had made himself entirely master, and thence he had carried destruction upon the Cummins in the north lowlands. Seconded by his brother Edward Bruce and by the renowned Sir James Douglas, Robert was continually achieving some new conquest; and the munificence with which he bestowed upon the nobility the spoils he took, greatly tended to secure him that confidence, for want of which alone the murdered Wallace had failed in his patriotic efforts. With the exception of a few fortresses he had subdued the whole kingdom; and Edward, by the distractions of England, had been forced to consent to a truce, which Bruce wisely employed in consolidating his power and in employing it to the reformation of the numerous abuses which war and license had necessarily introduced.

A.D. 1314.—The truce, ill observed from the beginning, at length came to an end, and Edward now assembled a vast army with the design of a once crushing Bruce, and finally subduing that kingdom which had given

so much trouble to his politic and warlike father. Besides assembling all the military force of England, he called over some of his powerful vassals of Gascony, and to the mighty army thus formed he added a huge disorderly force of Irish and Welsh, eager for plunder and peculiarly well fitted for the irregular warfare of a mountain land. With this various force, amounting to at least a hundred thousand men, he marched into Scotland

Robert Bruce, with an army of only thirty thousand men, awaited the approach of his enemies at Bannockburn, near Stirling. On his right flank rose a hill, on his left stretched a morass, and in his front was a rivulet, along the bank of which he caused sharpened stakes to be set in pits which were then lightly covered with turfs.

Towards evening the English appeared in sight, and their advanced guard of cavalry was fiercely charged by a similar body of Scots led by Bruce in person. The fight was short but sanguinary, and the English were put to flight upon their main body; one of their bravest gentlemen, Henry de Bohun, being cleft to the chin by the battle-axe of Bruce.

The combat proceeded no further that night, but very early on the following morning the English army was led on by Edward. The left wing of the cavalry was entrusted to the command of the earl of Gloucester, Edward's nephew, whose youthful ardour led to a terrible calamity. Disdaining all caution, he led on his force at full charge, and rider and horse were speedily plunging among the staked pits which Bruce had prepared for just such an emergency. The young earl himself was slain at the very outset, the greater number of his men were utterly disordered and helpless, and before they could recover and form in a line of battle, they were so fiercely charged by the Scottish cavalry, under Sir James Douglas, that they were fairly driven off the field. As the hopes of Edward and the anxiety of Bruce had chiefly referred to the English superiority in cavalry, this event had a proportionate effect upon the spirits of both armies; and the alarm of the English was now changed into a perfect panic by the success of the following simple stratagem. Just as the English cavalry were in full retreat from the field, the heights on the left were thronged with what seemed to be a second Scotch army, but what really was a mere mob of peasants whom Bruce had caused to appear there with music playing and banners flying. At sight of this new enemy—as this mere rabble was deemed—the English on the instant lost all heart, threw down their arms, and betook themselves from the field in the utmost disorder. The Scots pursued them, and the road all the way to Berwick, upwards of ninety miles, was covered with the dead and dying. Besides an immense booty which was taken on the field and during the pursuit, the victors were enriched with the ransoms of upwards of four hundred gentlemen of note, who were taken, in addition to a perfect host of meaner prisoners, to all of whom Bruce behaved with the humanity and courtesy of a true hero.

Determined to follow up his success, Robert Bruce, as soon as he could recall his troops from the pursuit and slaughter, led them over the border and plundered the north of England without opposition; and still farther to annoy the English government, he sent his brother Edward to Ireland with four thousand troops.

Lancaster and the malcontent barons who had declined to accompany Edward upon his Scottish expedition, no sooner beheld him return beaten and dejected, than they took advantage of his situation to renew their old demand for the establishment of their ordinances. The king was in no situation to resist such formidable domestic enemies; a perfectly new ministry was formed with Lancaster at its head, and great preparations were made to resist the threatened hostilities of the now once more independent Scotland. But though Lancaster showed much apparent zeal against the Scots, and was actually at the head of the army destined

to oppose them, it was strongly suspected that he was secretly favourable to them and actually held a private correspondence with Bruce, judging that while the kingdom was thus threatened from without he could the more easily govern the king.

In the meantime Edward, truly incapable of self reliance, had selected a successor to Gaveston in the splendid but dangerous honour of his favour and confidence. This person was Hugh le Despenser, more commonly called Spenser, who to all the eloquent accomplishments and personal graces of Gaveston, added no small portion of the presumption and insolence which had consigned that adventurer to an untimely grave The elder Spenser was also very high in the king's favour, and as he possessed great moderation as well as great experience and ability, he might probably have saved both his son and the king from many misfortunes, had they not been self-doomed beyond the reach of advice or warning.

A. D. 1321.—Any favourite of the king would, *ipso facto*, have been disliked by the barons; but the insolence of young Spenser speedily made him the object of as deadly a hate as that which had ruined Gaveston.

To insolence Spenser added cupidity. He had married a niece of the king, who was also a co-heiress of the young earl of Gloucester who fell at Bannockburn, and had thus acquired considerable property on the Welsh borders, which he was so anxious to extend that he became involved in hot dispute with two neighbouring barons, Aubrey and Ammori, towards whom common report made him guilty of great dishonesty and oppression.

In the same neighbourhood he got into a still more serious dispute respecting the barony of Gower. This barony came, by inheritance, into the possession of John de Mowbray, who imprudently entered upon possession without complying with the feudal duty of taking seizin and livery from the crown. Spenser being very desirous to possess this property, persuaded the king to take advantage of De Mowbray's merely technical *laches*, declare the barony escheated, and then bestow it upon him. This was done, and the flagrant injustice of the case excited such general and lively indignation, that the chief nobility, including the earls of Lancaster and Hereford, Audley, Ammori, Roger de Mortimer, Roger de Clifford, and other barons, flew to arms and declared open war both against the favourite and the king himself.

As the barons had long been nursing a sullen and deep discontent, they had already made preparations; they accordingly appeared at the head of a powerful force, and sent a message to Edward, demanding the instant dismissal of Spencer, and threatening, should that be refused, to take his punishment into their own hands. Both the Spensers were absent on the king's business, and Edward replied to the message of his barons, that he could not, without gross and manifest breach of his coronation oath, condemn the absent, against whom, moreover, there was no formal charge made.

The barons probably expected some such answer; and they scarcely waited to receive it ere they marched their forces, devastated and plundered the estates of both the Spensers, and then proceeded to London and tendered to the parliament, which was then sitting, a complicated charge against both father and son. The parliament, without obtaining or demanding a single one of the many articles of this charge, sentenced both the Spencers to confiscation of goods and to perpetual exile.

This done, they went through the mockery of soliciting and obtaining from the king an indemnity for their proceedings, which they thus plainly confessed to have been deliberately illegal, and then disbanded their troops and retired, in haughty confidence of security from any attempt at vengeance on the part of the weak king, each to his own estate.

So weak and indolent was the nature of Edward, that it is probable

that he would have left the barons to the undisturbed enjoyment of their triumph, but for an insult which had been offered to his queen. Her majesty being belated in the neighbourhood of Leeds castle, was denied a night's shelter there by the lord Badlesmere, to whom it belonged, and on her attendants remonstrating, a fray arose, in which several of them were wounded and two or three killed.

In addition to the fact that the refusal of a night's lodging was churlish, and in the case of a lady doubly so, the queen had ever conducted herself so as to win the respect of the baronage, especially in her sympathy with their hatred of both Gaveston and the younger Spenser; and every one, therefore, agreed in blaming the uncivil conduct of Lord Badesmere. Taking advantage of this temper, which promised him an easy victory, Edward assembled an army and took vengeance on Badlesmere without any one interfering to save the offender.

Thus far successful, the king now communicated with his friends in all parts of the country, and instead of disbanding his force on the accomplishment of the object for which alone he had ostensibly assembled it, he issued a manifesto recalling the two Spensers, and declaring their sentence unjust and contrary to the laws of the land.

A. D. 1322.—This open declaration he instantly followed up by marching his troops to the Welsh marches, where the possessions of his most considerable enemies were situated. As his approach was sudden and unexpected he met with no resistance; and several of the barons were seized and their castles taken possession of by the king. But Lancaster, the very life and soul of the king's opponents, was still at liberty; and, assembling an army, he threw off the mask he had so long worn, and avowed his long-suspected connection with Scotland. Being joined by the earl of Hereford, and having the promise of a reinforcement from Scotland under the command of Sir James Douglas and the earl of Murray, Lancaster marched against the king, who had so well employed his time that he was now at the head of an army of thirty thousand men. The hostile forces met at Burton and Trent, and Lancaster, who had no great military genius, and who was even suspected of being but indifferently endowed with personal courage, failing in his attempts at defending the passages of the river retreated northward, in the hope of being joined and supported by the promised reinforcements from Scotland. Though hotly pursued by the royal forces, he retreated in safety and in perfect order as far as Boroughbridge, where his farther progress was opposed by a division of the royal army, under Sir Andrew Harclay. Lancaster attempted to cut his way through this force, but was so stoutly opposed that his troops were thrown into the utmost disorder; the earl of Hereford was slain, and Lancaster himself was taken prisoner and dragged to the presence of his offended sovereign. The weak-minded are usually vindictive; and even had Edward not been so, the temper of the times would have made it unlikely that a king so offended should show any mercy But there was a petty malignity in Edward's treatment of Lancaster highly disgraceful to his own character. The recently powerful noble was mounted upon a sorry hack, without saddle or bridle, his head was covered with a hood, and in this plight he was carried to his own castle of Pontefract and there beheaded.

Badlesmere and upwards of twenty more of the leaders of this revolt were legally tried and executed; a great number were condemned to the minor penalties of forfeiture and imprisonment; and a still greater number were fortunate enough to make their escape beyond seas. Sir Andrew Harclay, to whom the king's success was mainly owing, was raised to to the earldom of Carlisle, and received a goodly share of the numerous forfeited estates which the king had to distribute among his friends. Had this distribution been made with anything like judgment, it had afforded

the king a splendid opportunity of increasing the number of his friends and of quickening and confirming their zeal. But the king and his favourite were untaught by the past; and to the younger Spenser fell the lion's share of these rich forfeitures; a partiality which naturally disgusted the true friends of the crown.

To the enemies whom Spenser's cupidity thus made even among his own party, other and scarcely less formidable ones were added in the persons of the relations of the attainted owners of the property he thus grasped at; and his insolence of demeanour, which fully kept pace with his increase in wealth, formed a widely-spread, though as yet concealed, party that was passionately and determinedly bent upon his destruction.

A fruitless attempt which Edward now made to recover his lost power in Scotland convinced even him that, in the existing temper of his people, success in that quarter would be unattainable; and after making an inglorious retreat he signed a truce for thirteen years.

A. D. 1324.—If this truce was seasonable to King Robert Bruce—for king he was, though not formally acknowledged as such by England—it was no less so to Edward; for, in addition to the discontent that existed among his own subjects, he was just now engaged in a dispute of no small importance with the king of France. Charles the Fair found or feigned some reason to complain of the conduct of Edward's ministers in Guienne and showed a determination to avenge himself by the confiscation of all Edward's foreign territory; and an embassy sent by Edward, with his brother the earl of Kent at its head, had failed to pacify the king of France.

Edward's queen, Isabella, had long learned to hold him in contempt, but on the present occasion she seemed to sympathize with his vexation and perplexity, and offered to go personally to the court of France and endeavour to arrange all matters in dispute.

In this voluntary office of mediation Isabella made some progress; but when all the main points in the dispute were disposed of, Charles, quite in accordance with feudal law, demanded that Edward in person should appear at Paris and do homage for his French possessions. Had he alone been concerned, this requisition could not have caused him an hour's delay or a minute's perplexity; not so, bound up as his interests were with those of Spenser. That insolent minion well knew that he had given the deepest offence to the pride of Isabella; he well knew her to be both bold and malignant, and he feared that if he ventured to attend the king to Paris, Isabella would exert her power there to his destruction; while on the other hand, should he remain behind he would be scarcely able to defend himself in the king's absence, while his influence over that weak prince would most probably be won away by some new favourite. Isabella, who probably penetrated the cause that delayed her husband's journey, now proposed that, instead of Edward proceeding to France in person, he should send his son, young Edward, at that time thirteen years of age, to do homage for Guienne, and resign that dominion to him. Both Spenser and the king gladly embraced this expedient; the young prince was sent over to France; and Isabella, having now obtained the custody of the heir to the crown, threw aside all disguise, declaring her detestation of Spenser and her determination to have him banished from the presence and influence he had so perniciously abused; a declaration which made Isabella very popular in England, where the hatred to Spenser grew deeper and more virulent every day. A great number of the adherents of the unfortunate Lancaster, who had escaped from England when their leader was defeated and put to death, were at this time in France; and as they, equally with the queen, detested Spenser, their services were naturally tendered to her. Foremost among them was Roger Mortimer. This young man had been a powerful and wealthy baron in the Welsh

marches, but having been condemned for high treason, his life was spared on condition of his remaining a prisoner for life in the Tower of London. Aided by friends, he had been fortunate enough to escape to France, and having in the first instance been introduced to Isabella only in the character of a political partizan, his handsome person, accomplishments, and wit soon obtained him a more tender and more criminal favour. Having thus fallen away from her duty to her husband, she was easily induced to include him in the enmity she had hitherto professed to confine to his minion. As Isabella henceforth lived in the most unconcealed intimacy with Mortimer, and as their mutual correspondence with the most disaffected barons in England was made known to the king, he became alarmed, and sent a peremptory message requiring her not only to return to England, but also to bring the young prince home with her. To this message Isabella as peremptorily replied, that neither she nor her son would ever again set foot in England until Spenser should be definitively removed.

Edward's situation was now truly terrible. At home secret conspiracies were formed against him; abroad a force was rapidly preparing to invade him; the minion for whom he had encountered so many enmities could do but little to aid him; and his own wife and child, those near and precious connexions upon whom he ought to have been able to rely in the worst of circumstances, were at the very head of the array that threatened his crown, if not his person. The king of France entered warmly into the cause of the queen; and Edward's own brother, the earl of Kent, being induced to believe that the sole intention of Isabella was to procure the banishment of Spenser, joined the queen as did the earls of Leicester and Norfolk. Nor was the enmity of the clerical order wanting to the formidable array against Edward.

A. D. 1326.—With all these elements prepared for the destruction of the unhappy Edward, it was clear that nothing was wanted towards the commencement of a civil war but the appearance of the queen at the head of an invading force. This appearance Isabella was very willing to make; but some delay was caused by the decent unwillingness of the king of France to have an expedition, headed by the wife and son, sail from any of his ports against the husband and father. Determined in her purpose, Isabella removed this obstacle to its accomplishment, by betrothing young Edward to Philippa, daughter of the count of Holland and Hainault. Having thus allied herself with this prince, Isabella was speedily enabled to collect a force of upwards of three thousand men; and with this force she sailed from Dort, and landed safely and unopposed upon the coast of Suffolk. Here she was joined by the earls of Norfolk and Leicester, and the bishops of Ely, Hereford, and Lincoln, who brought to her aid all their vassals; and Robert de Watteville, who was sent down to Suffolk at the head of a force to oppose her, actually deserted to her with the whole of his troops. As she progressed her forces were still farther increased, men of substance, thinking that they ran no risk in siding with the heir to the crown, and the common sort being allured by the general professions of justice and love of liberty, of which Isabella took care to be abundantly liberal in her proclamations.

On hearing that his queen had landed and was advancing against him in force, Edward's first endeavour was to raise the Londoners in his defence, rightly judging that if he could do that, he would still have a chance of obtaining reasonable terms. But his attempt met with no success; his entreaties and menaces alike were listened to in a sullen silence, and he departed to make a similar attempt in the west.

The king's departure was the signal for a general insurrection in London. Wealth, it may be easily supposed, was the chief *crime* against which the insurgent populace levelled it rage; the next heinous crime

was that of being passively loyal to the fugitive monarch. Robbery and murder were committed wholesale and in the broad light of day; and among the victims was the bishop of Exeter. This prelate, who was as remarkable for kindly disposition as for talent and loyalty, was seized as he passed along the street, beheaded, and his body thrown into the Thames. The rioters, or rather the rebels, now by a stratagem obtained possession of the Tower, and then entered into a formal association and covenant, by which they bound themselves to put to death all who should dare to oppose the designs and desires of the queen.

The advanced guard of the vindictive and treacherous Isabella passed through London in pursuit of the king, and consisted of a body of English and Hollanders, the latter commanded by John de Hainault, and the former, *horribile dictu*, by the king's own brother, the earl of Kent. Arrived at Bristol, the unfortunate king was disappointed of the aid and support he expected to find there; and his furious pursuers being but a short distance in his rear, he hastily departed for Wales, leaving the elder Spenser, who had been some time before created earl of Winchester, to defend Bristol castle, of which he was governor. The faithless garrison mutinied against the venerable earl, who was then nearly ninety years of age, and delivered him into the hands of the queen's partizans, by whom, without even the mockery of a trial, he was hanged. Nor did the brutality of his enemies end even here; he was scarcely dead ere he was taken from the gibbet, and his body cut up and thrown to the dogs, his head being stuck upon a pole and exhibited to the populace.

After equally ineffectual attempts to escape and to raise sufficient force for his defence in field or fortress, the unfortunate king was discovered among the mountains of Wales, and imprisoned in Kenilworth castle, in the custody of the earl of Leicester. The younger Spenser about the same time was taken, and he speedily met with the fearful fate of his father, a fate which even in the case of this arrogant minion, whatever his faults or crimes, was illegally and brutally inflicted. The earl of Arundel was also put to death by the dominant party, though the utmost malice could alledge nothing against him, save that he had maintained his loyalty unshaken and uncorrupted amid the shameless disloyalty and disgraceful success of the majority of the English baronage.

Baldock, the chancellor, who, as being the most active as well as the ablest of the king's advisers, was especially hated by the populace, and who, moreover, was detested by Isabella, could not so safely be put to death by the direct tyranny of the barons; for he being a priest, his death would have been offensive to Rome. But the barons, well knowing the power and temper of the London mob, sent the unhappy man to the bishop of Hereford's palace in London. As had been foreseen, his slender guard was overpowered, and after he had been foully maltreated by the mob he was thrown into Newgate, where he shortly afterwards died of his wounds or of poison.

A. D. 1327.—Having, by this long series of illegal and cruel deeds, given abundant intimation of the fate that would await those who should dare to oppose her measures, Isabella now summoned a parliament to meet her at Westminster, and a long and formal charge was presented to it against the king. Though the charge was laboured with the utmost ingenuity, and obviously inspired by the deepest malignity, it did not from beginning to end contain a single accusation upon which the meanest of his subjects could justly have been punished, however slightly, either in purse or person. The worst that was alledged against him was a most pitiable want of talent, unless, indeed, we may condescend to notice that most strange charge against a sovereign, that he had imprisoned sundry barons and prelates who had been convicted of treason. A more absurd charge it would have been scarcely possible to frame; but if such a charge had

been presented to that scandalous parliament, the unhappy king would still have been pronounced guilty, for they who sat in judgment upon him could only confess his innocence by confessing their own treason and injustice.

At the very commencement of these disgraceful proceedings, the young prince of Wales had been named as regent; he was now pronounced to be king in the room of his father, whose deposition was declared in the same breath. But, as if to show more fully how conscious they were of the injustice and illegality of their conduct, these malignant and servile nobles sent a deputation to Edward, in his dungeon, to demand his *resignation* after they had pronounced him justly *deposed*.

Entirely helpless in the hands of his enemies, whose past conduct sufficiently warned him against trusting to their justice or compassion, the unhappy king gave the resignation required; and Isabella, now wholly triumphant, lived in the most open and shameless adultery with her accomplice, Mortimer.

The part which Leicester had taken in this most disgusting revolution had procured him the earldom of Lancaster; but not even this valued and coveted title could reconcile him, conspirator and traitor though he was, to the odious task of adding personal ill usage to the many miseries under which his royal captive was already suffering. The honourable and gentle treatment which Lancaster bestowed upon the king filled the guilty Isabella and her paramour with fears lest the earl should at length be moved to some more decisive manifestation of his good feeling; and the royal prisoner was now taken from Kenilworth, and committed to the custody of Lord Berkeley, Maltravers, and Gournay, each of whom guarded him an alternate month. The Lord Berkeley, like the earl of Lancaster, had too much of true nobility to add to the miseries of his his prisoner, but when he passed to the hands of the other two state jailers they added personal ill-treatment to his other woes. Everything that could irritate first and then finally prostrate the spirit of the unhappy king was put in practice; and when at length they despaired of breaking down his constitution with sufficient rapidity by these indirect means, they broke through all restraint and put him to death. We shall not describe with the minuteness of some of our historians the barbarous and disgusting process by which the ruffian keepers perpetrated their diabolical act. Suffice it to say, that a red-hot iron had been forcibly introduced into the bowels of the unhappy sufferer; and though the body exhibited no outward marks of violence, the horrid deed was discovered to all the guards and attendants by the screams with which the agonized king filled the castle.

It is as well to state here what became of these most detestable and ferocious wretches. The public indignation was so strong against them, that, even before the impudent guilt of Isabella caused her downfall, their lives were in danger, and when that event at length took place they were obliged to fly the country. Gournay was seized at Guienne and sent to England, but was beheaded on the way, probably at the suggestion of some of the instigators of his ruffianly crime, who feared lest he should divulge their concern in it. Maltravers lived for some years on the continent, and at length, on the strength of some services to his victim's son and successor, ventured to approach him and sue for pardon, which, to the eternal disgrace of Edward III., was granted.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE REIGN OF EDWARD III.

A. D. 1327.—When Isabella and her paramour had consummated their hideous guilt by the murder of the unoffending Edward II., the earl of Lancaster was appointed guardian of the person of the young king, and the general government of the kingdom was committed to a council of regency, consisting of the primate and the archbishop of York, the bishops of Worcester, Winchester, and Hereford, the earls of Norfolk, Kent, and Surrey, and the lords Wake, Ingham, Piercy, and Ross.

The first care of the dominant party was to procure a formal parliamentary indemnity for their violent proceedings; their next, to remove all stigma from the leaders and head of the Lancastrian party, and to heap all possible odium and disqualification upon the adherents of the Spensers.

Disgusted as the people were by the gross misconduct of Isabella, her power was as yet too formidable to be opposed, and the first disturbance of the young king's reign came from the Scots. Though Robert Bruce, by his advanced age and feeble health, was no longer able to take an active personal part in the field, as had been his wont, his brave and sagacious spirit still animated and instructed the councils of his people. Feeling certain that England would never give him peace should its domestic affairs be so completely and calmly settled as to enable it advantageously to make war upon him, he resolved to anticipate its hostility while it was labouring under the disadvantages which are ever inseparable from the minority of a king and the plurality of the regency. Having made an unsuccessful attempt upon Durham castle, he gave the command of twenty-five thousand men to Lord Douglas and the earl of Murray, with orders to cross the border and devastate as well as plunder the northern English counties. The English regency, sincerely desirous of avoiding war, at least for that time, with so difficult and obstinate an enemy as Scotland, made some attempts at maintaining peace, but, finding those attempts unsuccessful, assembled an army of sixty thousand men, exclusive of a strong body of highly-disciplined foreign cavalry under John de Hainault; and the young prince himself led this formidable force to Durham in search of the invaders. But the difficulty of finding so active and desultory an enemy was only inferior to that of conquering him when found. Lightly armed, mounted on small, swift horses, so hardy that every common supplied them with abundant food, and easily subsisted themselves, these northern soldiers passed with incredible celerity from place to place, plundering, destroying, and disappearing with unparalleled rapidity, and suddenly reappearing in some direction quite different to that in which they had been seen to take their departure.

On no occasion was their desultory activity more remarkable or more annoying than on present. Edward followed them from place to place, now harrassing his troops with a forced march by difficult roads to the north, and now still more dispiriting them by leading them to retrace their steps again; but though he everywhere found that the Scots *had been* in the places where he sought them, and had left fearful marks of their temporary stay, he everywhere found that they had made good their retreat; and to this harrassing and annoying waste of activity he was for some time exposed, in spite of his having offered the then very splendid reward of a hundred pounds per annum for life to any one who would give him such information as would enable him to come up with the enemy. At length he received information of the exact locality of the enemy, and was enabled to come up with them, or rather to be tantalized with the sight of

them; for they had taken up so strong a position on the southern bank of the river Wear, that even Edward, young as he was and burning for the combat, was obliged to confess that it would be a wanton exposure of his brave troops to certain destruction were he to attempt to cross the river while the foe maintained so admirably chosen a position. Naturally brave, Edward was doubly annoyed at this new difficulty on account of his previous vain researches; and in the excess of his enthusiasm he sent a formal challenge to the Scots, to abandon their extraneous advantages, and meet his army, man to man and foot to foot, in the open field. The generous absurdities of chivalry rendered this challenge less irregular and laughable than it would now be; and Lord Douglas, himself of a most fiery and chivalric spirit, would fain have taken Edward at his word, but he was restrained by the graver though not less courageous earl of Murray, who drily assured Edward that he was the very last person from whom the Scots would like to take advice as to their operations.

The Scots and Edward maintained their respective positions for several days; and when the former at length moved higher up the river, they did so by so unexpected and rapid a movement, that they were again securely posted before Edward had any chance of attacking them. The high courage of the youthful monarch led him to desire to attack the enemy, no matter at what risk or disadvantage; but as often as he proposed to do so he was overruled by Mortimer, who assumed an almost despotic authority over him. While both armies thus lay in grim and watchful, though inactive hostility, an affair took place which had well nigh changed the fortunes of of England. Lord Douglas, audacious and enterprising, had not merely continued to take an accurate survey of every portion of Edward's encampment, but also to obtain the password and countersign; and in the dead of night he suddenly led two hundred of his most resolute followers into the very heart of the English camp. His intention was either to capture or slay the king, and he advanced immediately to the royal tent. Edward's chamberlain and his chaplain gallantly devoted themselves to the safety of their royal master, who after fighting hand to hand with his assailants, succeeded in escaping. The chamberlain and the chaplain were both unfortunately killed; but the stout resistance they made not only enabled Edward to escape, but also aroused so general an alarm, that Lord Douglas, baulked in his main design, was happy to be able to fight his way back to his own camp, in doing which he lost nearly the whole of his determined little band. The Scots now hastily broke up their camp and retreated in good order to their own country; and when Edward, no longer to be restrained by Mortimer, reached the spot which the Scots had occupied, he found no human being there save six English prisoners, whose legs the Scots had broken to prevent them from carrying any intelligence to the English camp. Though the high spirit and warlike temper which Edward had displayed during this brief and bootless campaign made him very popular, the public mind was justly very dissatisfied with the absolute nullity of result from so extensive and costly an expedition; and Mortimer, to whom all the errors committed were naturally attributed, became daily more and more disliked. So puffed up and insolent was he rendered by his disgraceful connection with Isabella, that his general want of popularity seemed to give him neither annoyance nor alarm. Yet was there a circumstance in his position which a wise man would have striven to alter. Though he had usurped an even more than royal power, and settled the most important public affairs without deigning to consult either the young king or any of the blood royal; though he by his mere word had gone so far as to settle upon the adulterous Isabella nearly the whole of the royal revenue; yet in forming the council of the regency he had relied so much on his power that he reserved no office or seat therein for himself. This was a grave error. He must have been ill judging indeed

if he imagined that the mere absence of nominal power would procure a character for moderation for a man whose authority actually superseded that of the whole council.

A. D. 1328.—To all the other offences committed by Mortimer he now added the very serious one of wounding the pride of the nation. War upon Scotland, and the most strenuous attempts to reduce that nation once more to the condition of a conquered province, were universally popular objects in England. But Mortimer, aware that he was daily becoming more and more hated, concluded a peace with Robert Bruce, fearing that the continuance of a foreign war would put it out of his power to keep his domestic enemies in check. He stipulated that David, son and heir of Robert Bruce, should marry the princess Jane, sister of the young king Edward; that England should give up all claim to the homage of Scotland, and recognise that country as being wholly independent, and that, in return, Robert Bruce should pay 30,000 marks, by way of expenses.

This treaty was excessively unpopular; and Mortimer, conscious of this, now began to fear that the close friendship and unanimity that existed among the three royal princes, Kent, Norfolk, and Lancaster, boded him no good. He accordingly, when summoning them to attend parliament, took upon himself to forbid them, in the king's name, from being attended by an armed force. Whatever had been their previous intentions, the three princes paid implicit obedience to this order; but, to their astonishment, they, on reaching Salisbury, where the parliament was to meet, found that Mortimer and his friends were attended by an armed force. Naturally alarmed at this, the earls retreated and raised a force strong enough to chase Mortimer from the kingdom. They advanced for the purpose of doing so, but unfortunately the earls who had hitherto been so closely united now quarrelled, Kent and Norfolk declined to follow up the enterprise, and Lancaster, too weak to carry it out by himself, was compelled to make his submission to the insolent Mortimer.

A. D. 1329.—But though, at the intercession of the prelates, Mortimer consented to overlook the past, and bore himself towards the princes as though the whole quarrel were forgotten as well as forgiven, he determined to make a victim of one of them, in order to strike terror into the survivors. Accordingly, his emmissaries were instructed to deceive the earl of Kent into the belief that King Edward II. had not been put to death, but was still secretly imprisoned. The earl, who had suffered much from remorseful remembrance of the part he had taken against his unhappy brother, eagerly fell into the snare, and entered into an undertaking for setting the imprisoned king at liberty, and replacing him upon the throne. The deception was kept up until the earl had committed himself sufficiently for the purpose of his ruthless enemy, when he was seized, accused before parliament, and condemned to death and forfeiture; while Mortimer and the execrable Isabella hastened his execution, so that the young Edward had no opportunity to interpose.

A. D. 1330.—Though the corrupt and debased parliament so readily lent itself to the designs of Mortimer, the feeling of the commonality was very different indeed, and it was quite evening before any one could be found to behead the betrayed and unfortunate prince, who during the day which intervened between his sentence and execution must have been tortured indeed with thoughts of the unholy zeal with which he had served the royal adulteress, to whose rage, as much as to that of her paramour, he was now sacrificed.

Perceiving that the sympathy of the people was less courageous than deep and tender, Mortimer now threw Lancaster and numerous other nobles in prison, on the charge of having been concerned in the conspiracy of Kent. Any evidence, however slight, sufficed to insure convic-

tion; and as forfeiture was invariably a part of the sentence, Mortimer had abundant means of enriching himself and his adherents; and how little scruple he made about availing himself of this opportunity may be judged from the fact, that the whole of the large possessions of the earl of Kent were seized for Geoffrey, younger son of Mortimer; though this latter person was himself already in possession of the greater portion of the vast wealth of the two Spensers and their adherents. The cupidity and insolence of Mortimer at length produced their natural consequence; a detestation so general and so fierce, that nothing was wanting to his destruction but for some one to be bold enough to make the first attack upon him; and fortunately, that person was found in the young king himself. Most fortunate it assuredly was that Mortimer, in his insolence and pride of place, had overlooked the necessity of so treating the king while yet a minor, as to secure his favour and support when he should at length attain his majority.

Edward was of far too high and generous a nature to have been otherwise than deeply stung by the petty insults and galling restraints imposed upon him by Mortimer; and now that he was in his eighteenth year he determined, at the least, to make an effort at obtaining the independence for which he had so long sighed; he therefore communicated his wishes to the Lord Montacute, who engaged his friends the Lords Clifford and Molins, Sir John Nevil, Sir Edward Bohun, and others, to join him in a bold attempt at delivering both king and people from the tyranny of Mortimer.

Queen Isabella and her paramour Mortimer at this time resided in Nottingham castle; and so jealously did they guard themselves, that even the king was only allowed to have a few attendants with him when he lodged there, and the keys of the outward gates were delivered to the queen herself every evening. Lord Montacute, however, armed with the king's authority, had no difficulty in procuring the concurrence of Sir William Eland, the governor, who let the king's party enter by a subterraneous passage which had long lain forgotten and choked up with rubbish. So quietly was everything done, that the armed men reached the queen's apartment and seized upon Mortimer before he could prepare to make resistance. Isabella implored them to "spare her gentle Mortimer;" but the paramour's doom was sealed beyond the power of her entreaties to alter it. A parliament was immediately summoned, and was found as supple and facile an instrument for his ruin as it had been for doing his pleasure. He was accused of having usurped regal power, of having procured the death of King Edward II., of having dissipated the royal treasure, and of having obtained exorbitant grants, of secreting two-thirds of the 30,000 marks paid by Scotland, and a variety of similar misdemeanours. The thoroughly servile parliament in its eagerness to condemn could not legally convict even this most outrageous criminal. Evidence was not called to a single point, though every point might have been proved by a perfect cloud of witnesses; but this parliament convicted Mortimer and sentenced him to the gibbet and forfeiture, not upon testimony, but upon what they called the notoriety of the facts! A loose system of condemning men, which none but tyrants or their tools would ever tolerate, even could no other evidence be found. Though at the period of the conviction of Mortimer men were too much irritated against him to look to strict justice, scarcely twenty years had passed ere his illegally attainted rank was restored to his son, upon the right and honourable principle that, however detestable and however morally undeniable the guilt of the elder Mortimer, his conviction had been the result not of evidence, but of mere rumour and assumption. Simon de Beresford and some others of the mere satellites of Mortimer were executed, and the vilest criminal of all, the adulteress Isabella, was confined for the remainder of her life

to her castle of Risings. The king allowed her four hundred a year for her support, and he paid her one or two formal visits every year; but having once deprived her of the influence of which she had made so bad and base a use, he took care that she should never again have an opportunity of regaining it.

As soon as Edward had wrested from the usurping hands of Mortimer the royal power, he showed himself well worthy of it by the manner in which he used it. He not only exhorted his judges and other great officers to execute justice, and to put a stop to the open depredations and armed bands of robbers by which the country was now more than ever infested and disgraced, but he personally exerted himself in that good work, and showed both courage and conduct in that important task.

A. D. 1332.—Soon after the completion of the treaty between England and Scotland, as related under the head of the year 1328, the great Robert Bruce, worn out even more by infirmities and toil than by years, terminated his life; and his son and heir, David Bruce, being as yet a minor, the regency was left to Randolph, earl of Murray, the constant sharer of Robert's perils. In this treaty it was agreed, that all Scots who inherited property in England, and all Englishmen who inherited property in Scotland, should be restored to possession as free and secure as though no war had taken place between the two countries. This part of the treaty had been faithfully performed by England; but Robert Bruce, and, subsequently, the regent Murray had contrived to refuse the restoration of considerable properties in Scotland, either from actual difficulty of wresting them from the Scottish holders, or from a politic doubt of the expediency of so far strengthening an enemy—which they judged England must always in reality be—by admitting so many Englishmen to wealth and consequent power in the very heart of the kingdom. Whatever the motive by which Bruce and Murray were actuated in this matter, their denial or delay of the stipulated restoration gave great offence to the numerous English of high rank who had a personal interest in it. Many who were thus situated were men of great wealth and influence; and their power became more than ever formidable when they were able to command the alliance of Edward Baliol. He was the son of that John Baliol who had briefly worn the Scottish crown; and he, like his father, settled in France, with the determination of leading a private life rather than risk all comfort for the mere chance of grasping a precarious and anxious power. This resolution, though consonant with the soundest philosophy, was not calculated to procure him much worldly estimation; and his really strong claim to the Scottish royalty procured him so little consideration in France, that for some infraction of the law he was thrown into gaol, as though he had been the meanest private person. In this situation he was discovered by Lord Beaumont, an English baron, who laid claim to the Scotch earldom of Buchan. Beaumont without loss of time procured Baliol's release and carried him over to England, where he placed him, nominally at least, at the head of the confederation which already had meditated the invasion of Scotland.

King Edward secretly aided Baliol and the English barons in preparing for their enterprise, though he would not be persuaded to give them any open encouragement, as he had bound himself to pay 20,000 pounds to the pope, should he, Edward, commit any hostilities upon Scotland within a certain period which had not yet expired; moreover, the young king David, still a minor, was actually married to Edward's sister Jane, though the marriage was not yet consummated; and the world would scarcely fail to censure Edward should he, under such circumstances, cause a renewal of war between the two countries. Under these circumstances, eager as Edward might be to aid his nobles in their enmity to Scotland, he determined to confine himself to secret proceedings on their behalf; and, thus

aided, their nominal leader, Baliol, was speedily at the head of a force of two thousand five hundred men, commanded by the Lord Beaumont before mentioned, Umfreville, earl of Angus, the lords Talbot, Mowbray and other eminent barons interested in the adventure. As such a force could not be so secretly raised as wholly to have escaped the notice of the Scottish regent, who would naturally expect to be attacked by the English border, Baliol and his friends embarked at Ravenspur and landed their force on the coast of Fife. The former regent, Murray, was dead; and his successor, Donald, earl of Mar, was far inferior to him in warlike experience and ability. Nevertheless, the English were promptly and vigorously opposed the moment they landed; and though they succeeded in beating back their undisciplined opponents, time was thus afforded to Mar to collect a very large army, which some historians reckon as high as forty thousand men.

The hostile forces came in sight on the opposite side of the river Erne; and Baliol, crossing that river in the night, attacked the unwieldy force of the Scots so vigorously and unexpectedly, that he drove them from the field with considerable slaughter, their numbers being a disadvantage to them amid the confusion. But as daylight approached, the Scots resolved once more to try their fortune against an enemy whose inferior numbers made it disgraceful to yield to; but they were charged while straggling over some broken and difficult ground, and so complete was the rout that ensued, that while the English lost scarcely fifty men, the Scots lost twelve thousand, including the earls of Athol and Menteith, the lord Hay of Errol, constable of Scotland, the lords Keith and Lindsey, and the earl of Carrick, a natural son of Robert Bruce.

Baliol followed up this victory by taking Perth. Here he was blockaded by sea, and besieged on the land by an army of forty thousand Scots, under the earl of March and Sir Archibald Douglas; but the English ships dispersed the blockading squadron; and as Baliol was thus enabled to command an abundant supply of provisions, the besieging Scots were shortly obliged to retire from that very approach to famine by which they had anticipated reducing him; and the nation being in effect subdued, for the present at least, Baliol was solemnly crowned at Scone on the 7th of September. So little chance did there now appear to be of a change of fortune in favour of David Bruce, that he and his betrothed wife departed for France; and their hitherto zealous partizans sued Baliol for a truce, that his title might be fairly examined and decided upon by the Scottish parliament.

A. D. 1333.—Baliol's prosperity was as fleeting as it had been sudden. Having owed all his success to the presence of his English supporters, he was no sooner obliged to allow them to depart, from want of means to support them, than Sir Archibald Douglas and others of the friends of Bruce fell upon Baliol and his slender attendance, slew Baliol's brother John, and drove himself back to England in the most complete destitution. Baliol had previously to this reverse proposed to Edward that his sister Jane should be divorced from David Bruce, in which event Baliol would marry her and also do homage to Edward for Scotland; thus restoring to England that superiority which the minion Mortimer had given up during Edward's minority. As Edward now began to despair of Baliol's success by any other means, he resolved to interfere openly, and having obtained a considerable grant from parliament for that purpose—which grant was accompanied by a very blunt, though very reasonable desire, that he thenceforth "would live on his own revenue and not grieve his subjects with illegal taxes"—he led a considerable army to Berwick, where a powerful garrison was commanded by Sir William Keith. The plan of the Scottish leaders was, that Keith should obstinately defend Berwick, and while he thus engaged the attention of Edward, Douglas should lead a numerous

enemy over the border, and carry the horrors and losses of war into the enemy's own country. But Edward's army was so well disciplined and so well provided, that before Douglas could march into Northumberland his plan of operations was changed, by the information of Sir William Keith being reduced to such extremity, that he had engaged to surrender Berwick should no relief reach him within a few days. Douglas marched to the relief of that important place, and in a general action that ensued the Scots were utterly defeated, with a loss of nearly thirty thousand men. The English loss was certainly very trifling; yet we cannot without considerable hesitation adopt the accounts which concur in assuring us that the total English loss amounted to thirteen soldiers, one esquire, and one knight; a loss which can only be imagined by considering that battle to have been little better than a disorderly flight on the one part and a murderous pursuit on the other.

As the result of this battle, Scotland was again apparently submissive to Baliol. He was acknowledged as king by the Scottish parliament, and he and many of the Scottish nobles did homage to Edward, who then returned to England, leaving a detachment to support Baliol. As long as this detachment remained Baliol was most submissively, not to say servilely obeyed by the Scots, even when he stung their national pride full deeply by ceding in perpetuity to England, Berwick, Dunbar, Roxburgh, Edinburgh, and the whole of the south-eastern counties of Scotland. But as soon as Baliol, considering himself safe, and perhaps being seriously inconvenienced by the expense of keeping them, sent away his English mercenaries, the Scots again rose against him, and after a variety of struggles between him and Sir Andrew Murray, who acted as regent in behalf of the absent David Bruce, Baliol was once more chased from all that he fondly imagined he had permanently conquered for himself or England.

A. D. 1335.—Edward again marched to chastise and subject the Scots, who abandoned or destroyed their homes and sought shelter in their mountain fastnesses, but only to return again the moment that he had retired. In this obstinately patriotic course the Scots were greatly encouraged by Edward's position with regard to France. He had for years laid an unfounded claim to the sovereignty of that country, and though he had on one occasion in the most distinct terms recognised Philip's right, and done homage to him for his lands there held, the encouragement of Robert d'Artois and the concurrence of Edward's father-in-law, the count of Hainault, the duke of Brabant, the archbishop of Cologne, and several other sovereign princes, had induced Edward to persevere in a claim which was opposed to common sense, and plainly contradicted by his own deliberate act and deed, and thus laid the foundation of a mutual hatred which has only completely subsided within the memory of men who as yet are but young. He pretended that he ought to succeed in right of his mother Isabella, though Isabella herself was legally and formally excluded from succeeding; he was thus guilty of the special absurdity of claiming to inherit from a woman a crown to which a woman could not succeed—and he could only support that special absurdity upon a general principle—that of the natural right of women to succeed being wholly indefeasible by special regulation; and in that case each of the three last kings had left daughters whose right upon that general principle would take precedence to his! And yet such a monstrous absurdity of assumption found friends, and caused rivers of the best blood of both nations to be shed in fierce conflict!

To all his other abettors in this really ridiculous as well as unjust claim, was now added the well known Flemish demagogue James d'Areteveldt, a brewer of Ghent, who had reached to so despotic a power over his fellow-citizens, that, after exciting them to furious resistance against their

legitimate sovereigns, he himself could fill all the other towns of Flanders with his adroit and unprincipled spies, and could put down all chance of opposition in Ghent itself by the simple process of ordering the opponent to be butchered—and he *was* butchered without remorse or delay. To this demagogue Edward had no difficulty in recommending himself; for, with the servility that ever accompanies the ambition of such men, the demagogue, who detested his natural superiors, was in a perfect flutter of gratified vanity at being solicited by a powerful foreign monarch, and invited Edward to make the Low Countries his 'vantage point against France; suggesting to him that, to prevent the Flemings from having any scruple about aiding him, he should claim their aid, as rightful king of France, in dethroning the usurper, Philip of Valois; that *usurper*, to whom, both personally and by a formal written deed, he had done homage and owned fealty!

The king of France was greatly aided by the influence of the pope, who at this time resided at Avignon, and was to a considerable extent dependent upon Philip; the king of Navarre, the duke of Brittany, the king of Bohemia, the bishop of Liege, and numerous other powerful allies, tendered their aid to Philip, as being really interested for him; while Edward's allies, looking only to what they could get of the large sums he had wrung from his people for this unjustifiable enterprise, were slow and cold in theirs.

A. D. 1339.—After much difficulty in keeping his hopeful allies even apparently to their faith, and after having his pretensions to the crown of France very accurately pronounced upon by two of those allies, the count of Namur and the count of Hainault—who succeeded his father and Edward's father-in-law in the interval between the old count joining in Edward's scheme and the actual commencement of operations—the two counts in question abandoning Edward solely on the plea that Philip was their *liege lord*, against whom they as vassals could not fight, Edward encamped near Capelle with an army of nearly 50,000, the majority of whom were foreign mercenaries. Philip advanced towards the same spot with nearly a hundred thousand of his own subjects; but, after simply gazing at each other for a few days, these mighty armies separated without a blow, Edward marching his mercenaries back into Flanders and there disbanding them. In this hitherto bloodless and unproductive contest Edward had not only expended all the large sum granted by his people, and pawned everything of value that he could pawn, even to the jewels of his queen, but he had also contracted debts to the frightful amount of £300,000, and probably it was the very vastness of the sacrifice he had made that determined him to persevere in a demand, of the injustice of which he must have been conscious from the very outset. Aware that he had unmercifully pressed upon the means of his subjects, and finding that they were daily growing more and more impatient of his demands, Edward now returned to England and offered his parliament a full and new confirmation of the two charters and of the privileges of boroughs, a pardon for old debts and trespasses, and a reform of certain abuses in the common law. The first of these the king ought to have been ashamed to confess to be necessary. But public spirit and the control of parliament over the royal expenditure were as yet only in their infancy, and the whole concessions were deemed so valuable, that the parliament in return granted the king—from the barons and knights, the ninth sheep, fleece, and lamb from their estates for two years; from the burgesses, a ninth of their whole moveables at their real value; and from the whole parliament, a duty of forty shillings on, 1st., each three hundred wool fells, and 2d., each last of leather, also for two years. It was expressly stated that this grant was not to be drawn into a precedent; but as the king's necessities were great, it was additionally determined that twenty thousand sacks of

wool should immediately be put at his disposal, the value to be deducted from the ninths which would of necessity come in more slowly. While the parliament of England acted thus liberally in forwarding Edward's design upon France, they made a formal declaration that they aided him as king of England, and not as king of France, and that in the event of his conquering the latter country, the former must ever remain wholly distinct from and independent of the latter. But had Edward been successful it certainly would not have been this bare and idle protest that would have prevented so resolute and self-willed a monarch from removing the seat of government to France, and making England a mere province and treasury.

A. D. 1340.—Philip kept a watchful eye upon the English movements; and when Edward at length sailed with a fleet of two hundred and forty vessels, he was encountered off Sluys by a French fleet of nearly four hundred vessels, carrying forty thousand men. The inferior force of the English was at the very outset fully compensated for by the skill of their naval commanders, who got the weather-gage of the enemy, and the advantage of fighting with the sun to their backs; while the action taking place so near Flanders, the Flemings hastened out to join the English, and the result of the obstinate and sanguinary action was the total defeat of the French, with the loss of two hundred and thirty vessels and thirty thousand men, including two of their admirals.

Edward, whose loss had been comparatively trifling, now marched to the frontiers of France with an army a hundred thousand strong, his recent triumph having caused a host of foreigners to join him on his landing. Robert d'Artois, in the hope of corroborating the success of Edward, laid siege to St. Omers. But though his force numbered 50,000 men, it was chiefly composed of a mere rabble of artificers, so little experienced in war or in love with its perils, that a sally of the garrison put the whole of this doughty army to flight, to the great annoyance of its really able and brave commander.

Edward's subsequent operations were by no means so successful. He greatly distressed Tournay, indeed, and he suffered no very great advantage even in the way of manœuvre to be gained by the French; but every day brought some new proof that his very allies were at heart hostile to his purpose, and only supported him in their own greediness of gain; while, on the other hand, supplies arrived so slowly from England, that he was utterly unable to meet the clamorous demands of his creditors. A long truce, therefore, was very gladly agreed to by him, and he hastily and by absolute stealth returned to England. Annoyed at his want of success, and attributing it chiefly to the slowness with which supplies had reached him, Edward no sooner arrived in England than he began to vent his anger upon his principal officers; and he with great impolicy showed especial rage in the case of Stratford, archbishop of Canterbury, upon whom had devolved the difficult and not very pleasant task of realising the taxes granted by the parliament. It was in vain to urge to Edward that the ninth sheaf, lamb, and fleece, being unusual taxes, were necessarily collected with unusual slowness; he was enraged at his own ill success, and was determined to vent it upon his officers; Sir John St. Paul, keeper of the privy seal, Sir John Stoner, chief justice, the Mayor of London, and the bishops of Chichester and Litchfield, were imprisoned; and the archbishop of Canterbury only escaped the like indignity by chancing to be absent from London on Edward's arrival.

A. D. 1341.—Archbishop Stratford, who really seems only to have failed in his duty from the novel and difficult nature of it, was not of a temper to quail before the unjust anger even of so powerful and passionate a prince as Edward; and on learning to what lengths the king had gone with the other great officers of state, the archbishop issued a general sen-

tence of excommunication against all who should assail the clergy either in person or property, infringe the privileges secured to them by the ecclesiastical canons and by the great charter, or accuse a prelate of treason or any other crime to bring him under the king's displeasure. Nor did the bold and somewhat arrogant archbishop stop even here. After having thus generally aimed at the king's conduct, and after having taken care to employ the clergy in painting that conduct in the darkest colours to the people, Stratford personally addressed a letter to the king, in which he asserted the superiority of the clerical to the civil power, reminded him that the priesthood were answerable at the divine tribunal as well for kings as for subjects, and were the spiritual fathers of the former as of the latter, and were therefore manifestly and fully entitled both to direct them to right conduct and to censure them for transgressions. This bold and unlimited assertion of superiority was in no wise calculated to soothe Edward's irritation, and he marked his sense of Stratford's conduct by sending him no summons to attend the parliament. But the archbishop, attended by a numerous and imposing train of peers, spiritual and temporal, presented himself, crosier in hand and in full pontificals, and demanded admission. For two days the king refused to admit him; but at length, fearing the consequences of too complete a breach with the ecclesiastical power, he not only permitted him to take his seat in parliament, but also restored him to his former high office.

The maxim of the English parliament seems at that time to have been, that the necessity of the king should be made the advantage of the subject. The close restrictions which had been laid upon Henry III. and Edward II. were now, as far as was deemed safe, made the basis of the parliament's demands upon Edward III. for concessions to be granted by him in return for a grant of twenty thousand sacks of wool. Edward was so pressed by his creditors, that he was obliged to comply with the terms, hard as they were; but as soon as his necessities became somewhat mitigated he revoked all that he deemed offensive, alledging that he was advised to do so by *some* of his barons, and that in originally making such concessions he had *dissembled* and had made them with a *secret* protest A most dishonest plea in itself, and one which, it is obvious, would, if allowed, render all the most solemn public engagements mere deceptions and mockeries.

A. D. 1342.—Dissensions in Brittany led to a state of affairs which revived Edward's expiring hope of conquering France. He accordingly sent a strong fleet and army thither to the aid of the countess of Mountfort, who was besieged by Charles of Blois. Robert d'Artois, who commanded this force, fought a successful action with the French, and landed his troops in Brittany. He laid siege to Vannes and took it, but shortly afterwards died of a wound received at the retaking of that place by a party of Breton nobles of the faction of Charles. Deprived of the services of Robert, upon whose ability and valour Edward had great reliance, he now determined to proceed in person to the aid of the countess. The truce between England and France had expired, and the war was openly and avowedly to be carried on between these two powers, which for some time had really been breaking their truce in the character of partisans to the respective competitors for the duchy of Brittany. Having landed near Vannes with an army of twelve thousand men, Edward, anxious to make some important impression, and greatly over-rating his means of doing so, simultaneously commenced three sieges; of Vannes, of Rennes, and of Nantes. As might have been expected, but little progress was made by a small force thus divided. Even the chief siege, of Vannes, that was conducted by Edward in person, was a failure; and Edward was at length obliged to concentrate all his troops in that neighbourhood, on account of the approach of Philip's eldest son, the duke of Normandy

with an army of thirty thousand foot and four thousand horse. Edward strongly entrenched himself; but he soon became so distressed for provisions, while his antagonists, both of the fortress and the army, were well and fully supplied, that he was glad to enter into a truce of three years, and consent to Vannes remaining in the hands of the pope's legate, who negotiated the truce, and all the other strong-holds of Brittany to remain in the hands of those who then held them. Edward returned to England, and though he had made a truce for the long term of three years, it is quite clear from his conduct that he merely did so to extricate himself and his followers from actual capture. He made complaints of a virtual breach of the treaty by the punishment of certain Breton nobles who were partisans of England; and the parliament, adopting his views, granted him a fifteenth from the counties, and a tenth from the boroughs for two years, to which the clergy added a tenth for three years. Henry earl of Derby, son of the earl of Lancaster and cousin of the king, was now sent with a force into Guienne; and having beaten off all assailants from that province, he followed the count of Lisle, the French general, to Bergerac, beat him from his entrenchments, and took the place. He afterwards subjected a great part of Perigord; and the count of Lisle, having re-collected and reinforced his troops, attempted to recapture Auberoche, when the earl, at the head of 1,000 horse, surprised him, completely routed his force, and took him prisoner.

A. D. 1345.—After this the earl made a most rapid series of conquests on the side of Guienne, partly owing to the general discontent of the French at some new taxes, especially one on salt, which Philip's necessities had compelled him to lay upon his people.

A. D. 1346.—As soon as Philip's finances became in better order, vast preparations were made by the French to change the aspect of affairs. A very splendid army was led towards Guienne by the dukes of Normandy and Burgundy, and others of the chief nobles of France; and the earl of Derby found his force so inadequate, that he was compelled strictly to confine his movements to the defensive. The French army, therefore, was left full opportunity to lay siege to Angouleme, and they invested it so closely, that Lord Norwich, the gallant English governor, was reduced to the most painful extremities. Despairing of relief and unwilling to surrender himself and troops as prisoners, he had recourse to a not very creditable stratagem, which, moreover, was only successful in consequence of the rigid honour of the duke of Normandy. Desiring a conference with that noble leader, Lord Norwich proposed a cessation of arms for the following day, which, as being the feast of the Virgin, he professed a dislike to desecrating. The cessation of arms being agreed to, Lord Norwich marched his troops through the beleaguered city, and, as he wished to pass through the French lines, sent a messenger to remind the duke of the existing truce. "*I see the governor has outwitted me*," was the noble reply of the duke, who allowed the English to pass without annoyance, and contented himself with obtaining possession of the place.

While these and minor transactions were passing in France, Edward had been engaged in England in preparing a splendid expedition with which he and his son the prince of Wales, now about fifteen years of age, at length set sail from Southampton. The original destination of this expedition, which amounted to nearly a thousand sail, was Guienne; but contrary winds prevailing for some time, Edward listened to the advice of Geoffrey d'Harcourt, and resolved to make a descent upon Normandy, the rich fields of which would supply his army, while the very proximity to the capital would render any impression made there of proportionate importance. This determination made Edward speedily disembark at La Hogue, with four thousand English men-at-arms and ten thousand archers, together with ten thousand Welsh and six thousand Irish infantry, who,

if not very important in actual line of battle, were admirably adapted, in quality of foragers and scouts, to be serviceable to their own force and most mischievous to the enemy.

Having destroyed the shipping in La Hogue, Cherbourg, and Barfleur, Edward, who on landing had knighted his son Edward and some of the young nobility, dispersed all his lighter and more disorderly troops all over the country, with orders to plunder and destroy, without other restriction than that they should return to their camp by night. The effect of this order was to spread the utmost consternation not only all over the province, but even to Paris itself; and as Caen seemed most likely to be the next object of Edward's enterprise, the Count d'Eu, constable of France, and the count of Tancarville were dispatched with an army to its defence. As had been foreseen, Edward could not resist the temptation to attack so rich a place; and the inhabitants, encouraged by the presence of regular troops, joined them in advancing against the English. But the zeal of these civilians gave way at the very first shock of battle, the troops were swept along with them, both the counts were taken prisoners, and the conquering troops entered and plundered the city with every circumstance of rage and violence. The unhappy people sought to procrastinate their doom by barricading their houses and assailing the English with missiles from the windows and house-tops, and the soldiers, enraged at this more insulting than injurious opposition, set fire to two or three houses in various parts of the town. But Edward, alarmed lest the spoil should thus be lost, stopped the violence of his troops, and, having made the inhabitants give up their vain resistance, allowed his soldiers to plunder the place in an orderly and deliberate way for three days, reserving to himself all jewels, plate, silk, and fine linen and woolen cloths. These, together with three hundred of the most considerable citizens of Caen, he sent over to England.

Edward now marched towards Rouen, where he expected to have a similar profitable triumph; but finding the bridge over the Seine broken down, and the king of France in person awaiting him with an army, he marched towards Paris, plundering and committing the most wanton destruction on the road. He had intended to pass the Seine at Poissy, but found the opposite bank of the river lined with the French troops, and that and all the neighbouring bridges broken down. By a skilful manœuvre he drew the French from Poissy, returned thither, repaired the bridge with wonderful rapidity, passed over with his whole army, and having thus disengaged himself from danger, set out by hasty marches from Flanders. His vanguard cut to pieces the citizens of Amiens, who attempted to arrest their march; but when the English reached the Somme they found themselves as ill situated as ever, all the bridges being either broken down or closely guarded. Guided by a peasant, Edward found a ford at Abbeville, led his army over sword in hand, and put to flight the opposing French under Godemar de Faye, the main body of the French, under their king, being only prevented from following Edward across the ford by the rising of the tide.

After this narrow escape, Edward, unwilling to expose himself to the enemy's superior cavalry force in the open plains of Picardy, halted upon a gentle ascent near the village of Cressy, in a position very favourable for his awaiting the approach of the French. Having disposed his army in three lines, he intrenched his flanks, and there being a wood in his rear, in that he placed his baggage. His first and second lines he committed to the young prince of Wales, with the earls of Warwick, Oxford, Arundel, and Northampton, and the lords Chandos, Holland, Willoughby, Ross, and other eminent leaders; while the third line, under his own immediate command, he kept back as a *corps de reserve*, either to support the former

two if beaten back, or to improve any impression that they might make upon the enemy.

In addition to the care with which Edward had secured his flanks and rear, he placed in his front some cannon, then newly invented and never before used to any extent in actual battle. His opponent, though he also possessed cannon, had, it should seem, left them behind in his hasty and furious march from Abbeville.

Philip's army amounted to a hundred and twenty thousand men; but the superiority of the English archers, and the inefficiency of the bow-strings of the archers on the French side, from their not having been secured against rain, caused the very first charge to be injurious to this vast and tumultuous host. Young Edward no sooner perceived the confusion that took place in the crowded ranks of his enemy, than he led his line steadily into the melée, and so furious was the combat, that the earl of Warwick, alarmed lest the gallant young prince should be overpowered, sent to the king, who surveyed the battle from a neighbouring hill, and intreated him to send a reinforcement. Learning that the prince was not wounded, the king said in reply to Warwick's message, "Return to my son, and tell him that I reserve the honour of the day to him; I am confident that he will show himself worthy of the honour of knighthood which I so lately conferred upon him. He will be able to repel the enemy without my assistance."

The king of France, far from inactive, did his utmost to sustain the first line by that which was under his own command. But the first disadvantage could not be remedied, and the slaughter momentarily became greater. Philip had already had one horse killed under him, and, being re-mounted, was again rushing into the thickest of the fight, when John of Hainault seized the bridle and literally dragged him from the field. The battle was now changed into a complete rout, and the vanquished French were pursued and slaughtered until nightfall. When the king received his gallant son, he rushed into his arms, exclaiming, "My brave son, persevere in your honourable course. You are my son indeed, for valiantly have you acquitted yourself to-day. You have shown yourself worthy of empire."

The loss to the French on this most fatal occasion amounted to 1200 knights, 1400 gentlemen, 4000 men-at-arms, and about 30,000 men of inferior rank. Among the slain of superior rank, were the dukes of Lorraine and Bourbon, the earls of Flanders, Blois, and Vaudemont, and the kings of Majorca and Bohemia. The latter king, though very old and quite blind, would not be dissuaded from taking a personal part in the battle, but had his bridle fastened to those of two attendants, and was thus, by his own order, or at least by his own act, led to perish in the thickest of the fight. His crest and motto were a triple ostrich plume and the words *Ich dien*, I serve, which were adopted by the prince of Wales, and have been borne by all his successors, in memory of this most decisive battle.

Of this battle we may remark as of a former one, that it seems to have been rather a chase murderously followed up; for while the French lost so awful a number of all ranks, the English lost only three knights, one esquire, and a few common soldiers

Great as Edward's victory was, he clearly perceived that for the present many circumstances warned him to limit his ambition to capturing some place that would at all times afford him a ready entrance into France; and accordingly, after employing a few days in burying the dead and resting his army, he presented himself before Calais.

John de Vienne, knight of Burgundy, commanded this important garrison; an honour which he owed to his very high reputation and experience. He was well supplied with means of defence; and Edward at the very outset determined not to attempt assault, but to starve this important garrison into submission. He accordingly intrenched the whole city and

formed his camp, causing his soldiers to raise thatched huts for their protection from the severity of the weather during the winter. De Vienne judging what was Edward's design, sent all the superfluous hands out o the city, and, to the honour of Edward be it said, he not only let the helpless people pass through his lines, but even supplied them with money to aid them in seeking some other place of refuge.

During twelve months Edward was engaged in the siege of Calais, and the earl of Derby was during that period carrying on war in Guienne, Poicters, and the southern provinces of France. Charles of Blois at the same time invaded Brittany, and laid siege to the castle of Rochelle de Rien, where he was attacked and taken prisoner by the countess of Montfort. While she and her rival and antagonist, the wife of Charles de Blois, were displaying their courage and talents in France, King Edward's queen, Philippa, was still more importantly exerting herself in England. The Scots had a few years before recalled their king, David Bruce, and though they could not greatly rely upon his talent or prowess, they were encouraged by the engagement of Edward in France to make an irruption into the northern English counties, to which they were strongly urged by the king of France, who in all his truces with Edward had shown great regard for the safety and welfare of Scotland. With an army of 50,000 men David Bruce broke into Northumberland, and ravaged and devastated the country as far south as the city of Durham. Philippa, doubly indignant that such an outrage should be committed during the absence of her husband, got together an army of only about 12,000 men, which she placed under the command of Lord Piercy, and accompanied it and him to Neville's Cross, near Durham. Here she addressed the troops in a very spirited speech, and could scarcely be persuaded to retire even when the battle actually commenced. The result was proportionate to the gallantry of the attempt. The Scots were completely routed, with a loss of from fifteen to twenty thousand killed, among whom were Keith, the earl marshal, and Sir Thomas Charteris, the chancellor; and among a vast number of prisoners were David Bruce himself, the earls of Fife, Sutherland, Monteith, and Carrick, the lord Douglas, and many nobles of less note.

Queen Philippa, after lodging her important prisoners in the Tower of London, was herself the bearer of the news to Edward, who was still before Calais, where she was received with all the applause and admiration due to her gallant and more than womanly devotion under circumstances so difficult.

A. D. 1347.—John de Vienne in his defence of Calais had well justified his sovereign's choice of him. But as Philip had in vain endeavoured to relieve him, and actual famine had begun its dreadful work upon the garrison, De Vienne now offered to surrender, on condition that the lives and liberties of his brave fellows should be spared. But Edward was so irritated by the very gallantry which, as De Vienne very pertinently argued, he would have expected from any one of his own knights under similar circumstances, that he at first would hear of nothing short of the whole garrison surrendering at discretion; but he was at length persuaded to alter his terms, though even then he required that the keys of the place should be delivered to him by six of the principal citizens, bareheaded, and with ropes upon their necks, and that, as the price of the safety of the garrison, these six men should be at his absolute disposal for either life or death.

To send six men to what seemed certain destruction could not fail to be a terrifying proposition. The whole garrison was in dismay; but Eustace St. Pierre nobly volunteered; his example was followed by five other patriots, and the six brave men appeared in the prescribed form before Edward, who only spared their lives—even after this touching proof of their excellence—at the entreaties made to him upon her knees by his queen Philippa.

QUEEN PHILIPPA INTERCEDING FOR THE BURGESSES OF CALAIS.

On taking possession of Calais, Edward adopted a plan far more politic than any inhuman execution of brave men could have been; for, considering that every Frenchman must needs be an enemy to him, he cleared this important key to France of all its native inhabitants, and made it a complete English colony.

A. D. 1349.—Even this politic measure, and a truce which now existed between France and England, had well nigh failed to preserve to Edward this only valuable fruit of all his expense of blood and treasure. He entrusted the governorship of Calais to a native of Paris, who had the reputation of bravery, but who was utterly unrestrained by any feeling of fidelity; and this man volunteered to deliver his important trust to Geoffrey de Charni, the commander of the nearest French troops, on payment of twenty thousand crowns. The traitor was himself betrayed by his secretary, who despatched tidings of the intended treachery in time to enable Edward, with Sir Walter Manny and the prince of Wales, to reach Calais with a thousand men. The governor was secured and taxed with his crime; and easily consented as the price of his pardon, to lead the French into the ambush prepared for them by Edward. The French appeared and were attacked and conquered. Edward himself fought as a mere private gentlemen, and was twice felled to the earth by his gallant antagonist, Sir Eustace de Ribaumont, who at length surrendered to him. Those of the French officers who were captured were treated with much distinction by Edward and his heroic son; and the king not only gave Eustace de Ribaumont his liberty without ransom, but also presented him with a handsome chaplet of pearls, which he desired him to wear in memory of having proved the stoutest knight with whom the king of England had ever been personally engaged.

Edward, partly in commemoration of his toils in France and partly to elevate the warlike spirit among his nobles, shortly afterwards established the order of the Garter; an order which, being to this very day limited to twenty-five persons beside the sovereign, is one of the proudest and most envied rewards of eminent merit.

A. D. 1349.—This year deserves especial remark from the awful pestilence which, arising in the East, swept with fierce and destroying power through England, as through all the rest of Europe, carrying off on an average a full third of the population of every country in which it made its appearance.

A. D. 1350.—The miseries inflicted by the pestilence upon both France and England tended to prolong the cessation of arms between them; but Charles, king of Navarre, surnamed, very appropriately, the *Bad*, caused much bloodshed and disturbance in France; and Edward, at length wearied with peace, allied himself with the French malcontents, and sent an army under the heroic prince of Wales—who was now generally known by the title of the *Black Prince*, from the colour of his armour—to make an incursion on the side of Guienne, while he himself broke in on the side of Calais.

Each of these incursions was productive of great loss to the French, and of numerous prisoners and much spoil to the English, but led to no general or decisive engagement; and before any such could be brought on, Edward was called over to England to prepare for a threatened invasion by the Scots, who had surprised Berwick, and had gathered an army there ready to fall upon the north of England. But at Edward's approach they retired to the mountains, and he marched without encountering an enemy from Berwick to Edinburgh, plundering and burning at every step. Baliol attended Edward on this occasion, and was either so disgusted with the ruin which he saw inflicted, or so utterly hopeless of ever establishing himself upon the Scottish throne, that he made a final and formal resignation of his pretensions, in exchange for a pension of two thousand pounds

A. D. 1356.—The prince of Wales in the meantime had penetrated into the very heart of France, and committed incredible havoc. Having only an army of 12,000 men, most of whom were foreign mercenaries, he was anxious to march into Normandy, and form a junction with the king of Navarre and the English force that was assisting that monarch, under the command of the earl of Lancaster; but every bridge being broken down and every pass guarded, he next directed his march towards Guienne. John, king of France, who had succeeded Philip of Valois, though a mild and just prince was a very brave man; and, being enraged by the destruction wrought by the young prince, he got together an army of nearly 60,000 men, with which he overtook the Black Prince at Maupertuis, near Poitiers; and the prince having done all that lay in his power to prevent himself from being compelled to fight at a disadvantage, now exerted himself no less to avoid defeat even while so fighting.

With so great a superiority of force, the French king, by merely surrounding the English, might without any risk have starved them into submission; but both John and his principal nobles were so eager to close with and totally destroy so daring and mischievous an enemy, that they overlooked all the cooler suggestions of prudence. Even this hot haste would perhaps have proved fatal to the English; but, fortunately for them, though John had no patience to surround his enemy and starve him into submission, he did allow his impetuosity to be just sufficiently checked to afford that enemy time to make the very best of his situation, bad as it really was.

The French had already drawn up in order of battle, and were preparing for that furious and instant onset which, next to patient hemming in of the English, would have been their most certain means of success, when King John suffered himsef to be delayed to enable the cardinal of Perigord to endeavour to bring the English to terms without farther bloodshed. The humane endeavour of the cardinal was not ill received by the Black Prince, who was fully sensible of the disadvantageous position which he occupied, and who frankly confessed his willingness to make any terms not inconsistent with honuor; and offered to purchase an unassailed retreat by, 1st, the cession of all the conquests he had made during this and the preceding campaign, and 2dly, pledging himself not to serve against France for seven years from that date. Happy would it have been for John had he been contented with these proffered advantages. But he imagined that the fate of the English was now absolutely at his disposal, and he demanded the surrender of Calais, together with Prince Edward and a hundred of his knights as prisoners; terms which Edward indignantly refused.

By the time that the negotiation was terminated the day was too far spent to allow the commencement of action, and Edward thus gained the inestimable advantage of having the whole night at his disposal to strengthen his post and alter the disposition of his forces. Besides greatly adding to the extent and strength of his intrenchments, he caused the captal de Buche, with three hundred archers and the like number of men-at-arms, to make a circuit and lie in ambush ready to seize the first favourable opportunity of falling suddenly on the flank or rear of the enemy. The main body of his troops the prince had under his own command; the van he entrusted to the earl of Warwick; the rear to the earls of Salisbury and Suffolk; and even the chief subdivisions were headed, for the most part, by warriors of scarcely inferior fame and experience.

The king of France also drew out his army in three divisions; the first of which was commanded by his brother the duke of Orleans, the second by the dauphin and two of John's younger sons, and the third by John himself, who was accompanied by his fourth son, Philip, then only fourteen years old

The comparative weakness of the English army was compensated by its position, which only allowed of the enemy approaching it along a narrow lane flanked by thick hedges. A strong advanced guard of the French, led by marshals Clermont and Andrehcu, commenced the engagement by marching along this lane to open a passage for the main army. This detachment was dreadfully galled and thinned by the English archers, who from behind the hedges poured in their deadly arrows without being exposed to the risk of retaliation. But, in spite of the terrible slaughter, this gallant advanced guard pushed steadily forward, and the survivors arrived at the end of the lane and bravely charged upon a strong body of the English which awaited them under the command of the prince in person. But the contest was short as it was furious; the head of this brave and devoted column was crushed even before its rear could fairly emerge from the lane. Of the two marshals, one was taken prisoner and the other slain on the spot, and the rear of the beaten column retreated in disorder upon its own army, galled at every step by the ambushed archers. At the very instant that the hurried return of their beaten friends threw the French army into confusion, the captal de Buche and his detachment made a well-timed and desperate charge upon the French flank, so close to the dauphin, that the nobles who had the charge of that young prince became alarmed for his safety, and hurried him from the field.

The flight of the dauphin and his immediate attendants was a signal for that of the whole division; the duke of Orleans and his division followed the example; and the vigilant and gallant Lord Chandos seized upon the important instant, and called to Prince Edward to charge with all his chivalry upon the only remaining division of the French, which was under the immediate command of John himself. Feeling that all depended upon this one effort, John fought nobly. The three generals who commanded the German auxiliaries of his army fell within sight of him; young Philip, whose sword was wielded with a hero's spirit in defence of his father, was wounded; and the king himself was several times only saved from death by the desire of his immediate assailants to make him prisoner; yet still he shouted the war-cry and brandished his blade as bravely as though his cause had been truly triumphant. Even when he was sinking with fatigue he demanded that the prince in person should receive his sword; but at length, overwhelmed by numbers, and being informed that the prince was too far off to be brought to the spot, he threw down his gauntlet, and he and his gallant boy were taken prisoners by Sir Dennis de Morbec, a knight of Arras, who had fled from his country on being charged with murder.

The gallant spirit which John had displayed ought to have protected him from further ill; but some English soldiers rescued him from de Morbec, in hope of being rewarded as his actual captors; and some Gascons, actuated by the same motives, endeavoured to wrest him from the English; so high, indeed, ran the dispute, that some on both sides loudly threatened rather to slay him than to part with him living to their opponents, when, fortunately, the earl of Warwick, dispatched by the prince of Wales, arrived upon the spot and conducted him in safety to the royal tent.

Prince Edward's courage and conduct in the field were not more creditable to him than the striking yet perfectly unaffected humanity with which he now treated his vanquished enemy. He received him at his tent, and conducted himself as an inferior waiting upon a superior; earnestly and truly ascribed his victory less to skill than the fortune of war, and waited behind the royal prisoner's chair during the banquet with which he was served. The example of the prince was followed by his army; all the prisoners were released, and at such moderate ransoms as did not press upon them individually, though their great number made the English soldiers wealthy.

Edward now made a truce with the French for two years, and conducted John to to London, treating him not as a captive but as a monarch; taking care himself to appear, alike as to horse and attire, as a person of inferior station.

King Edward showed his approval of his son's modest and delicate conduct by closely imitating it; advancing to Southwark to meet John on his landing there, and in every sense treating him not as a captive but as a monarch and voluntary visitor.

Edward had now two kings his prisoners in London. But the continued captivity of David Bruce had proved less injurious to Scotland than Edward had anticipated, the power of that country being ably and indefatigably directed by David's heir and nephew, Robert Stuart. Edward therefore restored David to liberty at a ransom of 100,000 marks, for the payment of which the sons of his principal nobles became hostages.

A. D. 1358.—Though the very virtues of John, king of France, were calculated to encourage disobedience to him in so turbulent and ill-regulated an age, and in a country so often convulsed as France was by being made the theatre of war, yet his absence was early and visibly productive of injury and disturbance to his kingdom. If his goodness had been sometimes imposed upon and his kindness still more frequently abused, yet as it was well known that he had both wisdom and courage, his presence had kept the ill-disposed within certain bounds. The dauphin, upon whom the difficult task now lay of ruling during the imprisonment of his father, was brave and of good capacity; but he had one fatal defect, in itself sufficient to incapacitate him for fully supplying his father's place; he was only eighteen years of age. How far that circumstance weakened his authority appeared on the very first occasion of his assembling the states. Though his father was now made captive in defending the kingdom, the young dauphin no sooner demanded the supplies which his father's captivity and the situation of the kingdom rendered so necessary, than he was met not by a generous vote of sympathy, confidence, and assistance, but by a harsh and eager demand for the limitation of the royal authority, for redress of certain alledged grievances, and for the liberation of the king of Navarre, who had been so mischievous to France even while John was at liberty to oppose him, and whose liberation now might rationally be expected to be productive of the very worst consequences. This ungenerous conduct of the states did not lack imitators. Marcel, provost of the merchants, the first and most influential magistrate of Paris, instead of using the weight of his authority to aid the dauphin, actually constituted himself the ringleader of the rabble, and encouraged them in the most insolent and unlawful conduct. The dauphin, thus situated, found that he was less the ruler than the prisoner of these ungrateful men, who carried their brutal disrespect so far as to murder in his presence the marshals de Clermont and de Conflans. As usual, the indulgence of ill-dispositions increased their strength; all the other friends and ministers of the dauphin were threatened with the fate of the murdered marshals, and he at length seized an opportunity to escape. The frantic demagogues of Paris now openly levied war against the dauphin, and it is scarcely necessary to add that their example was speedily followed by every large town in the kingdom. Those of the nobles who deemed it time to exert themselves in support of the royal authority were taunted with their flight from the battle of Maupertuis, or as it was generally termed, of Poitiers; the king of Navarre was liberated from prison by aid of the disaffected, and the whole kingdom was the prey of the most horrible disorders.

The dauphin, rather by his judgment than by his military talents, reduced the country at length to something like order. Edward in the meantime had practised so successfully, and, we may add, so ungenerously, upon the captive John, as to induce him to sign a treaty which

was so manifestly and unfairly injurious to France, that the dauphin refused to be bound by it. (A. D. 1359–60.) War consequently was recommenced by Edward; but though the English armies traversed France from end to end, and committed the most disgraceful ravages, Edward's success was so disproportionate, and his advantages constantly proved so fleeting, that even the duke of Lancaster, his own near relative and zealous as well as able general, remonstrated with him upon his absurd obstinacy in insisting upon terms so extreme, that they were calculated rather to induce desperation than to incline to submission.

These remonstrances, backed as they were by the whole circumstances of the case, at length led Edward to incline to more reasonable terms. By way of salvo to his dignity, or pride, he professed to have made a vow during an awful tempest which threatened the destruction of his army, and in obedience to this his alledged vow he now concluded peace on the following footing, viz.: that King John should be restored to liberty at a ransom of three millions of golden crowns; that Edward should for himself and his successors renounce all claim to the crown of France, and to his ancestral provinces, Anjou, Touraine, Maine, and Normandy; and should in exchange receive other specified districts in that direction, with Calais, Guisnes, Montreuil, and Ponthieu, on the other side of France, in full and independent sovereignty; together with sundry other stipulations. John was accordingly restored to liberty; and as he had been personally well treated in England, and, besides, was at all times greatly inclined to sincerity, he seems to have exerted himself to the utmost to cause the treaty to be duly fulfilled. But the people in the neighborhood of Guienne were obstinately bent against living under the English dominion; and some other difficulties arose which induced John to return to England in the hope of adjusting matters, when he sickened and died, A. D. 1363.

A. D. 1364.—Charles the dauphin, who succeeded to the throne of France, devoted his first efforts to settling all disturbances in his own realm, and ridding it of the numerous "*free companions*," who, soldiers in time of war and robbers in time of peace, were one of the principal causes of all the disorder that reigned; and he was prudent enough to cause them to flock to that Spanish war in which the Black Prince most imprudently took part.

Having got rid of this dangerous set of men, and having with secret gladness beheld the Black Prince ruining himself alike in health and fortune in the same war which drafted so many desperate ruffians from France, Charles, in the very face of his father's treaty, assumed a feudal power to which he had no just claim. Edward recommenced war; but though France once more was extensively ravaged, a truce was at length agreed upon, when the varied events of war, consisting rather of the skirmishes of freebooters than of the great strife of armies, had left Edward scarce a foot of ground in France, save Calais, Bourdeaux, and Bayonne.

A. D. 1376.—Edward the Black Prince, feeble in health, had for some time past been visibly hastening to the grave. His warlike prowess and his unsullied virtue—unsullied save by that warlike fury which all mankind are prone to rate as virtue—made his condition the source of a very deep and universal interest in England, which was greatly heightened by the unpopularity of the duke of Lancaster, who, it was feared, would take advantage of the minority of Richard, son and heir of the Black Prince, to usurp the throne. This general interest grew daily more deep and painful, and the Black Prince, amid the sorrow of the whole nation, expired on the 8th of June, in the very prime of manhood, aged only forty-six. The king, who was visibly affected by the loss of his son,

lived only a year longer, dying on the 21st of June, 1377 in the 51st year of his reign, and in the 65th of his age.

The sense of power is usually more influential on men's judgment than the sense of right; and though his wars both with Scotland and France chiefly originated in tyrannous self-will, the splendour of his warlike talents and the vigour of his character made him beloved and admired by his people during his life, and still make the English historian love to linger over his reign. His very injustice to foreign people kept sedition and its fearful evils afar from his own subjects; and if he was himself but too burdensome in the way of taxation, he at least kept a firm hand over his nobles, and did much towards advancing and establishing the right of the people at large to be unmolested in their private life, and to have their interests considered and their reasonable demands attended to. It has, indeed, been generally admitted that he was one of the best and most illustrious kings that ever sat on the English throne, and that his faults were greatly outweighed by his heroic virtues and amiable qualities. On the whole, the reign of Edward III., as it was one of the longest, so was it also one of the brightest in England's history.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE REIGN OF RICHARD II.

A. D. 1377.—Edward III. was succeeded by Richard II., son of the Black Prince. The new king was but little more than eleven years old; but he had three uncles, the dukes of Lancaster, York, and Gloucester, whose authority, aided by the habits of obedience which the firm rule of the late king had established, seemed to promise at the least an undisturbed minority.

The very commmencement of this reign proved how much Edward III. had raised the views and added to the importance of the commons in parliament, the deliberative business of which had now so much increased, that they found it necessary to choose a speaker, both to be their organ of communication and to keep due order and gravity in their debates. The choice, however, showed but little gratitude to the late king, for it fell upon Peter de la Mare, a man who had distinguished himself by opposition to the late king's ministers, and had been imprisoned for a violent attack on Alice Pierce (or Perrers,) who, as the king's mistress, had become so unpopular in consequence of the influence she was supposed to have upon his measures, that he was obliged to part with her to appease the popular clamour.

Though the choice of this person for speaker did not indicate any intention on the part of the commons towards too submissive a conduct, they did not immediately show any desire unduly to interfere in the government, but confined themselves to petitioning the lords that a council of nine, composed of trustworthy and virtuous men, should be appointed to conduct the public business, and to superintend the life and education of the young king during his minority. The former part of the petition was answered by the appointment of the bishops of London, Carlisle, and Salisbury, the earls of March and Stafford, and sirs Richard de Stafford, Henry le Scrope, John Devereux, and Hugh Seagrave, who were empowered to conduct the public business for one year. With respect to the latter portion of the petition, the lords declined interfering with it, reasonably thinking that to interfere in the young prince's private life and education, unless his royal uncles proved careless or inimical, would be neither delicate nor just.

Of the three uncles, the duke of Lancaster was certainly by far the

chiest, and probably not the least ambitious; and though there was no one to whom any authority was ostensibly or formally given to control the council, Lancaster seems to have been the actual regent who for some years not only governed, but, by his irresistible though secret influence even appointed the council.

As is usual with popular and numerous assemblies, the commons, on finding their interference complied with instead of being resented, became anxious and somewhat impatient to push it still farther. Scarcely had the greater, and also the most important part, of their first petition been acted upon ere they presented another, in which they prayed the king and his council to take measures to prevent the barons from confederating together to uphold each other and their followers in violent and unlawful deeds. A civil answer was given to this petition; but though the answer was couched in those general terms which really bind the parties using them to no particular course, it speedily called forth another petition of a far more ambitious nature, and calculated to add at one step most prodigiously to the influence of the commons, who now prayed that during the minority of the king all the great officers should be appointed by parliament—clearly meaning that the mere appointment by the lords should thenceforth be of no validity unless it were confirmed by the commons. This petition did not meet with so favourable a reception; the lords still retained to themselves the power of appointing to the great offices of state, and the commons took part in the appointments only by tacit acquiescence.

Previous to this parliament being dissolved the commons gave another proof of their consciousness of their own growing importance, by representing the necessity as well as propriety of their being annually assembled, and by appointing two of their number to receive and disburse two-fifteenths and two-tenths which had been voted to the king.

A. D. 1381.—Though the war with France broke forth from time to time, in spite of the prudent conduct of Charles, who most justly was called *The Wise*, the military operations were not such as to demand detail. But if unproductive of glory or territory, the war was not the less destructive of treasure; and on the parliament meeting in 1380, it was found requisite, in order to provide for the pressing and indispensable necessities of the government, to impose a poll-tax of three groats upon every person, male and female, who was more than fifteen years of age.

There was no foreign country with which England had so close and continued an intercourse as with Flanders, which greatly depended on England for its supply of the wool necessary for its manufactures. The spirit of independence that had arisen among the Flemish peasants, as exemplified in the brutalities which they had committed upon their natural and lawful rulers, and the servility with which they had submitted to the utmost tyranny at the hands of a brewer, now began to communicate itself to the lower order in England. Then, as in far more modern times, there were demagogues who sought to recommend themselves to the credulous people, and to prey upon them by the loud inculcation of an equality among mankind, which no man, not decidedly inferior to all the rest of his race in the quality of intelligence, can fail to see is but partially true in the abstract, and wholly false by force of circumstances which are at once inevitable and perfectly independent of the form of government and even of the good or bad administration of the laws. Among the demagogues who just at this period raised their voices to deceive and plunder the multitude, was one John Ball, a degraded priest, but a man by no means destitute of ability. To such a man the imposition of a tax which was both excessive and cruel in the then state of labour and its wages, was a perfect godsend; and the opportunity it afforded him of giving vent to exciting and plausible declamation, was not

diminished by the bitter and impolitic mockery of a recommendation from the council, that when this new poll-tax should be found to press too severely on the poor, the wealthy should relieve them by increasing their own contribution.

It is not easy to imagine any circumstances under which so excessive a demand upon a suffering population could have failed to cause discontent and sedition; but when to the excess of the tax the excited temper of the people and the activity of their deluders, the demagogues, was added an insolent brutality on the part of the collectors, there could be little doubt of the occurrence of great and extended mischief.

The tax in question was farmed out to the tax-gatherers of the various districts, who thus had a personal interest in the performance of their invidious duty, which was certainly not likely to make them less urgent or less insolent Every where the tax raised complaints both loud and deep, and every poor man was anxious to avail himself of any possible misrepresentation as to the age of the children for whom he was charged. The blacksmith of a village in Essex having paid for the rest of his family, refused to do so for a daughter whom, whether truly or falsely does not appear, he stoutly averred to be under the prescribed age; and the tax-gatherer, a low brutal fellow, offered a violent indecency to the girl in proof of his right to the demand. The father, poor, irritated at the loss of the money he had already paid, and doubly indignant at the outrage thus offered to his child, raised the ponderous hammer he had just been using in his business, and dashed the ruffian's brains out on the spot. Under a state of less violent excitement the bystanders would probably have been shocked at the smith's fatal violence; but as it was, the murder acted like a talisman upon the hitherto suppressed rage of the people, and in a few hours a vast multitude, armed with every description of rude weapon, was gathered together, with the avowed intention of taking vengeance on their tyrants and of putting an end to their oppression. From Essex the flame spread to all the adjoining counties; and so sudden and so rapid was the gathering, that before the astounded government could even determine on what course to follow, upwards of a hundred thousand desperate men had assembled on Blackheath, under the command of Wat Tyler, the blacksmith, and several other ringleaders who bore the assumed names of Hob Carter, Jack Straw, and the like. The king's mother, the widow of the heroic Black Prince, in returning from a pilgrimage to Canterbury, had to pass through this desperate and dissolute multitude; and such was their indiscriminate rage, that she, to whom they owed so much respect, was taken from her vehicle, insulted with the familiar salutes of drunken clowns, and her attendants were treated with equal insult and still greater violence At length, probably at the intercession of some of the least debased of the leaders, she was allowed to proceed on her journey.

The king in the meantime had been conducted for safety to the Tower of London, and the rebels now sent to demand a conference with him. He sailed down the river in a barge to comply with their request, but as he approached the shore the mob showed such evident inclination to brute violence, that he was compelled to return to the fortress.

In London the disorder was by this time at its height. The low rabble of the city, always in that age ripe for mischief, had joined the rioters from the country; ware-houses and private houses were broken open, and not merely pillaged, but the contents burned or otherwise destroyed when they could not be carried away; and the Savoy palace, the property of the duke of Lancaster, which had so long been the abode of the king of France, was in wanton mischief completely reduced to ashes. Ascribing their sufferings to the richer and better instructed classes, the mob not merely maltreated, but in very many cases even murdered, such gentlemen as were

Death of Wat Tyler.

unfortunate enough to fall into their hands; and lawyers, especially, were treated without mercy.

The king at length left the Tower and proceeded to a field near Mile End, where one of the main bodies of the rioters had assembled. They surrounded him with peremptory demands for a general pardon for all concerned in the insurrection, the instant abolition of all villeinage, and of tolls and imposts in all markets, together with a fixed money rent of land-holdings, instead of personal service. The government was as yet in no condition to proceed to forcible measures; and, consequently, charters to the above were hastily drawn out and delivered, and this body of rioters was thus sent peaceably away.

But the danger was as yet only partially past. A larger body of the rebels, headed by Wat Tyler and other leading insurrectionists, had in the meantime broken into the Tower and put to death Simon Sudbury, chancellor and archbishop of Canterbury, and Sir Robert Hales the treasurer, with some other persons of high rank, though of less note; and were passing through Smithfield just as the king and his attendants entered that place. The king with a spirit and temper far beyond his years, for he was now only sixteen, entered into conference with Wat Tyler, who had previously left his band with an order to rush on at a given signal, murder the whole of the royal retinue, and make the young monarch their prisoner. Flushed with his brutal and hitherto unchecked triumph, Wat Tyler made such menacing gestures as he spoke to the king, that William Walsworth, the then mayor of London, was so provoked out of all sense of the danger, that he struck the ruffian to the ground, and he was speedily dispatched. A fierce yell from the rebels proclaimed their rage at the loss of their leader; but before they could rush upon the royal party, young Richard rode steadily up to them, and in that calm tone of high confidence and command which has so great an influence over even the most violent men, exclaimed, "My good people! What means this disorder? Are ye angry that ye have lost your leader? I am your king! follow me! I myself will be my people's leader!" Without giving them time to recover from the surprise his coolness and the majesty of his air and appearance had caused them, the king led the way into the neighbouring fields, where he was joined by an armed force under Sir Robert Knolles. Cautioning Sir Robert and his other friends to allow nothing short of the most vital necessity to urge them into violence, the king after a short conference, dismissed this band as peaceably and as well satisfied as he had the former one at Mile End, and by means of giving them similar charters.

While the king had thus skilfully been temporising, the nobility and gentry in all parts of the country had been actively assembling and arming their retainers; in a few days Richard was able to take the field at the head of 40,000 men; the rioters dared no longer to appear openly and in force; and the charters, which, reasonable as they now seem, were not merely unfit for the state of the country at that time, but actually impracticable of execution, were formally revoked, not only upon that ground, but also as having been extorted while the king was under constraint of men who had banded together to murder all the higher ranks and bring about a sanguinary and sweeping revolution. It is scarcely possible to imagine a sovereign so young giving more clear proof of courage and ability than Richard did on this sad occasion; but his later years by no means fulfilled the bright promise thus given by his boyhood.

A. D. 1385.—Scarcely was peace restored after this alarming revolt, when the attitude of the Scots rendered it absolutely necessary to chastise and check them. Accordingly the king with a numerous army entered Scotland by Berwick. But the Scots, who had a strong auxiliary body of French cavalry, had already secured all their moveable property in the mountains, and, leaving their houses to be burned, they entered

England, dispersed themselves in large marauding parties throughout Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire, and returned laden with booty without having met with any show of resistance.

The English army under Richard had in the meantime marched unopposed to Edinburgh, burning all the towns and villages on their way. Perth, Dundee, and a vast number of other places in the Lowlands, were treated in the same manner. But when news reached the army of the successful inroad of the Scots upon the northern counties of England, the true nature of Richard, his frivolity, and his determined preference of pleasure to action, only too clearly appeared; for he positively refused to make any attempt at cutting off the retreat of the spoil-laden enemy, and immediately led his army home.

A. D. 1386.—The French had aided the Scots chiefly, if not solely, with a view to annoy the English; and Flanders being now at peace with France, a large fleet and army assembled in the Flemish port of Sluys for the invasion of England. The fleet actually sailed, but was scarcely out of port when it encountered a terrible storm, which dispersed it and destroyed many of the largest ships. The English men-of-war attacked and took the remainder, and thus, for the present at least, this new danger was averted.

But though this expedition had completely failed, it turned the attention of the nation, as well as the king and council, towards those circumstances which made it only too certain that a similar attempt would be made at no great distance of time. The disturbances which had so recently agitated England from one end to the other could not fail to act as an invitation to foreign enemies; and, to make the matter still worse, the best of the English soldiery, to a very great number, were at this time in Spain, supporting the duke of Lancaster in the claim he had long laid to the crown of Castile. Perhaps the alarm which called attention to these circumstances mainly served to avert the danger; at all events, it speedily appeared that the peace of England was in greater danger from Englishmen than from foreigners.

We have already had occasion, under the reign of Edward II., to point out the propensity of weak-minded princes to the adoption of favourites, to whose interests they delight in sacrificing all other considerations, including their own dignity and even their own personal safety. Richard, who had shown so much frivolity in his Scotch expedition, now gave a new proof of his weakness of mind by adopting a successor to the Spensers and the Gavestons of an earlier day.

Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, of noble birth, agreeable manners, and great accomplishments, but extremely dissolute and no less vain and ambitious, made his company so agreeable to Richard, that the young monarch seemed scarcely able to exist but in his presence. In proof of his attachment to him, the king made him marquis of Dublin—the title being then first used in England—created him by patent vice-king of Ireland for life, and evinced his preference for him by various other marks of royal favour.

As is uniformly the case with such favouritism, the favourite's rapacity and insolence kept full pace with the king's folly; the marquis of Dublin became the virtual king; all favours were obtainable through his interest justice itself scarcely obtainable without it; and the marquis and his satellites became at once the plague and the detestation of the whole nobility, but more especially of the king's uncles, who saw the influence which they ought to have possessed, and much that ought to have been refused even to them, transferred to a man of comparative obscurity. The ministers, though they, it is quite clear, could have little power to correct their master's peculiar folly, shared the sovereign's disgrace, and the whole kingdom soon rang with complaints and threatenings.

The first rush of the long-brewing tempest showed itself in a fierce attack upon Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, the chancellor. Though he was originally only the son of a merchant, he had won a high and well-deserved celebrity by his valour and conduct during the wars of the late king, and had since shown very splendid civil ability. He was supposed to be the chief confidential friend of the king and of De Vere, who was now, from the marquisate of Dublin raised to the dukedom of Ireland; and the duke of Gloucester consequently singled him out for persecution. Gloucester, who was both able and ambitious, had secured a most potent sway over both the lords and commons, and he now induced the latter to impeach the earl of Suffolk before the former: a power and mode of proceeding which the commons had possessed themselves of towards the close of the reign of Edward III.

The impeachment of the most eminent of his ministers naturally alarmed the king for himself and his favourite; and he retired to the royal palace at Eltham, to be out of immediate danger, and to deliberate upon his future course. Rightly judging that while the king was thus comparatively removed from danger and annoyance they would have little chance of bringing him to compliance with their wishes, the parliament sent to inform him that unless he immediately returned they would dissolve without making an attempt at preparation for the French invasion with which the nation was at that time threatened. And lest this threat should fail to compel the king to compliance, they called for the production of the parliamentary record of the deposition of Edward II. This hint was too intelligible to be disregarded, and the king at once consented to return, on the sole condition that, beyond the impeachment already commenced against the earl of Suffolk, no attack should be made upon his ministers; a stipulation which, most probably, he chiefly made with a view to the safety of the duke of Ireland.

The charges against Suffolk were directed almost wholly against his pecuniary transactions. He was accused, for instance, of having exchanged a perpetual annuity, *which he had fairly inherited*, for lands of equal value, with the king; of having purchased a forfeited crown annuity of fifty pounds and induced the king to recognise it as being valid; and of having obtained a grant of 500*l.* per annum to support his dignity on his being created earl of Suffolk. The first of these charges, it is clear, could only have been made by men who were sadly at a loss for some weapon with which to assail their enemy; the second was ill-supported; and the third proceeded with a very ill-grace from Gloucester, who, though as wealthy as Suffolk was poor, was himself in receipt of just double the amount by way of pension! When to this we add that, as to the first charge, it was positively proved that Suffolk had made no sort of purchase, honest or dishonest, from the crown during his enjoyment of office, the reader would be greatly surprised at learning that he was convicted and sentenced to lose his office—if it were possible for the reader to have noticed the events of history even thus far without learning that when powerful men hate deeply, they do not require either very important charges or very clear evidence to induce them to convict the party hated.

This triumph of the anti-favourite party emboldened them to fly at a higher quarry. They kept the letter of their agreement with the king, and made no further attack upon his ministers; but at once proceeded to strike at his own authority by appointing a council of fourteen, to which the sovereign authority was to be transferred for a year, the council in question consisting, with the single exception of the archbishop of York, of the personal friends and partizans of the duke of Gloucester; and thus Richard II., whose boyhood had promised so vigorous and splendid a reign, was at the early age of twenty-five virtually deposed, and a mere puppet and prisoner in the hands of his enemies. No chance of present resist-

ance offered itself, and the unfortunate and weak king signed the commission which in reality uncrowned him, increasing rather than diminishing the pleasure and triumph of his enemies by an impotent protest which he made at the end of the session of parliament, to the effect that nothing in the commission he had signed was to be held to impair the prerogatives of the crown.

A. D. 1387.—The pampered favourite and his supporters, as they had so greatly profited by the king's weak misuse of his power, did not fail to do their utmost to stimulate his anger and to induce him to make some effort to recover his lost authority, in which, in truth, they were far more interested than he was.

Estranged as the lords seemed, he resolved to endeavour to influence the sheriffs to return a commons' house calculated for his purpose; but here he found himself completely anticipated by the fact that most of the sheriffs and magistrates were the partizans of Gloucester, and actually owed their appointments to his favour.

Baffled in this quarter, he now tried what use he could make of the authority of the judges. Having met, at Nottingham, Tresilian, chief justice of the King's Bench, and several of the other most eminent judges, he proposed to them certain queries, to which, in substance, they replied, "that the commission was derogatory to the prerogative and royalty of the king, and that those who urged it or advised the royal compliance with it were punishable with death; that those who compelled him were guilty of treason; that all who persevered in maintaining it were no less guilty; that the king had the right to dissolve the parliament at his pleasure; that the parliament while sitting must give its first attention to the business of the king; and that without the king's consent the parliament had no right to impeach his ministers or judges."

Richard did not consider when he took this step that even the favourable opinions of judges, are only opinions, and of little weight when opposed to usurped power, armed force, and an iron energy. Moreover, he could scarcely hope to keep his conference and the opinions of the judges a secret; and if he could do so of what avail could be the latter? And would not this step sharpen the activity of his enemies by leading them to fear that it was but the prelude and foundation of a far more decided step? It actually had that effect; for as soon as the king returned to London, Gloucester's party appeared with an overwhelming force at Highgate, whence they sent a deputation to demand that those who had given him false and perilous counsel should be delivered up to them as traitors alike to the king and kingdom; and they speedily followed up this message by appearing armed and attended in his presence, and accusing of having given such counsel the archbishop of York, the duke of Ireland, the earl of Suffolk, Sir Robert Tresilian, and Sir Nicholas Brembre, as public enemies. This accusation the lords offered to maintain by duel, and in token of their willingness to do so they actually threw down their gauntlets.

The duke of Ireland, at the first appearance of this new and urgent danger, retired into Cheshire to levy troops to aid the king; but he was met by Gloucester, as he hastened to join Richard, and totally defeated. This defeat deprived him of all chance of being of use to his friend and master, and he escaped to the Low Countries, where he remained in exile and comparative obscurity until his death, which occurred not many years afterwards.

A. D. 1388.—Rendered bolder and more eager than ever by this defeat of the duke of Ireland, the lords now entered London at the head of an army of 40,000 men; and the king being entirely in their power, was obliged to summon a parliament which he well knew would be a mere passive instrument in the hands of his rebellious lords. Before this packed and slavish parliament an accusation was now made against the five per-

sonages who had already been denounced; and this accusation was supported by five of the most powerful men in England, viz., the duke of Gloucester, uncle to the king whom he was endeavouring to ruin, the earl of Derby, son of the duke of Lancaster, the earl of Arundel, the earl of Warwick, and the earl of Nottingham, marshal of England.

As if the combined and formidable power of these great nobles had been insufficient to crush the accused, the servile parliament, though judges in the case, actually pledged themselves at the outset of the proceedings "to live and die with the lords appellant, and to defend them against all opposition with their lives and fortunes!" Sir Nicholas Brembre was the only one of the five accused persons who was present to hear the thirty-nine charges made against him and the other four persons accused. He had the mockery, and but the mockery, of a trial; the others being absent were not even noticed in the way of evidence; but that did not prevent them from being found guilty of high treason. Sir Nicholas and also Sir Robert Tresilian, who was apprehended after the trial, were executed; and here it might have been supposed that even these rancorous lords and their parliamentary tools would have halted in their career of chicane and violence; but far other was their actual conduct. All the other judges who had agreed to the opinions given at Nottingham were condemned to death, but afterwards banished to Ireland; and Lord Beauchamp of Holt, Sir James Berners, Sir Simon Burley, and Sir John Salisbury were condemned, and, with the exception of the last-named, executed.

The execution, or to speak more truly, the murder of Sir Simon Burley, made a very great and painful sensation even among the enemies of the king; for he was highly and almost universally popular, both on account of his personal character and from his having from the earliest infancy of the lamented Black Prince been the constant attendant of that hero, who, as well as Edward III., had concurred in appointing him governor of the present king during his youth. But the gallantry which had procured him the honour of the garter, and the imperishable fame of a laudatory mention in the glowing pages of Froissart, the beggarly nature of the charges against him and the very insufficient evidence by which even those charges were supported, and the singularity of his case from the circumstances which would have excused a far more implicit devotion to the king whose infancy he had watched, were all as nothing when opposed to the fierce determination of his and his sovereign's implacable enemies. Nay more, the king's wife, whose virtues had obtained her from the people the affectionate title of the Good Queen Anne, actually fell upon her knees before Gloucester, and in that posture for three hours besought, and vainly besought, the life of the unfortunate Burley. The stern enemies of his master had doomed the faithful knight to die, and he was executed accordingly.

As if conscious of their enormous villany, and already beginning to dread retribution, the parliament concluded this memorably evil session by an act, providing for a general oath to uphold and maintain all the acts of forfeiture and attainder which had previously been passed during the session.

A. D. 1389.—The violence with which the king had been treated, and the degradation to which he had been reduced, seemed to threaten not only his never recovering his authority, but even his actual destruction. But, whether from sheer weariness of their struggle, from disagreements among themselves, or from some fear of the interference of the commons, now daily becoming more powerful and more ready to use their power, the chiefs of the malcontents were so little able or inclined to oppose Richard, that he, being now in his twenty-third year, ventured to say in open council that he had fully arrived at an age to govern for himself, and that henceforth he would govern both the kingdom and his own house.

hold; and no one of all his lately fierce and overbearing opponents ventured to gainsay him. The ease with which the king regained his authority can only be accounted for, as it seems to us, by supposing that circumstances, no account of which has come down to us, rendered the king's enemies afraid of opposing him.

From whatever cause, however, it is certain that the king suddenly regained his lost power. His first act was to remove Fitzallan, archbishop of Canterbury, from the office of chancellor, and to replace him by the celebrated William of Wykeham, bishop of Winchester. Proceeding in the obviously wise policy of substituting friends for foes in the high offices of state, the king dismissed the bishop of Hereford from being treasurer, and the earl of Arundel from being admiral. The earl of Warwick and the duke of Gloucester were removed from the council; and even this evident sign of the king's determination to deprive his enemies of the power to injure him called forth little complaint and no opposition.

To the policy of what he did, the king in what he left undone added a still higher wisdom, which his former infatuation gave but little promise of. He did not show the slightest desire to recall the duke of Ireland; and while he took care to purge the high offices of state, he did not by any part of his demeanour leave any room to doubt that he was heartily and completely reconciled to the still powerful uncles who had caused him so much misery. Nay, more, as if determined to remove all danger of the revival of past animosities, he of his own motion issued a proclamation confirming the parliamentary pardon of all offences, and, still more completely to ingratiate himself with the tax-burdened people, he voluntarily declined levying some subsidies which had been granted to him by the parliament.

Partly as a consequence of these really wise and humane measures and partly, perhaps, owing to the return from Spain of the duke of Lancaster, Richard's government for the next eight years went on so smoothly and so prosperously, that not a single dispute occurred of consequence enough to be related. Lancaster, between whom and Richard there had never been any quarrel—unless we may interpret the past conduct of the duke's son as the indication of one—was powerful enough to keep his brothers in check, and was at the same time of a more mild and peace-loving temper. And, accordingly, the duke was extremely useful to Richard, who in turn took every opportunity of favouring and gratifying his uncle, to whom at one time he even ceded Guienne, though, from the discontent and annoyance expressed by the Gascons, Richard was shortly afterwards obliged to revoke his grant. The king still more strongly testified his preference of Lancaster on occasion of a difference which sprang up between the duke and his two brothers. On the death of the Spanish princess, on account of whom Lancaster had entertained such high but vain hopes, and expended so much time and money, the duke married Catharine Swainford, by whom he had previously had children, and who was the daughter of a private Hainault knight of no great wealth. Lancaster's two brothers loudly exclaimed against this match, which they, not wholly without reason, declared to be derogatory to the honour of the royal family. But Richard stepped in to the support of his uncle, and caused the parliament to pass an act legitimatizing the lady's children born before marriage, and he at the same time created the eldest of them earl of Somerset.

While these domestic events were passing, occasional war had still been going on both with France and Scotland; but in each instance the actual fighting was both feeble and unfrequent. This was especially the case as to France; while the most important battle on the Scottish side was that of Otterbourne, in which the young Piercy, surnamed Harry Hotspur, from his impetuous temper, was taken prisoner, and Douglas

killed; but this really was less a national battle than a comba arising out of a private quarrel and individual animosity.

A. D. 1396.—The insurrections of the Irish having become so frequent as to excite some fear for the safety of that conquest, the king went thither in person; and the courage and conduct he displayed in reducing the rebels to obedience did much towards redeeming his character in the judgment of his people. A still farther hope was raised of the tranquillity and respectability of the remainder of this reign by a truce of twenty-five years which was now made between France and England. To render this truce the more solid, Richard, who ere this had buried the "Good Queen Anne," was affianced to Isabella, the daughter of the king of France, then only seven years old. It seems probable that Richard, still feeling insecure in the peacefulness of his uncles and the barons generally, sought by this alliance not only to strengthen the truce between the two nations, but also to obtain from it additional security against any domestic attacks upon his authority.

But though he thus far gave proofs of judgment, there were other parts of his conduct which were altogether as impolitic and degrading. Unstable, inconsistent, wildly extravagant, and openly dissolute, the king effectually prevented his popularity from becoming confirmed. Having shown so much wisdom in refraining from recalling the duke of Ireland—and perhaps even that arose less from wisdom than from satiety of his former minion—he now selected as his favourites, to almost an equally offensive extent, his half brothers the earls of Kent and Huntingdon, to whom he so completely committed the patronage of the kingdom as to render himself, in that respect at least, little more than their mere tool. This, with his indolence, excessive extravagance, indulgence at the table, and other dissolute pleasures, not only prevented his growing popularity from ever being confirmed, but even caused a revival of the former complaints and animosities.

A. D. 1397.—What rendered this impolitic conduct the more surely and entirely destructive to Richard, was the profoundly artful manner in which his chief and most implacable enemy, the duke of Gloucester, availed himself of it. Instead of endeavouring to vie with Richard's favourites and to invite a share of his partiality, the duke almost retired from the court; appearing there only on the public occasions which would have caused his absence to have been ill remarked on, and devoting all the rest of his time to cultivating the popular favour by every art of which he was master. When obliged to offer his opinion in council, he took care to give the most powerful reasons he could command for his opposition to the measures of the king. As the truce and alliance which Richard had concluded with France were almost universally unpopular, Gloucester, to all orders of men who had approach to him, affected the utmost personal sorrow and patriotic indignation that Richard had so completely and shamefully degenerated from the high anti-Gallican spirit of his renowned and warlike grandfather, who looked upon the French as the natural foes of England, and upon France as the treasure-house of England's high-born chivalry and lusty yeomen. To fall in with the interested opinions of men is the surest possible way to obtain their favour; and the more unpopular Richard became, the more openly and earnestly did the people, and more especially the military, declare that the duke of Gloucester's patriotism was the real cause of his want of favour at court; and that his wisdom and counsel alone could ever restore the honour and prosperity of the nation whose true interests he so well understood and so disinterestedly advocated.

That Gloucester for a long time had harboured the most treasonable designs against Richard is quite certain from even his own confession; and Richard, urged by the advice not only of his favourites, but also by

the king of France, suddenly caused Gloucester to be arrested and conveyed to Calais, while at the same time his friends the earls of Arundel and Warwick were seized and thrown into prison. As both the dukes of Lancaster and York and their eldest sons approved of and supported the king's suddenly adopted course, the friends of the imprisoned nobles saw that resistance would only serve to involve themselves in ruin. The king, too, by influencing the sheriffs, caused a parliament to be assembled, which was so completely subservient to his wishes, that it not only annulled the commission which had so extensively trenched upon the royal authority, and declared it high treason to attempt the renewal of a like commission, but even went so far as to revoke the general pardon that Richard had *voluntarily* confirmed after he regained his authority, and to revoke it, in the face of that fact, upon the ground of its having been *extorted by force and never freely ratified by the king!*

The duke of Gloucester, the earls of Arundel and Warwick, and the archbishop of Canterbury were now impeached by the commons. Arundel was executed, Warwick banished for life to the Isle of Man, and the archbishop was deprived of his temporalities and banished the kingdom. That they all really were cognizant of and concerned in Gloucester's more recent treasonable projects there can be no moral doubt; and yet, legally, these men were all unjustly condemned, for they were condemned not for any recent treason, but for that old rebellion which the king *had* pardoned voluntarily and while under no restraint. The chief partizans of Gloucester being thus disposed of, the governer of Calais was ordered to bring the duke himself over for trial; but to this order he returned word that the duke had suddenly died of apoplexy. When it is considered that this sudden death of the duke happened so conveniently for releasing the king from the unpleasant, practical dilemma of either setting at liberty a powerful and most implacable foe, or incurring the odium which could not but attach to the act of putting to death so near a relation, it is difficult to withhold belief from the popular rumour which was very rife at the time, and still more so during the next king's reign, that the duke was, in fact, smothered in his bed, in obedience to a secret order of his king and nephew.

Ere the parliament was dismissed, very extensive creations and promotions took place in the peerage, of course among those who had been most useful and zealous in aiding the recent royal severity; and at the very close of this busy and discreditable session the king gave a singularly striking, though practically unimportant, proof of his inconsistency; he exacted an oath from the parliament perpetually to maintain the acts they had passed—one of those very acts being in direct and shameful violation of a precisely similar oath which had been subsequently sanctioned by the king's free and solemn ratification!

A. D. 1398.—When the parliament met at Shrewsbury, in January, 1398, the king again manifested his anxiety for the security of the recent acts, by causing both the lords and commons to swear, upon the cross of Canterbury, that they would maintain them. Still ill at ease on this point, he shortly afterwards obtained the additional security, as he deemed it, of a bull from the pope, ordaining the permanence of these acts. At the same time, as if to show the folly of swearing to the perpetuation of acts, the parliament reversed the attainders, not only of Tresilian and the other judges, for the secret opinions they had given to the king at Nottingham, but also of the Spensers, father and son, who were attainted in the reign of Edward II.

Though the enmity towards Gloucester of the nobles who had so zealously aided in the destruction of that prince had united them in apparently indissoluble friendship while the duke lived, animosities and heartburnings soon sprang up among them when this common bond of union was re-

moved. The duke of Hereford in his place in parliament solemnly accused the duke of Norfolk of having slandered the king, by imputing to him the intention of destroying some of the highest of the nobility; Norfolk gave Hereford the lie, and demanded the trial by duel. The challenge was allowed and accepted; and as the parliament was now separating, and legislative authority might yet be rendered necessary by the result of this duel, a singular and somewhat hazardous expedient was resorted to; that of delegating the full powers of the parliament to a committee of twelve lords and six of the commons.

The lists for the duel were fixed at Coventry, the king in person was to witness the combat, and the whole chivalry of England was split into two parties, siding with the respective champions. But on the day of duel the king forbade the combat, banishing Norfolk for ten years and Hereford for life.

The great inconsistency of Richard makes it difficult to write his reign. By the act we have just recorded he showed sound and humane policy; yet in the very next year we find him committing a most wanton and despotic wrong; as though he would balance the prudence of putting an end to one source of strife among his nobles by taking the earliest possible opportunity to open another!

A. D. 1399.—The duke of Lancaster dying, his son applied to be put into possession of the estate and authority of his father, as secured by the king's own patent. But Richard, jealous of that succession, caused the committee to which the authority of parliament had been so strangely delegated, to authorize him to revoke that patent, and to try and condemn Lancaster's own attorney for having done his duty to his employer! This monstrous tyranny was not carried to the length of actually putting the attorney to death, in pursuance to the sentence, but that extreme rigour was only commuted to banishment!

The tyranny of this strange act was indisputable and detestable; but by no means more strange and unaccountable than its singular impolicy. It would have been impossible to name a noble then living who was more generally and universally popular than Henry, the new duke of Lancaster. He had served with great credit against the Infidels in Lithuania; he was closely connected by blood with many of the most powerful of the nobility, and by friendship with still more; and his own popularity, and the detestation into which the king had now fallen, caused the great majority of the nation not only to take an indignant interest in the flagrant wrong done to the duke, but also to hope that the vastness of his wrongs would induce him to become the avenger of theirs.

Notwithstanding the mere irritating and driving out of the country a man who, alike by birth, popularity, and talents, was so well calculated to wrest from him his tottering throne, the infatuated Richard now left England, as though for the express purpose of inviting and facilitating some attempt likely to consummate his probable ruin! His cousin, and the presumptive heir to the throne, Roger, earl of March, having been slain in a skirmish with the Irish kern, Richard went over to Ireland in person to avenge his deceased relative. The promptitude of the duke of Lancaster was fully equal to the infatuation of Richard. Embarking at Nantes with a retinue only sixty in number, the duke landed at Ravenspur in Yorkshire, and was joined by the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland. In the presence of these two potent nobles, and of the archbishop of Canterbury and that prelate's nephew, the young earl of Arundel, both of whom had been his companions from Nantes, the duke solemnly made oath that he had returned to the country with no other purpose than that of recovering his duchy that had been so tyrannically withheld from him. Having thus taken the best means to appease the fears of the king's few friends, and of the numerous lovers of peace whom

the dread of a civil war, as a consequence of his aiming at the throne would otherwise have rendered hostile to him, the duke invited not only all his own friends, but all in England who were true lovers of justice, to aid and uphold him in this incontestably just and reasonable design; and his appeal, partly from personal affection to him, but chiefly from general and intense detestation of the absent king, was so eagerly and speedily answered, that, in a very few days, he who had so lately left Nantes with a slender retinue of only sixty persons was at the head of an army of as many thousands, zealous in his cause, and beyond expression anxious to take signal vengeance for the numerous tyrannies of Richard.

On leaving England for the purpose of chastising the Irish rebels, Richard gave the important office of guardian of the realm to the duke of York. This prince did not possess the talents requisite in the dangerous crisis which had now arisen; moreover, he was too closely connected with the duke of Lancaster to allow of his exerting the sincere and extreme rigour by which alone the advances of that injured but no less ambitious noble could be kept in check; and those friends of the king whose power and zeal might have kept York to his fidelity, and supplied his want of ability, had accompanied Richard to Ireland. Everything, therefore, seemed to favour the duke of Lancaster, should ambition lead him to attempt something beyond the mere recovery of his duchy.

The duke of York, however, did not at the outset show any want of will to defend the king's rights. He ordered all the forces that could be collected to meet him at St. Alban's; but after all exertion had been made, he found himself at the head of no more than forty thousand men; and these far from zealous in the royal cause. Just as he made this discovery of his twofold weakness, he received a message in which the duke of Lancaster begged him not to oppose his recovery of his inheritance, to which he still with consummate hypocrisy affected to limit his demands and wishes. York confessed that he could not think of opposing his nephew in so reasonable and just a design, and York's declaration was received with a joy and applause which augured but ill for the interests of the absent king. Lancaster, still pretending to desire only the recovery of his right, now hastened to Bristol, where some of the ministers had taken refuge, and, having speedily made himself master of the place, gave the lie to all his professions of moderation by sending to instant execution the earl of Wiltshire, Sir John Bussy, and Sir Henry Green.

Intelligence of Lancaster's proceedings had by this time reached Richard, who hastened from Ireland with an army of 20,000 men, and landed at Milford Haven. Against the force by which Lancaster had by this time surrounded himself, the whole of Richard's army would have availed but little; but before he could attempt anything, above two-thirds of even that small army had deserted him, and he found himself compelled to steal away from the faithful remnant of his force and take shelter in the Isle of Anglesey, whence he probably intended to embark for France, there to await some change of affairs which might enable him to exert himself with at least some hope of success.

Lancaster, as politic as he was ambitious, saw at a glance how much mischief and disturbance might possibly accrue to him from Richard obtaining the support and shelter of France or even of Ireland, and determined to possess himself of the unhappy king's person previous to wholly throwing off the thin mask he still wore of moderation and loyalty. He, therefore, sent the earl of Northumberland to Richard, ostensibly for the purpose of assuring him of Lancaster's loyal feeling and moderate aim; and Northumberland, as instructed, took the opportunity to seize upon Richard, whom he conveyed to Flint castle, where Lancaster anxiously awaited his precious prize. The unfortunate Richard was now conveyed to London, nominally under the protection, but really as the prisoner, of

Lancaster, who throughout the journey was every where received with the submission and acclamations that of right belonged to his sovereign. The Londoners, especially, showed unbounded affection to the duke; and some writers even affirm that they, by their recorder, advised Lancaster to put Richard to death. However atrocious this advice, the spirit of that age was such as by no means to make it impossible that it was given. But Lancaster had deeper thoughts, and had no intention of letting his whole designs be visible, or at least declared, until he could do so with perfect safety from having the chief authorities of the nation compromised by his acts. Instead, therefore, of violently putting an end to the captive king, he made use of the royal name to sanction his own measures. Richard, helpless and a prisoner, was compelled to summon a parliament; and before this parliament thirty-three articles of accusation were laid against the king. Most of the nobles who were friendly to Richard had secured their own safety by flight; and as Lancaster was at once powerful and popular, we may fairly believe that Richard was as ill provided with friends in the commons as in the lords. But the bishop of Carlisle, in the latter house, nobly redeemed the national character by the ability and firmness with which he showed, at once, the insufficiency of the charges made against Richard, and the unconstitutional and irregular nature of the treatment bestowed upon him. He argued, that even those of the charges against Richard which might fairly be admitted to be true, were rather evidence of youth and want of judgment than of tyranny; and that the deposition of Edward II., besides that it was no otherwise a precedent than as it was a successful act of violence, was still further no precedent in this case, because on the deposition of Edward the succession was kept inviolate, his son being placed upon the throne; while the duke of Lancaster, whom it was now proposed to substitute for Richard, could only mount the throne, even after Richard's deposition, by violating the rights of the children of his father's elder brother, Lionel, duke of Clarence, upon whom the crown had been solemnly entailed by the parliament.

The spirited and just conduct of the able prelate, however honourable to himself, and however precious as, *pro tanto*, rescuing the national character from the charge of being utterly lost to all sense of right, was of no service to the unhappy Richard. The bishop was heard by the parliament as though he had given utterance to something of incredible folly and injustice, the charges were voted to be proven against Richard; and the duke of Lancaster, now wholly triumphant, immediately had the bishop of Lincoln arrested and sent prisoner to St. Alban's abbey, there to acquire a more subservient understanding of the principles of constitutional law.

Richard being in due form deposed, the duke of Lancaster, who had so recently made oath that he sought only the recovery of his duchy—of which it is beyond all question that he had been most wrongfully deprived, now came forward, crossed himself in the forehead and breast with much seeming devotion, and said, "In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, I, Henry of Lancaster, challenge this realm of England, and the crown, and all the members and appurtenances also, that I am descended by right line of the blood, coming from the good king Henry the Third, and through that right that God of his grace hath sent me, with help of kin and of my friends, to recover it; the which realm was on point of being undone by default of governance and undoing of the good laws."

The right to which the duke of Lancaster here pretends requires a few, and but a few, words of explanation. "There was," says Hume, "a silly story received among the lowest of the vulgar, that Edmond, earl of Lancaster, son of Henry the Third, was really the *elder* brother of Edward; but that by reason of some deformity in his person he had been postponed in the succession, and his younger brother imposed upon the nation in his stead. As the present duke of Lancaster inherited from Edmond, by his

mother, this genealogy made him the true heir of the monarchy, and it is therefore insinuated in his speech, but the absurdity was too gross to be openly avowed either by him or the parliament."

But if too gross for formal parliamentary use, it could scarcely be too gross for imposing upon the changeful, ignorant, and turbulent rabble and Henry of Lancaster was far too accomplished a demagogue to overlook the usefulness of a falsehood on account of its grossness.

The deposition of Richard rendered it necessary that the parliament should be dissolved; but in six days after that took place a new parliament was called by his usurping successor. This parliament gave a new proof of the absurdity of swearing the parliament and people to the perpetuity of laws; all the laws of Richard's former parliament, which had not only been sworn to but also confirmed by a papal bull, being now abrogated at one fell swoop! And to make the lesson still more striking and still more disgusting, all the acts of Gloucester's parliament which had been so solemnly abrogated, were now as solemnly confirmed! For accusing Gloucester, Warwick, and Arundel, many peers had been promoted; they were now on that account degraded! The recent practice had made appeals in parliament the rightful and solemn way of bringing high offenders to justice; such appeals were now abolished in favour of common law indictments. How could peaceable and steady conduct be expected from a people whose laws were thus perpetually subjected to chance and change, to the rise of this or to the fall of that party?

Henry of Lancaster, by due course of violence and fraud, of hyprocrisy and of perjury, having usurped the crown, the disposal of the person of the late king naturally became a question of some interest; and the earl of Northumberland, who had acted so treacherous a part, was deputed to ask the advice of the peers upon that point, and to inform them that the king had resolved to spare Richard's life. The peers were unanimously of opinion that Richard should be confined in some secure fortress, and prevented from having any communication with his friends. Pontefract castle was accordingly fixed upon as the deposed king's prison, and here he speedily died at the early age of thirty-four. That he was murdered no historian denies; but while some say that he was openly attacked by assassins who were admitted to his apartments, and that before he was dispatched he killed one of his assailants and nearly overpowered the rest; others say, that he was starved to death, and that his strong constitution inflicted upon him the unspeakable misery of living for a fortnight after his inhuman gaolers had ceased to supply him with any food; and this latter account is more likely to be the correct one, as his body, when exposed to public view, exhibited no marks of violence upon it. Whatever his fault, it is impossible to deny that he was most unjustly treated by the usurper Henry, and very basely abandoned by both houses and parliament; and his fate furnishes a new proof that the smallest tyrannies of a weak sovereign, in a rude and unlettered age, will provoke the most sanguinary vengeance at the hands of the very same men who will patiently and basely put up with the greatest and most insulting tyrannies at the hands of a king who has either wisdom or courage.

Apart from the sedition and violence of which we have already given a detailed account, the reign of the deposed and murdered Richard had but one circumstance worthy of especial remark; the commencement in England of the reform of the church. John Wickliffe, a secular priest of Oxford, and subsequently rector of Lutterworth, in Leicestershire, being a man of great learning and piety, and being unable by the most careful study of the scriptures to find any justification of the doctrine of the real presence, the supremacy of Rome, or the merit of vows of celibacy, felt himself bound to make public his opinion on these points, and to maintain "that the scriptures were the sole rule of faith; that the church was de-

pendant on the state and should be reformed by it; that the clergy ought to possess no estates; that the begging friars were a nuisance and ought not to be supported; that the numerous ceremonies of the church were hurtful to true piety; that oaths were unlawful, that dominion was founded in grace, that everything was subject to fate and destiny, and that all men were predestined to eternal salvation or reprobation."

It will be perceived from this summary that Wickliffe in some particulars went beyond the reformers of the sixteenth century; but drawing his opinions from the scriptures and the writings of the fathers, he, in the main, agrees with the more modern reformers who also sought truth in that same true source. Pope Gregory XI. issued a bull for the trial of Wickliffe as to the soundness of his opinions. The duke of Lancaster, who then, in consequence of Richard's minority, governed the kingdom, not only protected Wickliffe, but appeared in court with him, and ordered that he should be allowed to sit while being examined by Courtenay, bishop of London, to whom the pope's bull was directed. The populace at this time were much against Wickliffe, and would probably have proceeded to commit actual violence upon both him and his great protector but for the interference of the bishop. But Wickliffe's opinions being, for the most part, true, and being maintained by an extremely earnest as well as learned and pious man, soon made so much progress, that the university of Oxford neglected to act upon a second bull which the pope directed against the intrepid reformer; and even the populace learned to see so much soundness in his arguments, that when he was summoned before a synod at Lambeth, they broke into the palace and so alarmed the prelates who were opposed to him, that he was dismissed without censure. On subsequent occasions he was troubled for his opinions, but though he showed none of the stern and headlong courage of Luther in a later age, he did that which paved the way for it; being sufficiently tinctured with that enthusiasm necessary to unmask imposture, he gained the approbation of honest men; while he so skilfully explained and temporized, that he lived prosperously and died in peace at his rectory, in the year 1385; having set the example of deep and right thinking upon the important subjects of religion, but leaving it to a later generation to withstand the tyrannous assumptions of Rome even to the stake and the axe, the torture and the maddening gloom of the dungeon. The impunity of Wickliffe and his contemporary disciples must not, however, be wholly set down to the account of his and their prudent temporizing and skilful explanation. These, indeed, under all the circumstances greatly served them, but would have utterly failed to do so but that as yet there was no law by which the secular arm could be made to punish the heterodox; and Rome, partly from her own schisms and partly from the state of England, was just at this time in no condition to take those sweeping and stern measures which either in an earlier or later age, with the greater favour of the civil ruler, she would have proved herself abundantly willing to take. That the power and opportunity, rather than the will, were wanting on the part of Rome to suppress the Lollards—as Wickliffe's disciples were called—rests not merely upon speculation. Proof of that fact is afforded by an act which about four years before the death of Wickliffe the clergy surreptitiously got enrolled, though it never had the consent of the commons, by which act all sheriffs were bound to apprehend all preachers of heresy and their abettors. The fraud was discovered and complained of in the commons during the next session; and the clergy were thus deterred from making immediate use of their new and ill acquired power, though they contrived to prevent the formal repeal of the smuggled act.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE REIGN OF HENRY IV.

A.D. 1399.—However Henry IV. might gloss over the matter to the servile commons or to the profoundly ignorant rabble, he could not but be perfectly aware that he had no hereditary right; that his "right," in fact, was merely the right of a usurper who had paved the way to the throne by the grossest hypocrisy. And he must have constantly been tortured with doubts and anxieties, lest the ambition of some new usurper should be sanctioned as his own had been, by what artful demagogues facetiously call the "voice of the people," or lest some combination of the barons should pluck the stolen diadem from his brow, to place it on that of the heir of the house of Mortimer, whom parliament had formerly declared the heir to the crown. But Henry could lessen these cares and fears by reflecting that he had possession, and that possession was not so easily to be wrested from him by a future usurper, as it had been by himself from the weak and unskilled arm of Richard; while, even should the parliamentary decision in favour of the true heir be brought into play, it was not so difficult or uncommon a thing to alter the most solemn acts, even when passed amid oaths and supported by a bull! Moreover, as to the difficulty that might arise from the true heir, Henry probably placed his chief reliance here—that heir, then only seven years old, and his younger brother, were in Henry's own custody in the royal castle of Windsor.

A.D. 1400.—Had Henry been previously ignorant of the turbulent character of his barons, his very first parliament had furnished him with abundant information upon that score. Scarcely had the peers assembled when disputes ran so high among them, that not only was very "unparliamentary" language bandied about among them, even to the extent of giving each other the lie direct, and as directly charging each other with treason, but this language was supported by the throwing down, upon the floor of the house, of no fewer than forty gauntlets in token of their owners readiness to maintain their words in mortal combat. For the present the king had influence enough among those doughty peers to prevent them from coming into actual personal collision. But he was not able to prevent their quarrel from still rankling in their hearts, still less was he able to overpower the strong feeling of hatred which some of them cherished against his own power and person.

We spoke, a little while since, of the degredation by Henry's parliament of certain peers who had been raised by Richard's parliament, on account of the part they took at the time of the rebellion of the duke of Gloucester. The earls of Rutland, Kent, and Huntingdon, and the Lord Spencer, who were thus degraded, respectively from the titles of Albemarle, Surrey, Exeter, and Gloucester, the three first being dukedoms and the fourth an earldom, now entered into a conspiracy to seize the king at Windsor; and his deposition, if not his death, must infalliby have followed had they succeeded in the first part of their design. The earl of Salisbury and the Lord Lumley joined in this conspiracy, and the measures were so well taken that Henry's ruin would have been morally certain, but that Rutland, from compunction or some less creditable motive, gave the king timely notice and he suddenly withdrew from Windsor, where he was living comparatively unprotected, and reached London in private just as the conspirators arrived at Windsor with a party of five hundred cavalry. Before the baffled conspirators could recover from their surprise the king posted himself at Kingston-on-Thames, with cavalry and infantry, chiefly supplied by the city of London, to the number of twenty thousand. The conspirators had so entirely depended upon the effect of surprising the

king and making use of the possession of his person that they now saw that they had lost all in losing him, and they betook themselves to their respective counties to raise their friends and dependants. But the king had now all the advantage of being already in force, and strong detachments of his friends pursued the fugitives so hotly that they had not the chance of making any combined resistance. The earls of Kent and Salisbury were seized at Cirencester, in Gloucestershire, by the inhabitants of that place, and were beheaded on the following day; Spencer and Lumley were similarly disposed of by the men of Bristol; and the earls of Huntingdon, Sir Thomas Blount, Sir Benedict Sely, and several others who were made prisoners were subsequently put to death by Henry's own order. It gives us a positive loathing for the morality of that age when we read that on the quartered bodies of these persons being brought to London, the mangled and senseless remains were insulted by the loud and disgusting joy, not only of immense numbers of the rabble of the turbulent metropolis, but also by thirty-two mitred abbots and eighteen bishops, who thus set an example which—can we doubt it?—was only too faithfully followed by the inferior clergy. But the most disgusting as well as the most horrible part of this sad story still remains to be told. In this truly degrading procession the earl of Rutland made a conspicuous figure, not merely as being son and heir of the duke of York, as having aided in the murder of his uncle, the duke of Gloucester, as having deserted from Richard to Henry, and having conspired against the latter and betrayed to him the wretched men whose remains were now being brutally paraded before the eyes of the rabble; these distinctions were not enough for his evil ambition, and lest he should be overlooked in the bloody procession, he carried upon a pole the ghastly head of one of those victims whom he had first seduced and conspired with, and then betrayed—and that victim was the Lord Spencer, his own brother-in-law! Surely this man had successfully aimed at the sublimity of infamy!

A. D. 1401.—Politic in everything, and resolute to make everything as far as possible subservient to his safety and interest, Henry, who in his youth and while as yet a subject had been, as his father had, a favourer of the Lollards, now aided in their oppression, in order to conciliate the established clergy. And to all the other evil characteristics of this reign is to be added that of the originating in England of civil penal laws against the undefinable crime of heresy.

Lollardism, appealing to the simple common sense of the multitude, had by this time become very widely disseminated in England; and the clergy, to oppose the leading arguments of the detested heretics, and unpossessed of the power to silence those whom they could not confute, loudly demanded the aid of the civil power. Anxious to serve a vast and powerful body of men who in any great emergency would be so well able to serve him, Henry engaged the parliament to pass a bill, which provided that all relapsed heretics who should refuse to abjure their errors of faith when summoned before the bishop and his commissioners, should be delivered over to the civil authorities, who should publicly commit them to the flames. An atrocious use of the king's power; but every way worthy of the atocious hypocrisy and violence by which that power had been acquired.

When this act was passed with all the due forms, the clergy speedily afforded proof that they did not intend to allow it to remain a dead letter. William Sautre, a clergyman of London, was condemned as a relapsed heretic by the convocation of Canterbury, and being committed to the chastisement of the civil power, the king issued his writ, and the wretched man was burned to death. Great as all the other crimes of Henry were, they fall into comparative insignificance in comparison of this: that he was *the first, since the dark and cruel superstition of the Druids, who disgusted and*

horrified the inhabitants of England with the awful sight of a fellow-creature yielding up his breath amid the ineffable tortures of the sacrificial flames.

While Henry, conscious of the badness of his title, was thus endeavouring, by the most atrocious sacrifices to expediency, to strengthen himself in England, he, as far as possible, avoided the necessity of making any considerable exertion elsewhere. But even his consummate art could not wholly preserve him from the cares of war.

The king of France had too many causes of anxiety in his own kingdom to admit of his making, as both he and his friends were anxious to make, a descent upon England, and he was obliged to content himself with getting his daughter safely out of the hands of Henry. But the Gascons, among whom Richard was born, and who, in spite of his numerous and glaring faults, were passionately attached to his memory, refused to swear allegiance to his murderer; and had the king of France been able to send an army to their support, they would, beyond all doubt, have made an obstinate resistance. But Charles's own situation rendering him unable to assist them, the earl of Worcester, at the head of an English army, found no difficulty in bringing them to obedience; and they were the less inclined to make any new attempt at shaking off Henry's yoke, because he was in communion with the pope of Rome, whose zealous partizans they were; while France was in communion with the anti-pope, then resident of Avignon.

A sturdier and more formidable opponent of the usurper was found near home. Owain Glendwyr, the powerful chieftain of Wales, a lineal descendant of the ancient princes of that country, and greatly beloved on that account as well as for his remarkable personal courage, gave deep offence to Henry by the firm attachment which he displayed to the memory of the murdered Richard. Lord Gray, of Ruthyn, a confidential and unscrupulous friend of Henry, had a large possession in the Welsh marches; and well knowing that he should please Henry—perhaps even personally instigated by him—he forcibly entered Glendwyr's territory, and expelled him and his followers. The personal fame and the antique descent of Glendwyr enabled him easily and speedily to collect a sufficient force to oust the intruders, and Henry, as probably had been agreed, sent assistance to Lord Gray, whence a long and sanguinary war ensued.

The Welsh chieftain no longer combated merely his personal enemy, but made war without distinction upon all the English subjects in his neighbourhood, and among them upon the earl of Marche. Sir Edmund Mortimer, uncle of that nobleman, assembled the family retainers and endeavoured to make head against Glendwyr, but was defeated, and both he and the young earl, who, though only a youth, would go to the field, were taken prisoners.

Detesting the family of Mortimer in all its branches, Henry not only took no steps towards obtaining the release of the young earl, but even refused to grant the earnest intreaties of the earl of Northumberland to be permitted to do so, although the earl had so mainly contributed to Henry's own elevation, and was, besides, very nearly related to the young captive. But in point of ingratitude, as in point of hypocrisy, Henry stopped at no half measures; and having thus shown his sense of the earl's past service he very shortly afterwards made a new service the actual ground of new and even more directly insulting ingratitude.

The Scots, tempted by the occasion of so recent and flagrant an usurpation of the crown, made incursions into the northern counties of England, and Henry, attended by the most warlike of his nobles, marched in such force to Edinburgh, that the Scots, unable at that moment prudently to give him battle, retired to the mountains, as was ever their custom when they could not fight, yet would not resist. In this dilemma, with a foe which he could neither provoke into the field or terrify into a formal and

insincere submission, Henry issued a formal and pompous summons to Robert III. to come to him and do homage for his crown, and marched home and disbanded his army.

A. D. 1402.—Delivered from the immediate presence of their enemy, the Scots exerted themselves so well that Lord Douglas was now able to lead an army of twelve thousand men, officered by all the heads of the nobility, into England, where the usual devastation and plunder marked their presence. The earl of Northumberland and his gallant son collected a force and overtook the Scots at Holmedon, as they were returning home laden with booty. In the battle which ensued the Scots were completely routed, vast numbers of them were slain or taken prisoners, and among the latter were Lord Douglas himself, the earl of Fife, son of the duke of Albany and nephew of the king of Scotland, and the earls of Angus, Murray, and Orkney.

In that age the ransom of prisoners was a most important part of the profit of the warrior, whether officer or private. The noble who went to war for his sovereign not only ran the ordinary risks of the fight, but also, if taken prisoner, had to purchase his own release, often at a sum so vast as to entail comparative poverty upon his family for generations. Under such circumstances to interfere with him as to the ransom of his prisoners, when he was favoured by the fortune of war, was as scandalous a breach of faith as any other and more obvious invasion of his poperty; and this breach of faith, with the added infamy of extreme ingratitude, did Henry now commit, by sending a peremptory message to the Percies not to ransom their prisoners on any terms; the desire of the politic tyrant being to make the continued imprisonment of those noblemen a means of procuring advantageous terms from the kingdom of which they were the pride and ornament.

A. D. 1403.—Henry had probably reckoned on the continued faith of the earl of Northumberland, under any circumstances of provocation, from the unprincipled absence of all scruple which that nobleman had shown in aiding his usurpation. But the earl, besides that he himself smarted under the mingled insult and injury, was still farther prompted to vengeance by his son the younger Percy, better known as Harry Hotspur, and it was determined between them that an attempt should be made to hurl the ungrateful usurper from the throne to which they had so mainly contributed to raise him. Entering into a correspondence with Glendwyr, they agreed to join him in his opposition to Henry, and, still farther to strengthen themselves, gave Lord Douglas his liberty, and engaged that warlike noble to join them with all the Scottish force that they could command. Their own military retainers and friends were not a weak army; and so despotic was the power of the earl's family, and, at the same time, so implicit and undying was the attachment of its followers, that the very men who had formerly followed the earl for the purpose of placing Henry on the throne, now followed for the purpose of deposing him.

All the preparations being made, the earl's army was ready for action when it was deprived of its leader by a sudden illness which disabled the earl from moving. But young Henry Percy had the confidence of his troops in a degree not inferior to that in which it was enjoyed by the earl himself, and he marched towards Shrewsbury, where he was to be joined by Glendwyr.

Henry, who, whatever his crimes, was both brave and able, had just collected a force with a view to repelling or chastising the Scots, and by hurried marches he contrived to reach Shrewsbury before Glendwyr arrived to the support of Percy.

It was obviously the king's true policy to force Percy to an engagement before his expected allies could arrive, and the fierce and impatient temper of Henry Hotspur admirably seconded the king's wish.

As if fearful lest any motive should induce the king to decline the instant trial of their strength, Hotspur issued a manifesto, in which he urged every topic that was calculated to goad the king's conscience, or to wound his pride and lower his character. In the words of Hume, "He renounced his allegiance, set him at defiance, and in the name of his father and uncle as well as in his own, he enumerated all the grievances of which he pretended the nation had reason to complain. He upbraided him with the perjury of which he had been guilty, when, on landing at Ravenspur, he had sworn upon the gospels, before the earl of Northumberland, that he had no other intention than to recover the duchy of Lancaster, and that he would ever remain a faithful subject to King Richard. He aggravated his guilt in first dethroning and then murdering that prince, and in usurping the title of the house of Mortimer, to whom, both by lineal succession and by declarations of parliament, the throne, when vacant by Richard's demise, did of right belong. He complained of his cruel policy in allowing the young earl of Marche, whom he ought to regard as his sovereign, to remain a captive in the hands of his enemies, and in even refusing to all his friends permission to treat for his ransom. He charged him again with perjury in loading the nation with heavy taxes, after having sworn that, without the utmost necessity, he would never lay any impositions upon them; and he reproached him with the arts employed in procuring favourable elections into parliament; arts which he himself had before imputed as a crime to Richard, and which he had made one chief reason of that prince's arraignment and deposition."

The truths here collected tell very heavily against the character of Henry; but the reader must not omit to notice that in most of the crimes here laid to his charge the earl of Northumberland had been his zealous accomplice, and by his overgrown power had mainly enabled him to do those very things which he now charged against him as crimes, and which he so charged only because of their bitter personal feud. So rarely, so very rarely, do even the most patriotic enterprises take their rise solely in patriotic and pure feelings.

On the following morning the embattled hosts attacked each other, and rarely upon English ground has so sanguinary an action taken place. Douglas and young Percy, who had so often and so bravely opposed each other, now that they fought in the same ranks seemed to strive to outvie each other in deeds of daring and self exposure. Henry, on his side, with whom was the young prince of Wales, who now "fleshed his maiden sword," proved himself worthy of the usurped crown as far as valour and conduct were concerned. Yet, though he repeatedly charged where the battle was the fiercest and the slaughter the most terrible, he even on this occasion showed that he never allowed courage to leave policy altogether behind. Feeling sure that the hostile leaders would not fail to direct their especial exertions to slaying him or making him prisoner, he caused several of his officers to be dressed and armed in the royal guise; and this policy at once proved the correctness of his judgment, and, in all human probability, saved his life, for several of the seeming kings paid with their lives for their temporary disguise; the fierce Douglas roaming through the field, and slaying each that bore the royal semblance who had the misfortune to come within the sweep of his trenchant and unsparing blade. The slaughter was tremendous, but the victory was on the side of the king, the troops of Percy falling into complete and irremediable disorder through that gallant, though too impetuous leader being slain by some undistinguished hand. About four thousand soldiers perished on the side of Percy, and above half that number on the side of the king, while, including the loss of both armies, considerably more than two thousand nobles and gentlemen were slain. The earls of Worcester and Douglas were taken; the latter was treated with all the respect and kindness due to a distin-

guished prisoner of war, but the former, together with Sir Richard Vernon, was beheaded at Shrewsbury.

The earl of Northumberland, who by this time had recovered from his illness, had raised a small force and was advancing to the aid of his gallant son, when he was shocked and astounded by the disastrous tidings from Shrewsbury. Perceiving the impossibility, with all the force he could then command, of at that time making head against the king, he dismissed all his followers, except the retinue usual to men of his rank, proceeded to York, and presented himself to the king, to whom he boldly affirmed that his sole intention was to endeavour, by mediating between his son and the king, to prevent the effusion of blood which now unhappily had taken place. Henry, whose policy it was to evade war by every means in his power, pretended to be deceived, and a formal pardon was given to the earl.

A. D. 1405.—But the earl of Northumberland knew mankind in general, and Henry in particular, far too well to suppose that there was any reality in this very facile forgiveness; and he was confirmed in his own enmity not only by the loss of his brave son, but also by the conviction that he had been too iniquitously useful, and was too dangerously powerful, to allow of his ever being safe from Henry, should circumstances allow of that prince acting upon his real feelings. He now did what, had he done it previous to the battle of Shrewsbury, would most probably have given him a complete and comparatively easy victory over Henry. The earl of Nottingham, son of the duke of Norfolk, and the archbishop of York, brother of that earl of Wiltshire whom Henry, while still duke of Lancaster, had beheaded at Bristol, had never ceased to hate Henry. Whether from their own backwardness or from some unaccountable oversight on the part of the Percies, these two powerful personages had taken no part against the king at Shrewsbury, but they now very readily agreed to join with Northumberland in a new attempt to dethrone the usurper; but, as though the want of judgment on the part of the foes of Henry were always to stand him in as much stead as even his own profoundly artful policy, Nottingham and the archbishop took up arms before Northumberland had completed his preparations for joining them. They issued a manifesto, in which they descanted, though in temperate terms, upon Henry's usurpations, and demanded not only that sundry public grievances should be redressed, but also that the right line of succession should be restored. The earl of Westmoreland, who commanded the king's forces in their neighbourhood, finding himself too weak to allow of his prudently engaging them, had recourse to a stratagem so obvious that he could only have resorted to it on the assumption that he had to do with very simple persons, and one that in proving successful showed that assumption to be very correct.

Westmoreland desired a conference with Nottingham and the archbishop, listened with admirable gravity to all the complaints they had to make, begged them to suggest remedies, cordially assented to the propriety of all that they proposed, and closed the conference, by undertaking on the part of the king, that everything should be arranged to their entire satisfaction. It might be supposed that men of their rank, men, too, who had entered upon so perilous an undertaking, would have had their suspicions aroused by the very facility of the assent to their terms; and it is difficult, even with the well-authenticated account before us, to believe that so far from that being the case, they actually suspected nothing when Westmoreland proposed that, as all their terms had been agreed to, and there was no longer any feud between them and his royal master, both armies should be disbanded, that the country might be relieved from the very great burthen of having two such large and expensive bodies to support. But the earl and the archbishop, like the doomed men told of in tales of witchcraft, rushed upon their ruin with closed eyes. They disbanded their army, and Westmoreland pretended to disband his · but the instant that

his opponents were utterly powerless, Westmoreland's secret orders called his forces together again as if by magic, and Nottingham and the archbishop were made prisoners, and sent to the king, who was at that moment making forced marches towards them, in the expectation of having to oppose them in the field. The earl of Nottingham and the archbishop were both condemned and *both* executed; a new proof, as regards the archbishop, of the very limited extent to which Rome could at this time exert its formerly great power in England.

The earl of Northumberland, on learning this new calamity, which was chiefly attributable to the double folly of his friends in revolting before he could join them, and in listening to deceptions by which even children ought not to have been imposed upon, escaped into Scotland, accompanied by lord Bardolph; and Henry revenged himself upon them by seizing and dismantling all their fortresses. This done, Henry marched against Glendwyr, over whom the prince of Wales had obtained some advantages; but though Glendwyr was not in force to meet his enemies in the field, his mountain fastnesses and the incorruptible fidelity of his friends enabled him to escape from being captured.

A. D. 1407.—The earl of Northumberland and Lord Bardolph, more inveterate than ever against Henry, since he had dismantled their castles, entered the north of England with but a slender retinue, in the hope that sympathy with them and hatred of the king would cause the people to flock to their standard. But if Henry's crimes had made him hated, his success had made him feared; the attempt was unsuccessful, and the sheriff of York, Sir Thomas Rokeby, having got together a force, suddenly attacked the outlawed nobles, both of whom perished in the battle. To complete Henry's good fortune and wholly free him from his domestic enemies, the formidable Glendwyr soon after died.

Fortune served Henry in Scotland as it already had served him in England. Robert III., a mild and incapable sovereign, allowed his brother, the duke of Albany, completely to usurp his authority; Albany, tyrannical and ambitious, threw his elder nephew, David, the heir apparent to the throne, into prison, where he was starved to death. Robert's youngest son, James, who alone now stood between Albany and that throne for which he had already committed so awful a crime, was sent by his alarmed father for safety to France, but the vessel in which he sailed was captured by the English, and the prince was carried to London. There was at the time a truce between England and Scotland, notwithstanding which Henry would not part with his young prisoner; and this virtual loss of his only remaining child completely broke the heart of the unfortunate Robert, who shortly afterwards died. Henry now had a most stringent power over Albany, who governed Scotland as regent; for he could continue the duke in that high office by detaining young James, while, upon the slightest breach of peace on the duke's side, Henry could at once ruin him and gain the friendship of the Scots by restoring them their rightful king.

In the wars which occurred among the French factions during the latter part of this reign Henry took but little part, and nothing that his troops did in that country was of sufficient importance to merit any detailed mention.

It must not be supposed that the king, though outwardly thus prosperous, enjoyed his usurped dignity without any drawbacks. His mental sufferings are described to have been tremendous; the greatest success could not fortify his mind against a harrowing dread of future misfortune, and even while he was preparing for new crimes by which to support his throne, he was haunted by remorse for the old ones by which he had acquired it. This perpetual misery at length wholly deprived him of his reason, and he died the victim of crime and remorse, a worn out man,

while yet as to age only in the very prime of life, on the 20th of March, 1413, in the thirteenth year of his reign and in the forty-sixth of his age.

Of this reign little need be said in the way of summary. Ill acquired as was Henry's authority, he showed himself so able to wield it, that had he been a legitimate sovereign his reign would undoubtedly have been one of the most glorious in our history.

The parliament, profiting by the defect of the king's title, made considerable advances in authority in this reign; but though Henry was politic enough to yield in matters of little moment, he also knew how to refuse when refusal was necessary to prevent encroachment from going further. Thus on one occasion he dismissed four persons from his household, including his confessor, at the demand of the commons; while on another, he replied to the demand of the commons for greater lenity to the Lollards, by ordering a Lollard to be burned before the close of the session!

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE REIGN OF HENRY V.

A. D. 1413.—Though the bad title of Henry IV., and the care with which his father's jealous suspicions during the latter years of his reign had caused him to exclude his son from any share in the civil government seemed to give the young prince but little opportunity of easily ascending the throne, he had the very great advantage of being popular. The courage and conduct which he had shown in military affairs, so far as his father had allowed him to act in them, and a certain chivalric and fantastic generosity, had not only caused the people to set at least a full value upon what he did of good, but also to excuse, as the mere "flash and outbreak of a fiery mind," irregularities which would have excited their utmost indignation against a prince of a more sullen and less generous temper.

Looked upon with jealousy by his father, and discouraged, or rather prevented, from mixing with the statesmen of the day and sharing in the cares of government, the mercurial temper of the young prince caused him to seek pleasure and companionship out of his proper sphere, and to make himself talked of among his future subjects for many frolics, which in any other person would have been treated as crimes of no ordinary magnitude. He not only rioted and drank with men of bad repute and broken fortune, but it is even said that on more than one occasion he joined them in laying the wealthy passenger under contribution on the highway. Shakspeare, who in this as in many other cases has painted faithfully, makes Falstaff exclaim to this young prince—"Rob me the exchequer, Hal!" but the prince, if historians speak the truth, took the liberty to rob the subject ere his coin could find its way to the exchequer. Such a course was but ill adapted to reconcile the nation to the bad title upon which Henry V. now ascended the throne, or to give them hope that the laws would be well administered under his government. But as his generous and gay nature had reconciled them to the faults of the youthful prince, so now, young as he still was, the wisdom and propriety of his very first act gave them reason to think hopefully of him as their king.

On one of the many occasions in which Prince Henry's turbulent companions had disturbed the public peace, certain of them were indicted for their misconduct, and the Prince Henry attended their trial in the court of King's Bench. Perceiving that the lord chief-justice, Gascoigne, was not overawed by the presence of the heir apparent, Prince Henry was guilty of some interruption, for which the chief-justice at once ordered him to be taken to prison. It may be doubted whether some of the

"courage" and "uprightness" which historians so emphatically attribute to the lord chief-justice, on account of this affair, did not originate in the knowledge that the king would be rather pleased than angry at any mortification inflicted upon the popular heir apparent. At all events, however, we must admit that Gascoigne at least showed that he did not calculate, as many more eminent men have done, the future consequences of his present performance of his duty.

On the accession of Henry V., Gascoigne waited upon him with every expectation of receiving the plainest discouragement; but the king, so far from showing himself offended at the past, made it the especial subject of his commendation, and exhorted the chief-justice to continue still to administer the laws faithfully and fearlessly, without reference to the rank of the offender. To the grave and wise ministers who had ably served his father the young king gave a like gracious reception; and sending for the former companions of his dissolute youth, he made them liberal presents, assured them of his intention wholly to reform his way of life, and forbade their ever again approaching his presence, until they should have followed his present example, as they had participated and encouraged his former vice.

Most men were greatly surprised at this wise conduct, and all were gladdened by it; and probably none were more completely in either of these categories than the ministers who, at the very time that they imagined they were earning the prince's bitter enmity by their discouragement of his youthful levities, were, in fact, securing both his esteem and his confidence.

Henry's prudence and justice were not manifested merely in thus making amends for his own early follies. Deeply conscious that his father had wrongfully acquired that throne which he himself had too much ambition to give up, he endeavoured, in all *but* giving it up, to do all that he could towards repairing the wrongs committed by his father. He caused the memory of the murdered Richard to be honoured with the most solemn and splendid obsequies that could have been bestowed upon a potent sovereign newly deceased, and he set at liberty the young earl of Marche, of whom his father had been so extremely jealous, and showed him every kindness. The young earl, who was of an extremely mild temper and who seemed to have had no particle of ambition, appeared fully sensible of Henry's kindness, and not only would never make any attempt to disturb his government, but showed himself strongly and sincerely attached to his person. As if anxious to leave no token existing of the sad tumults of the last reign, Henry also restored the Percy family to their honours and property; and by this and numerous other acts indicative of his determination to forget all party distinctions, caused all parties to be too much delighted with his use of power to have either leisure or inclination to inquire how he became possessed of it.

But party spirit could not be wholly eradicated from the popular heart even by the personal exhortations and example of the king himself. The horrible punishments which in the recent reign were for the first time in England inflicted upon heretics, though it might have awed many who would otherwise have continued to be Lollards, far more certainly made many such, who, but for this terrible advertisement, would have gone to their graves in ignorance of the very existence of Lollardism. The public attention was roused and fixed by these brutal executions; discussion and inquiry followed, and by degrees the country became divided into two parties, the friends of Rome and the Lollards; and if the latter were by far inferior to the former in number, they were already sufficiently numerous to cause great annoyance to the clergy and some anxiety even to the civil power.

By far the most eminent man among the Lollards at this time was Lord

Cobham, who, both under that title and as Sir John Oldcastle, had done good service to the nation, and had been honoured with the notice and approbation of both the late and the present king. The very excellence of his character and the extent of his abilities made his sectarianism the more offensive to the church; and as it was deemed that the increasing number of the Lollards required to be checked by some especially striking example, Lord Cobham was selected as the victim, and the archbishop of Canterbury, Arundel, applied to Henry for permission to indict Cobham.

Henry, who seems to have been better aware than the bigoted archbishop of the real effects of persecution in matters of faith, was extremely unwilling to consent to a prosecution which, he judged, would but too surely end in Cobham's destruction; and the archbishop was forbidden to take any steps until Henry himself should have endeavoured, by force of argument alone, to lead Cobham back to the church from which he had departed. Henry accordingly sent for Lord Cobham to court, and endeavoured to convince him of his error; but Cobham was fully equal to Henry in the use of intellectual weapons, and was not, upon so important a topic, at all inclined to sacrifice truth to complaisance and etiquette. Finding it in vain to endeavour to convert this unfortunate nobleman, Henry, with seemingly sincere regret, was obliged to give the clergy their required permission to indict him. The archbishop, assisted by the bishops of London, Winchester, and St. David's, proceeded against him, and he was condemned to be burned. He was sent to the Tower, and a day was appointed for his execution, but before that day arrived he managed to escape from his gaolers. Naturally of a fierce and somewhat haughty spirit, the treatment he had received and the danger from which he had so narrowly escaped excited him to so high a pitch of anger and resolution, that he determined to aim at a general revolution of the kingdom. And accordingly, from the obscure retreat in which he found shelter, he issued orders to the Lollards upon whom he could most depend, to join him upon a certain day, that they might in the first place seize upon the person of the king, who was at that time lodging in the palace of Eltham, in Kent, and then take summary vengeance upon the chiefs of their persecutors.

A. D. 1414.—As Cobham was very highly esteemed among the Lollards, and as they were not only very numerous but also included a great number of wealthy and respectable persons, the king, who was informed of what was in contemplation, deemed it necessary not only to guard himself against the intended surprise, but also to prepare to resist open insurrection. He accordingly removed to the palace at Westminster, and prepared himself for whatever force Cobham might be able to bring. Even now Cobham had ample opportunity to abandon his design, which became hopeless from the moment it became known, and to escape from the kingdom. But he seems to have been of a temper which difficulty and danger might enrage but could not intimidate, and he assembled all the forces he could raise in the fields of St. Giles. Being made acquainted with the appointed time as well as place of meeting, the king caused the gates of the city to be closed, to prevent the discontented from getting an increase to their numbers from that quarter; he then went, well attended, to St. Giles, and seized those of the leaders who had already arrived, while the military, skilfully stationed, arrested all who were found hastening to the spot. It appeared that, as is usual in such cases, the greater number of the prisoners knew little or nothing of the real designs of their leaders, though of the criminal and treasonable designs of the latter there remained no shadow of doubt. Those who were proved to have treasonable designs were executed, but by far the greater number were pardoned. He whom the clergy were the most anxious to punish, and who, indeed, was now not much less obnoxious to the civil than to the ecclesiastical autho

rity, the Lord Cobham himself, was fortunate enough to escape. But sentence was pronounced against him, *par contumace*, as a traitor and a relapsed and incorrigible heretic; and being apprehended about four years afterwards, he was hanged for his participation in treason against the king, and his body was burned in pursuance of the sentence passed against him for heresy.

The severity with which the leaders in this crude and ill-planned revolt were treated, and the advantage which the circumstances of it gave the clergy, in being able to connect heresy and treason as offences coupled by necessity and naturally springing the one from the other, had a very sensible effect in checking the progress of Lollardy; but not so much on account of the terror attached to the punishment, as the disgrace and contempt which seemed everywhere to attach to the crime. Very wisely the clergy and the civil authorities appeared at this time to treat the Lollards, associated as they had confessedly been with the civil disturbances of Cobham, not so much as heretics as partly heretics and partly loose fellows who were desirous of causing public disturbance for the better accomplishment of their own private ends; a mode of treating the case the best possible for making it intolerable in the eyes of all decent people, and for depriving such people of all curiosity as to its doctrinal peculiarities. Happy had it been for mankind if ridicule had ever been the substitute for persecution! Truth, indeed, would overcome the former as it has the latter; but what pangs would have been spared to some of the combatants—what dark and undying infamy to others! Nor was it merely among the unreflecting multitude, and those who, simply with reference to their worldly possessions, were unwilling to countenance those whose opinions and practices were likely to disturb the public peace and put wealth in peril, that the exploded plot of Cobham caused a distaste for Lollardism. The parliament met just after the dispersion of Cobham's adherents, and one of its first acts was levelled against heretics. This act provided that all persons who were convicted of Lollardy should not only be capitally punished, as was provided for by the former act, but should also forfeit all their lands and goods whatever to the king; and that the chancellor, treasurer, the justices of the peace, and chief magistrates of all cities and boroughs, should be sworn to use their utmost pains and diligence in the extirpation of heresy.

That the Lollards were feared and detested, less on account of their religious heresy than as civil disturbers, appears from the contrast between the act thus providing, and the subsequent coolness with which the same parliament, on the king demanding a supply, begged him, instead of putting them to the task of imposing a tax upon the people, to take possession of the ecclesiastical revenues and convert them to the use of the crown. The renewal of this proposition, which had formerly been made to Henry's father, threw the clergy into alarm. To turn the king's attention from the proposed wholesale spoliation of the church, they endeavoured at once to supply his more pressing and immediate wants, and to conciliate his personal favour, by voluntarily conferring upon him the valuable alien priories which were dependent upon chief abbeys in Normandy, and had been bequeathed to those abbeys while England and Normandy were still united under the crown of England. Still further to turn the attention of the king from a proposal which was so pregnant with alarm and danger to the clergy, Chichely, the then archbishop of Canterbury, endeavoured to engage the king in a war with France.

A. D. 1415.—In this design of the archbishop—a design, be it parenthetically said, which was much more politic than either humane or Christian—he was considerably aided by the dying injunctions of Henry IV., who had warned his son, if he could at all plausibly engage the English people in war, never to allow them to remain at peace, which would infallibly

turn their inclinations towards domestic dissensions. The kingdom of France had now for a long time been plunged in the utmost confusion and discord, and the various parties had been guilty of cruelties and outrages, disgraceful not merely to themselves but even to our common nature. The state of that kingdom was consequently at this time such as to hold out advantages to Henry, which were well calculated to give force to the advice of Chichely and the dying request of Henry IV. But just as Henry, who did not want for either ambition or a warlike spirit, was preparing and meditating an attack upon the neighbouring and rival kingdom, his attention was for the moment arrested by the discovery of a dangerous and extensive conspiracy at home.

As we have already said, the young earl of Marche was so sensible of the kindness shown to him by the present king at the commencement of his reign, that he seemed to have no desire ever to give any disturbance to his government. But the earl's sister was married to the earl of Cambridge, second son to the deceased duke of York, and he thus, not unnaturally, became anxiously concerned for the rights and interests of a family with which he had himself become so intimately connected.—Deeming it possible to recover the crown for that family, he took pains to acquire partizans, and addressed himself, among others, to Lord Scrope of Masham, and to Sir Thomas Grey of Heaton. Whether from treachery or from want of sufficient caution on the part of the earl of Cambridge, the conspiracy became known to the king before it had gone beyond the mere preliminaries; but the conspirators upon being seized made such ample disclosures of their ultimate designs, as both enabled the king to order their trial, and fully warranted him in so doing. They were in the first instance tried by a jury of commoners, and condemned upon the testimony of the constable of Southampton castle, who swore that the prisoners had confessed their guilt to him; but they afterwards pleaded, and were allowed their privilege as peers. But though Henry had hitherto shown so much inclination to moderation, he on this occasion evinced no desire to depart from the arbitrary practices of the kings of that age. A court of eighteen barons was summoned and presided over by the duke of Clarence; before this court the single testimony that had been given before the common jury was read, and without further evidence or nearer approach to even the form of a trial, these two prisoners, one of them a prince of the blood, were condemned to death without being heard in their own defence, or even being produced in court, and were executed accordingly!

This ill-digested and unsuccessful attempt of his brother-*in*-law put the young earl of Marche in considerable peril. As it was, nominally, on his account that the war was to have been levied against the king, he was accused of having at least consented to the conspiracy; but the constant attachment he had shown to Henry had probably gained him a strong personal interest with that monarch, who freed him from all further peril on account of this affair by giving him a general pardon for all offences.

As soon as the excitement consequent upon this conspiracy had somewhat passed away, Henry again turned his attention towards France.

The duke of Burgundy, who had been expelled from France by a combination of the usually jarring powers of that country, had been in such correspondence with Henry, that the latter prince felt quite secure of the duke's aid whenever an English army should appear to claim it; and therefore, without making any precise arrangements with the duke, and indeed without even coming to any positive agreement with him, Henry, on the 14th of August in this year, put to sea and landed safely in Normandy, with about twenty-four thousand infantry, chiefly consisting of archers, and six thousand men-at-arms.

Harfleur had for its governor D'Estouteville, under whose comman

were De Guitri, De Gaucourt, and other eminent French soldiers. Henry laid immediate siege to the place, but was so stoutly and successfully resisted, that, between the excessive fatigue and the more than usual heat of the weather, his men suffered dreadfully, and were alarmingly thinned by fever and other sicknesses. But, in spite of all losses and discouragements, Henry gallantly persevered; and the French were so much straitened, that they were obliged to promise that if no relief were afforded them by the 18th of September, they would evacuate the place. No signs of relief appearing on that day, the English were admitted; but so much was the army thinned, and in so sickly a condition were the majority of the survivors, that Henry, far from having any encouragement to follow up this success by some new enterprise, was advised by all about him to turn his attention to getting the skeleton of his army in safety back to England. Even this was no easy or safe matter. On his first landing he had so little anticipated the havoc which fatigue and sickness had made in his army, that he had incautiously dismissed his transports; and he now lay under the necessity of marching by land to Calais, ere he could place his troops out of danger, and that, too, in the face of an army of fourteen thousand men-at-arms and forty thousand foot, assembled in Normandy under the command of the constable D'Albret. The French force so tremendously outnumbering that of Henry, he very prudently offered to sacrifice his recent conquest of Harfleur, at the price of being allowed to pass unmolested to Calais; but the French, confident in their superiority, rejected his proposal. Henry, therefore, in order equally to avoid discouragement to his own troops and encouragement to the French, retreated by easy marches to the Somme, where he hoped to pass the ford at Blanquetagne, as Edward had escaped from Philip de Valois under very similar circumstances; but he found that the French had taken the precaution to render the ford impassable, besides lining the opposite bank with a strong body of troops, and he was obliged to seek a passage higher up the river. Scarcely anything could exceed the distress of Henry's present situation. His troops were fast perishing with continual fatigue and the prevalent sickness; he could procure no provisions, owing to the activity of the French; and everywhere he found himself confronted by numerous enemies, ready to fall upon him the instant he should cross the river. But under all these circumstances Henry preserved his courage and presence of mind; and a ford near St. Quentin being but slenderly guarded, he surprised the enemy there, and led his army over in safety.

Henry now hastened towards Calais, but in passing the little river of Ternois, at Blangi, he had the mortification to perceive the main body of the French drawn up and awaiting him in the extensive plains of Agincourt. To reach Calais without an action was now evidently impossible, the French were to the English as four to one, besides being free from sickness, and abundantly supplied with provisions; in a word, Henry was now in fully as dangerous a position as that of Edward at Cressy, or the heroic Black Prince at Poitiers. Situated as they had been, he resolved to imitate their plan of battle, and he awaited the attack of the enemy on a narrow land closely flanked by a wood on either side. With their advantage in numbers and facilities of obtaining provisions, the French ought clearly to have remained obstinately on the defensive, until the English should by absolute famine be obliged to advance from their favourable position; a position which, to a very great extent, gave the advantage to the side having the smaller number of men to manœuvre. But their very superiority in numbers deprived the French of all prudence, and they pressed forward as if to crush the English by their mere weight. The mounted archers and men-at-arms rushed in crowded ranks upon the English, who, defended by palisadoes, and free from the crowding which embarrassed the actions and distracted the attention of the enemy, plied

them with a deadly and incessant shower of shafts and bolts. The heavy land, rendered still more difficult and tenacious by recent rain, was highly disadvantageous to the French cavalry, who were soon still farther incommoded in their movements by the innumerable dead and dying men and horses with which the English archers strewed the narrow ground

When the disorder of the enemy was at its height, Henry gave orders to the English to advance with their pikes and battle-axes; and the men-at-arms following them, the confused and pent-up multitude fell in crowds, without even the possibility of resistance. The panic of the enemy speedily led to a general rout, with the sole exception of the French rear-guard, which still maintained itself in line of battle upon the open plain. This also was speedily cut to pieces; and just as the action closed completely in favour of the English, an incident occurred which caused the loss of the French to be far more numerous in killed than it otherwise would have been. A mob of a few peasants, led on by some gentlemen in Picardy, had fallen upon the unarmed followers of the English camp with the design of seizing upon the baggage; and the alarm and outcry thus caused leading Henry to imagine that his numerous prisoners were dangerous, he hastily gave orders for them to be put to the sword; upon which a terrible slaughter of these unhappy men took place before he discovered his mistake, and revoked an order so sanguinary and so contrary to the laws of war.

In this short but most decisive action the French lost ten thousand killed, of whom eight thousand were cavalry, and fourteen thousand prisoners; the former included the constable d'Albret, the count of Nevers, the duke of Brabant, the duke of Alençon, the duke of Barre, the count of Vaudemont, and the count of Marle; while among the prisoners were the duke of Bourbon, the duke of Orleans, the mareschal Boucicaut, and the counts d'Eu, Vendome, and Richemont. The English loss, though considerable, was small compared to that of the enemy, and the chief Englishman of note that was slain was the duke of York. As if fully satisfied with his victory, and intent only on regaining his native land, Henry immediately continued his march to Calais, whence he embarked with his prisoners for England; and he even granted the French a truce for two years, without insisting upon any corresponding concession on their part.

A. D. 1418.—The intestine disputes of France still continued to rage most furiously; not only were the duke of Burgundy and the French court fiercely warring upon each other, but continued feuds, scarcely less violent, and no less bitter, raged among the various members of the royal family. This state of things encouraged Henry to make a new and stronger attempt upon France; and he landed in Normandy at the head of an army of twenty-five thousand men, without encountering the slightest opposition. He took Falaise; Evreux and Caen immediately surrendered to him, and Pont de l'Arche quickly afterwards opened its gates. Having subdued all Lower Normandy, and received from England a reinforcement of fifteen thousand men, Henry proceeded to lay siege to Rouen. While thus engaged he was visited by the cardinal des Ursins, who tried to persuade him to afford a chance of peace to France by moderating his pretensions. But Henry, bent upon obtaining the sovereignty of that kingdom, and well aware of the advantage he derived, not only from his own strength, but also from the dissensions of the French, calmly replied, "Do you not perceive that God has led me as by the hand? France has no sovereign; I have just pretensions to that kingdom; everything here is in the utmost confusion, and no one thinks of resisting me. Can I have a more sensible proof that the Being who disposes of empires has determined to put the crown of France upon my head?"

But while Henry expressed this confidence, and made every effort and preparation to carry his designs into execution by force, he at the same time carried on negotiations for a peaceful settlement, on the one hand with the queen and duke of Burgundy—who had the semblance, at least of the only legal authority in the kingdom, inasmuch as they had the custody of the king's person—and with the dauphin, on the other hand, who had all the popular favour on his side, and was, besides, the undoubted heir to the monarchy.

It is unnecessary here, indeed it would be out of place, to do more than merely to allude to the distractions of which France was now and for a long time had been the prey. Suffice it to say, that the disputes of the rival parties were so wholly and intensely selfish, that either of them, but especially the queen's party, seems to have considered the interests of the nation as nothing in comparison with even temporary personal emoluments. Taking advantage of this temper of the antagonist parties, Henry offered to make peace with them on the condition of their giving him the princess Catharine in marriage, and with her, in full sovereignty, Normandy and all the provinces which were ceded to Edward III. by the treaty of Bretigni; and these terms, so obviously injurious to the power of France, were agreed to.

A. D. 1419.—While Henry was attending to some minor circumstances, the adjustment of which alone was waited for ere the treaty above described should be carried into effect, the duke of Burgundy, who had been carrying on a secret negotiation with the dauphin, formed a treaty with that prince, by which it was agreed between them that they should divide the royal authority as long as King Charles should survive, and that they should join their efforts to expel all intruders from the kingdom. An interview was appointed to take place between them; but as the duke of Burgundy had, by his own avowal, been the assassin of the late duke of Orleans, and had thus by his own act sanctioned any treacherous attempt that might be made upon his life, and had at the same time given everyone reason to refuse to put any confidence in his honour, the most minute precautions were taken to guard against treachery on either side. But all these precautions were taken in vain. Several of the retainers of the dauphin, who had also been attached to the late duke of Orleans, suddenly attacked Burgundy with their drawn swords, and despatched him before any of his friends could interfere to save him.

This murder created so much rage and confusion in France, and all parties, though from widely different motives, were so much excited by it, that all thought or care for preserving the nation from foreign domination was lost sight of; the views of Henry were thus most importantly forwarded, through an accident arising out of that very interview by which it was intended wholly to destroy his chances of success.

Besides the advantage which Henry derived from the new state of confusion and turmoil into which France was thrown by this event, he gained from it an extremely powerful ally in the person of the new duke of Burgundy, who, stipulating only for vengeance upon the murderers of his father, and the marriage of his sister with the duke of Bedford, agreed to lend Henry whatever aid he might require, without inquiry or care as to the evil it might eventually entail upon the nation. Henry had already made immense progress in arms. Rouen, though most gallantly defended by a garrison of four thousand men, who were zealously aided by fifteen thousand of the citizens, had at length been taken, as had Pontoise and Gisors with less difficulty; and so closely did he threaten Paris itself, that the court had removed in alarm to Troyes.

A. D. 1420.—When the negotiations between the Duke of Burgundy and Henry had arrived at this point, Henry, accompanied by his brothers, the Duke of Clarence and Gloucester, proceeded to Troyes to finish the

treaty, nominally with Charles, but in reality with the duke of Burgundy; for the unhappy Charles was in so completely imbecile a condition, that he was at best but a mere puppet in the hands of whoever had for the time the charge of his person.

The chief provisions of this treaty, in which the honour and interests of the nation were accounted as nothing, were as follows: Henry was to marry the princess Catharine; Charles was to enjoy the title and dignity of king during his life, but Henry was to be his heir, and was also to be entrusted with the immediate administration of the affairs of the kingdom, which was to pass to his heirs in common with England, with which kingdom it was to be united under him, though each kingdom should internally retain its own customs, privileges, and usages; all the French princes, peers, communities, and vassals were to swear to obey Henry as regent, and in due time adhere to his succession as king; Henry was to unite with Charles and the duke of Burgundy in chasing the dauphin from the kingdom; and no one of the members of this tripartite league was to make peace with him, except with the consent of the other two. A treaty more scandalous to all parties it would be difficult to imagine. Even as regarded England, Henry was king only by succession to an usurper; and his claim to France, even on that ground alone would have been scouted by the duke of Burgundy, had patriotism not been entirely banished from his breast by passion and personal interest.

But interest, and interest alone, was attended to by the parties concerned in this very singular treaty, which was drawn, signed, and ratified with as little scruple on the side of Burgundy, as though there had been no other object in view than the mere gratification and aggrandizement of Henry. A few days after the signing of the treaty, this prince espoused the princess Catharine, and with her and her father proceeded to Paris. Possessed of the capital, he had but little difficulty in procuring from the parliament and the three estates a full and formal ratification of that treaty, in every line of which their degradation was visibly written.

The dauphin now assumed the style of regent of the kingdom, appealed to God to witness the justice of his cause, and prepared to defend it in arms, and Henry proceeded to oppose him. He first laid siege to Sens, which after a very slight resistance surrendered to him, and Montereau was subdued with no less ease. Henry now proceeded to Melun, but here he met with a stouter resistance, the governor, Barbasan, repelling every effort he could make for above four months; and even at the end of that time the brave governor was only induced to treat for surrrender by the absolute state of famine to which the garrison was reduced. Henry was now obliged to visit England for the purpose of obtaining both men and money, and during his absence he left his uncle the duke of Exeter in the post of governor of Paris.

By this time the English, however much they were dazzled and flattered by the talents and success of their king, seem to have begun to take something like a correct view of the possible ultimate consequence to them and to their posterity, of the proposed union of the two crowns; and the parliament voted him a subsidy of only a fifteenth, which would have been quite inadequate to his necessities, but that the French territory he had conquered served for the maintenance of his troops. Having got together, with the subsidy thus voted to him, a new army of twenty-four thousand archers, and four thousand cavalry, he embarked at Dover and safely reached Paris, where everything had remained in perfect tranquillity under the government of his uncle.

But during the absence of Henry the English had received a very severe check in Anjou. A Scotch brigade of seven thousand men had long been in the dauphin's service, sent thither by the regent of Scotland. Henry had taken the young king of Scotland, who had so long been in captivity,

to France, and caused him to issue orders for all Scots to leave the dauphin's service. But the earl of Buchan, who commanded the Scots, replied, that his king while in captivity could not issue orders—at all events could not expect him to obey them. This gallant and well-disciplined body of troops now encountered the English detachment under the command of the duke of Clarence. That prince was slain in the action by a Scottish knight named Allan Swinton; the earls of Somerset, Huntingdon, and Dorset were taken prisoners, and the English were completely routed, to the great joy of the dauphin, who rewarded the earl of Buchan with the office of constable.

Henry's return, however, soon damped the new-born joy of the dauphin, who was besieging Chartres, whither Henry marched, and compelled him to raise the siege without a struggle. From Chartres Henry marched to Dreux, which also surrendered without resistance, and then proceeded to lay siege to Meaux, the garrison of which had greatly annoyed the Parisians. Here the English were resisted with great skill and courage for eight months, by the governor Vaurus. At the end of that time the place was taken and it was probably in reality on account of the obstinate resistance that he had met with, but professedly for the cruelty which Vaurus had undoubtedly shown to his prisoners, English as well as Burgundian, that Henry ordered him to be hanged upon the same gibbet upon which he had caused so many brave men to be executed.

The capture of Meaux led to the surrender of other places in the neighbourhood that until then had obstinately held out; and the dauphin, unable to resist the united power of the English and Burgundians, was driven beyond the Loire, and compelled to abandon nearly all the northern provinces; while the son of whom Henry's queen was just now delivered was as enthusiastically hailed at Paris as at London, as the future king of both nations.

Singularly handsome and vigorous in person, and having not yet nearly reached middle age, Henry might have been expected to have very many years of glory and triumph yet before him. But he was afflicted with a fistula, a disease with which the rude surgery of that age knew not how to deal; and he, the powerful and ambitious, the envied and successful, king found himself hurrying to the grave by the rapid progress of a disease, from which in our own time the poorest peasant would be relieved

Conscious of his approaching end, he gave a new proof of "the ruling passion strong in death." Sending for his brother, the duke of Bedford, the earl of Warwick, and some other noblemen who stood high in his esteem, he with great calmness delivered to them his last will as it affected both the kingdom and his family. Professing to view his approaching death without any other regret than that which arose from his leaving his great object incomplete, he assured them that they could not fail of success by the exertion of their known prudence and valour. He appointed Bedford regent of France, his younger brother, the duke of Gloucester, regent of England, and to the earl of Warwick he committed the government and protection of his infant son. He at the same time most urgently enjoined these friends on no consideration to give freedom to the French princes taken at Agincourt, until his son should be of an age to govern for himself; carefully to preserve the friendship of the duke of Burgundy; to exert every means to secure the throne of France to their infant king; and, failing success in that particular, never to make peace with France unless on condition of the permanent annexation of Normandy to the crown of England.

Apart from his ambition, and the violent injustice which necessarily resulted from it, this prince was in very many respects deserving of the high popularity which throughout his life he enjoyed in England, and which he no less enjoyed in France subsequent to his marriage with the princess

Catharine. His civil rule was firm and productive of excellent order without being harshly severe; and in the uniform kindness and confidence which he bestowed upon the earl of Marche, who beyond all question had the preferable title to the crown, betokened no common magnanimity. Henry, who died in 1422, aged only thirty-four, left but one child, young Henry, then only nine months old; and the queen Catharine, rather sooner after the death of her husband than was strictly becoming, gave her hand in second marriage to Sir Owen Tudor, a private gentleman, who, however, claimed to be descended from the ancient Welsh princes; to him she bore two sons, the elder of whom was created earl of Richmond, the younger earl of Pembroke; and the earl of Richmond subsequently became king of England, as we shall hereafter have to relate.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE REIGN OF HENRY VI.

A. D. 1422.—We had occasion to remark, under the head of Henry IV., that the usurpation of that prince gave a great and manifest impetus to the power of the parliament. A new proof was now afforded of the extent to which that power had increased. Scarcely any attention was paid to the instructions given by Henry V. on his death bed; and the parliament proceeded to make arrangements in accordance rather with its own views than with those of the deceased monarch, with respect to both the kingdom and the young king.

They altogether set aside, as to the former, the title of regent, and appointed the duke of Bedford, and, during any absence of his, the duke of Gloucester, to act as protector or guardian of the kingdom; evidently placing a peculiar value on this distinction of terms, though to all practical purposes it necessarily was a mere distinction without a difference. They showed, however, a more practical judgment in preventing, or, at the least, in anticipating, any undue stretch of authority on the part of either of the royal personages, by appointing a council whose advice and approbation were necessary to the legalising of all important measures.

They next proceeded to show an equal disregard to the wishes of the deceased monarch, as related to the custody and government of his infant son, when they committed him to the care of Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, a natural but legitimate son of John of Guant, duke of Lancaster; an arrangement which at least had this recommendation, that the prelate in question could set up no family pretension to the crown, and had, therefore, no inducement to act unfairly by his infant charge.

The duke of Bedford, long renowned for equal prudence and valour, immediately turned his attention to France, without making the slightest attempt to alter the determination of parliament, which a less disinterested and noble-spirited man would very probably have interpreted as a personal affront.

Charles, the late dauphin, had now assumed, as he was justly entitled to, the title of king of France; and, being shut out by the English from Rheims, the ancient and especial place of coronation of the kings of France, he caused himself to be crowned at Poitiers. This prince, though only twenty years of age, was very popular with multitudes of the French as well for the many virtues of his private character, as for the great and precocious abilities he had shown in most difficult phases of his public affairs.

No one knew better than the duke of Bedford that, excluded though the dauphin was from his rightful succession, by the unnatural and unpatriotic act of his imbecile father, his own abilities would be strongly aided by

a natural and inevitable revulsion of feeling on the part of those Frenchmen who had hitherto shown themselves fast friends to England. He therefore strictly obeyed the dying injunction of Henry as to a sedulous cultivation of the friendship of the duke of Burgundy, whose personal quarrel with Charles had so mainly aided the success of the English cause thus far, and whose support would henceforth be so vitally important to their maintaining their ground in France. Bedford, therefore, hastened to fulfil his part in the treaty of Troyes, by espousing Philip's sister, the princess of Arras; and he even offered his new brother-in-law the regency of France, which Philip, for not very obvious reasons, declined, though, as he was far from being unambitious, he could scarcely have overlooked that the regency, during the minority of young Henry and the continued success of the English, would be nearly equivalent to the actual sovereignty, and might by some very slight circumstance, actually lead to it.

The duke of Bedford next turned his attention to securing the friendship of the duke of Brittany, who, whether as friend or foe, was next in importance, as regarded the English power, to Burgundy himself. The duke of Brittany had already given in his adhesion to the treaty of Troyes; but as Bedford knew how much that prince was governed by his brother, the count of Richemont, he skilfully sought to fix the friendship of that haughty and not very strictly honourable person. Richemont was among the high personages who were made prisoners at Agincourt, but had been treated with great kindness in England, and even allowed by Henry V. to visit Brittany, on his parole of honour, to return at a given time. Before the time arrived the death of Henry occurred, and Richemont, contrary to all the usages and maxims of chivalry, affected to believe that as his parole had been given personally to Henry V., his honour was in nowise engaged to maintain it towards that prince's successor. His plea was as irregular as it was meanly false; but as Bedford had obviously no means of compelling Richemont to a more honourable course of conduct, without involving himself in a very mischievous disagreement with the duke of Brittany, he very wisely made a virtue of necessity, and not only overlooked the count's misconduct, but even obtained for him the hand of the widow of the deceased dauphin Louis, the sister of Philip of Burgundy.

Having thus both politically and personally allied himself with the po tent dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, Bedford now directed his attention to Scotland. The duke of Albany, who, as regent of Scotland, had so considerably aided the dauphin, now King Charles, by sending him large bodies of veteran Scotch troops, was dead, and his office and power had been assumed by his son Murdac. This nobleman had neither the talents nor the energy of his father, and he was quite unable to limit, as the duke of Albany had done, any enterprises to which the turbulent nobles of Scotland might think proper to turn their attention. This instantly became evident from the sudden and vast increase of the number of Scottish nobles who hastened to offer their swords to Charles of France; and the piercing glance of Bedford discerned the strong probability of the Scots, at no distant day, doing Charles the still more effectual service of distracting the attention and dividing the force of his English enemies, by making formidable and frequent incursions upon the northern counties of England.

As the readiest and surest way of meeting this portion of his difficulties, Bedford induced the English government to restore to liberty the Scottish king, young James, on the payment of a ransom of forty thousand pounds. This young prince who had resided in England from his early boyhood, and had there received the very best education which the scholastic state of that age would afford even to princes, had imbibed much of the English feelings and tastes; and during the whole of his short reign—(he was mur-

dered in 1437 by the earl of Athol)—whatever might be the extent of the leaning he was alledged to have towards France, he never once gave the English cause to regret their generosity or to throw blame on the policy of Bedford, to which the young king owed his freedom and the enjoyment of his throne.

Even while engaged in these wise political precautions, the duke of Bedford strenuously exerted himself in those military movements and operations which were indispensable to the ultimate success of the measures he contemplated.

King Charles in person, and all the forces under his own immediate leading, had long since been driven into the southern provinces beyond the Loire. But there were many of his attached partizans still possessed of fortresses in the northern provinces, and even in the neighbourhood of Paris. Against these fortresses, therefore, the duke of Bedford deemed it necessary to exert himself, before proceeding to deal with the main strength of Charles. Dorsay, Noyelle, and Rue in Picardy, were besieged and taken; and Pont sur Seine, Vertus, and Montaigne, soon after fell into the English power. These successes were followed up by still more brilliant and important ones; till at length the constable of Scotland, with many of the French nobles, were taken prisoners, and Bedford's army occupied La Charité and other towns upon the Loire.

Every new success of the English by which they were brought nearer to his southern provinces, made Charles the more painfully anxious for the preservation of the few strongholds which he still held in those of the north, where they could so greatly annoy and impede their inimical neighbours. One of these, Yvri in Normandy, had for three months held out against the utmost efforts of its besiegers, under the personal command of Bedford himself; but the gallant governor at length found himself reduced to such straits that he agreed to surrender unless relief should reach him by a certain day. Information of this threatened loss of Yvri no sooner reached Charles than he sent a detachment of fourteen thousand men to its relief, one half of the detachment being Scots and the other half French. The chief command of this detachment was given to the earl of Buchan, the titular constable of France, who made the utmost efforts to perform his mission successfully, but had the mortification to find that the place had been already surrendered ere he could arrive. Resolved not to return from so long a march without having at least attempted some important enterprise, and, turning to the left, he marched rapidly to Verneuil and prepared to besiege that place, which was delivered up to him by the citizens, in spite of all the opposition that could be made by the garrison.

It had been well had Buchan contented himself with this success. But, encouraged by it, he called a council of war to consult whether he should now make good his retreat, with the glory he had so easily and cheaply acquired, or await the coming up of the duke of Bedford. Though the former plan was strongly and well urged by the graver and more politic of his officers, the latter one was so agreeable to Buchan's own desire to engage the enemy at any risk, that he finally adopted it, and it was not long ere his army was confronted with that of Bedford. The numbers were tolerably equal; and Buchan drawing up his men in excellent order under the walls of Verneuil, determined in that advantageous position to await the charge of the enemy. This prudent precaution, in a situation which greater prudence would wholly have preserved him from, was defeated by the impetuous rashness of the viscount of Narbonne, who led his men so furiously to the charge, that for an instant the English archers were beaten from the line of palisadoes, behind which, according to their usual custom, they had stationed themselves. Quickly recovering themselves, however, and forming behind and among their baggage, they poured their

arrows so thickly and with such deadly precision, that Narbonne's men fell fast around him and were soon thrown into confusion. The main body of the constable's army, animated out of all sense of steady discipline by the dashing but most imprudent charge of this division, rushed to Narbonne's support, and necessarily partook with his men the slaughter and the panic caused by the English archers; while the duke of Bedford, perceiving the confusion of the enemy, seized upon the favourable moment, and charged them at the head of the main body of his men-at-arms. The French ranks quickly broke under this vigorous attack, and the rout in a few minutes became general. Though Bedford's victory was complete, it was as he considered, so dearly purchased by the loss of sixteen hundred of the English to about two thousand of the French, that he would not allow any rejoicings for a victory which had cost the English a loss so nearly proportioned to that of the enemy. But the loss of the French could not fairly be estimated by a mere statement of numbers. It was unusually great among the leaders; Buchan himself, the earl of Douglas and his son, the counts D'Aumale, De Tonnere, and De Ventadour, with many other nobles, were among the slain; and the duke D'Alençon, the marshal de la Fayette, and the lords Gaucourt and Mortemar among the prisoners. On the following day Verneuil, having no hope of relief, surrendered to Bedford.

Nothing could appear more desperate than the case of the French king. He had in this fatal battle lost the bravest of his leaders; his partizans had no longer even a chance of making any head against the English in the provinces north of the Loire; and he was so far from possessing the necessary means of recruiting his army and enticing other gallant men to embrace his desperate cause, that he actually had not even the means of paying for the support of his retinue, though he carefully abstained from indulging many of the frivolous and expensive shadows of royalty, while he was still uncertain of the issue of his contest for its substance. But just as he himself, as well as both his friends and his foes, began to deem his cause nearly lost, a most unexpected incident occurred to save h m.

Jacqueline, countess of Holland and Hainault, had, from the politic motives which so generally determined princely marriages, espoused the duke of Burgundy's cousin-german, John, duke of Brabant. The bridegroom was a mere boy of fifteen; the lady was much older, and of a masculine and ardent temper. The sickly and weak-minded boy-husband soon became the detestation of his vigorous and high-spirited wife, and she applied to Rome to annul the unequal and unsuitable marriage. Being well aware that, venal as Rome was, much difficulty awaited from the powerful opposition which would be made to her design by the duke of Burgundy, and being fearful that he would even go to the extreme of putting her under personal restraint, she made her escape to England, and solicited the aid and protection of the duke of Gloucester. The personal beauty of the countess Jacqueline, together with the temptation of her inherited wealth and sovereignty, stimulated the love and ambition of Gloucester so far, that, without even waiting the result of an application to Rome, he made a contract of marriage with her, and commenced an attempt to wrest her territories from the duke of Brabant.

The duke of Burgundy was doubly annoyed and disgusted by this proceeding of Gloucester; for while it very seriously trenched upon his family power and wealth, it gave but an unpromising earnest of the conduct to be expected from the English, when, having fully established themselves in France, they should no longer, from not needing the duke's alliance and support, have an interested motive for putting any limits to their personal ambition or cupidity. Actuated by these feelings, he not only counselled his cousin to resistance, but exerted himself to induce the

more powerful of Josephine's subjects to oppose her, and marched himself with a considerable body of his troops to support them in doing so.

Too exclusively engaged with his personal designs to give their due weight to political considerations, Gloucester would not be diverted from his purpose; and a quarrel at once political and personal thus engaged him and the duke of Burgundy in war in the Low Countries.

Gloucester, in the course of the angry correspondence which accompanied the warlike contest between him and the duke of Burgundy, imputed falsehood to Philip, in terms so insultingly direct, that Philip insisted upon a retraction, and personal challenges now passed between them.

The grave and politic Bedford was vexed to the soul at the consequences of Gloucester's imprudence; consequences as disastrous and threatening to the English power in France, as they were fortunate and hopeful to the cause of the rightful king of France. For, in the first place, Gloucester employed in his own quarrel the troops which Beford had been so anxiously expecting from England, and, in the next place, this occurrence could not but weaken, if it did not wholly alienate, the friendship of the duke of Burgundy, to which the English cause was so much indebted. Having endeavoured, but in vain, to mediate between the angry dukes, Bedford now saw himself obliged to abstain from following up his signal victory at Verneuil, and to hasten to England, to endeavour by his presence there to repair the already very mischievous consequences of his brother's headstrong temper and personal ambition.

Nor was it on account of Gloucester's folly alone that the presence of Bedford was at this juncture much needed in England. The bishop of Winchester, as we mentioned before, had been selected by parliament as custos of the young king's person not only on account of his great abilities, but also because his family had no claim to the throne that could induce him to behave unfairly to his young charge. But this prelate had great personal ambition. He was of an arbitrary and peremptory temper and required from the council a far greater share of authority in the state than his office of custos of the king's person could warrant him in demanding, or the council in granting.

Between the prelate, thus peremptory and ambitious, and the equally ambitious and fiery Gloucester, it was inevitable that an open quarrel should take place under such circumstances; and as each of them had his partizans in the ministry, it was not without some difficulty that even the great authority of Bedford composed the existing differences; nor did he wholly succeed in so doing until he had invoked the authority of parliament, before which assembly the two disputants were compelled to come to an apparent reconciliation, and to promise that thenceforth all their differences should be buried in oblivion.

While Bedford had been busy in adjusting this untoward and unseemly quarrel, the duke of Burgundy had so well employed his credit at Rome, as to have procured a bull which not only annulled the marriage contract between the countess Jacqueline and the duke of Gloucester, but also forbade their marriage even in the event of the duke of Brabant being removed by death. The duke of Gloucester, who had all along been actuated in his adventurous suit far more by ambition and cupidity than by love, finding so insuperable an obstacle interposed between him and even his future success, very soon consoled himself for his disappointment by giving his hand to a lady who had for a considerable time been known as his mistress.

Soon after, the duke of Brabant died; and his widow in order to recover her territory, was obliged to declare the duke of Burgundy her heir should she die without issue, and to engage not to take a second husband unless with the duke's consent.

This termination of the affair prevented the immediate hostility upon

the part of Burgundy, of which Bedford at first had been very justly apprehensive; but all the circumstances of the quarrel were calculated greatly to weaken the duke of Burgundy in his attachment to the English, from whom he could no longer expect, in the event of their complete success, to receive much better treatment than that which on the part of King Charles had aroused the duke to such fierce enmity; and ultimately this quarrel did alienate the duke from his unnatural and, on the whole, very impolitic alliance with the English.

The duke of Brittany, whose alliance Bedford valued only second to that of Burgundy, was very effectually detached from the English side by the gift to his brother, the count of Richemont, of the office of constable of France, vacant by the death of Buchan; and this loss must have been the more mortifying to Bedford, because he could not be unaware that it was mainly owing to the impolitic pertinacity with which he had refused to gratify the passion of the count of Richemont for military command. But the loss, however caused or however much lamented, was wholly irretrievable; for whatever there was of personal and selfish in the duke's motive for changing his party, the change was permanent, and he ever after remained faithful to King Charles.

The cooled zeal of one ally and the total loss of another, and the favourable moral effect which these things and eight months of comparative quiet had produced upon the partizans of king Charles, were sufficient to cause anxiety to the sagacious duke of Bedford when he returned to France.

The French garrison of Montargis was besieged by the earl of Warwick and an army of three thousand men, and was so reduced as to be on the very point of surrendering, when the Bastard of Orleans, afterwards so famous under his title of duke of Dunois, marched with only sixteen hundred men to Montargis, and compelled Warwick, in spite of his superior numbers, to raise the seige.

The first aim of the duke of Bedford was to bring back to his alliance the duke of Brittany. Sensible that that prince had chiefly been guided in his change of alliance by the count of Richemont, and would, therefore, most probably allow his own obvious interest to induce him to change sides once more, Bedford secretly concentrated several detachments of English upon the frontiers of Brittany, and invaded that province so suddenly, that the duke had no chance of resistance, but saw himself obliged to consent to give up the French alliance and adhere to the treaty of Troyes, to acknowledge the duke of Bedford as regent of France and to pledge himself to do homage to the young king Henry for his duchy.

Having thus freed himself from a dangerous enemy in his rear, Bedford prepared for an enterprise, the success of which would pretty completely insure the entire success of the English cause—the siege of the city of Orleans, which was so situated between the northern and southern provinces as to open a way to the entrance of either by its possessor. As Bedford, having been so successful in expelling Charles from the northern provinces, was about to attack him in the south, the possession of Orleans was evidently of the greatest importance to him.

The conduct of the attack upon Orleans was entrusted to the earl of Salisbury, a distinguished soldier, who had just brought a reinforcement of six thousand men from England. The earl, quite rightly, no doubt, confined himself to the task of taking several places in the vicinity of Orleans, which, though they were but small, might prove of very serious inconvenience to him when engaged in the contemplated siege. These preliminary measures of the earl, however conformable to the rules of war, and however indispensable under the particular circumstances, were at the least thus far unfortunate, that they at once disclosed to King Charles the main design of the English, and gave him time and opportuni-

ty to throw in such stores of provisions and reinforcements of men as might enable the garrison to make an effectual resistance.

The lord of Gaucour, an officer of equal conduct, valour, and experience, was made governor, and many other veteran officers threw themselves into the place to aid him in its defence; the troops they had to command were veterans in every sense of the word, and even the very citizens, instead of being likely to disturb their defenders by idle fears, were now so accustomed to war that they promised to be of very important service.

Having completed his preliminary operations, the earl of Salisbury approached Orleans with an army of ten thousand men, and all Europe looked with anxiety for the result of a siege which was likely to be so completely decisive as to the future fate of France, and where, consequently, it behoved Charles to make his utmost and final effort.

Having too small a force for the complete investment of a city which, apart from its great extent, had the advantage of a bridge over the Loire, the earl of Salisbury proceeded to attack the southern side, towards Sologne; but as he was attacking the fortifications which defended the bridge, he was killed by a cannon shot while in the very act of reconnoitering the enemy. The command of the English now fell upon the earl of Suffolk, and he, receiving at the same time a large reinforcement of both English and Burgundians, departed from Salisbury's plan of partial operations, led his main force across the river, and thus invested the city on the other side. The winter having now commenced, the severity of the weather rendered it impracticable to throw up intrenchments completely around; but by constructing redoubts at convenient distances, Suffolk was at once able to lodge his soldiers safely, and to distress the enemy by preventing any supplies being conveyed to them; leaving the task of connecting the redoubts by a series of trenches until the arrival of spring. It thus appears that Suffolk trusted rather to famine than to force; to confining the enemy strictly within their walls, than to hazarding his cause by splendid storming feats, which were certain to cost him many of his bravest men, and were not likely to be soon successful; for though he had a train of artillery, the engineering art was as yet far too imperfect to allow of its making any speedy impression upon so strong a fortress. The attempts of the friends of the besieged to throw in supplies, and of the English to prevent them, gave rise to many splendid but partial engagements, in which both parties displayed great gallantry and enterprise. So persevering, indeed, were the French, that upon some occasions they succeeded in throwing in supplies, in defiance of all the vigilance and courage by which they were opposed; but the convoys that were thus fortunate could but in a very inconsiderable degree assist a garrison so numerous, and it was evident to all military observers that Suffolk's cautious policy bade fair to be successful, and that, however slowly, the English were steadily and constantly advancing nearer to the accomplishment of their important designs.

A. D. 1429.—While Suffolk was thus engaged in starving the enemy within the walls, he was himself in no small danger of being placed in the same predicament. There were, it is true, neither intrenchments nor redoubts behind him, but there were numerous and indefatigable parties of French ravagers, who completely denuded of provisions all the neighbouring districts from which he might otherwise have procured supplies; and from his small force he could not, without great danger to his main design, detach any considerable number to keep the French ravagers in check. Just as Suffolk's men began to be seriously distressed for provisions, a very great convoy of stores of every description arrived to their relief, under the command of Sir John Fastolffe, with an escort of two thousand five hundred men; but ere it could reach Suffolk's camp it was suddenly attacked by nearly double that number of French and Scotch,

under the command of Dunois and the count of Clermont. Fastolffe endeavoured to counterbalance his inferiority in men by drawing them up behind the wagons, but the enemy brought a small battery of cannon to bear upon him, which very effectually dislodged and disordered the English. The affair now seemed to be secure on the French side, as a steady perseverance but for a few minutes in their first proceedings would have made it. But the fierce and undisciplined impetuosity of a part of the Scotch troops caused them to break their line and rush in upon the English; a general action ensued, and ended in the retreat of the French, who lost five hundred in killed, besides a great number of wounded, and among the latter was Dunois himself. The convoy that was thus saved to the English was of immense importance, and owing to a part of it being herrings for the food of the soldiers during Lent, the affair commonly went by the name of the "Battle of the Herrings."

The relief thus afforded to the English enabled them daily to press more closely upon the important city; and Charles, now wholly despairing of rescuing it by force of arms, caused the duke of Orleans, who was still a prisoner in England, to propose to Gloucester and the council, that this city and all its territory should be allowed to remain neutral during the whole remainder of the war, and, as the best security for neutrality, be placed in the keeping of the duke of Burgundy. That prince readily grasped at the proposal, and went to Paris to urge it upon the duke of Bedford, who, however, replied, that he had no notion of beating the bushes that others might secure the game; and Burgundy, deeply offended both at the refusal and the manner in which it was made, immediately departed and withdrew all those of his men who were concerned in the investment of Orleans. Foiled as well in negotiation as in arms, Charles now wholly despaired of rescuing Orleans, when an incident occurred to save it and to give new hopes to his cause, so marvellous, that it reads more like the invention of a romancer's fancy than the sober relation of the matter-of-fact historian.

Long as Orleans had been invested, and intimately connected as its fate seemed with that of the whole nation, it is not to be wondered at that the siege was talked of in all parts of France, and speculated upon even by persons little cognizant of public affairs. Among the thousands whose minds were strongly agitated by the frequent and various news from Orleans, was Joan d'Arc, the maid servant of a country inn at Domremi, near Vaucouleurs. Though of the lowest order of menial servants, this young woman, now twenty-seven years of age, was of blameless life and manners. Well formed and active, her simple living and her hard work preserved her naturally healthy constitution; and as she was accustomed to ride her master's horses to their watering place, and to do other work which in most households would fall to the share of men, she was unusually hardy and of a somewhat masculine habit, though, as has been said of perfectly blameless life and unmarked by any eccentricity of manner or conduct.

This young woman paid so much attention to what she heard respecting the siege of Orleans and the distress and peril of her rightful sovereign, that by degrees she accustomed herself to make them the sole subjects of her thoughts; and her sanguine and untutored mind at length became so much inflamed by sympathy with the king, and by a passionate desire to aid him, that her reveries and aspirations seemed to assume the aspect of actual visions from above, and she imagined herself audibly called upon by some supernatural power to exert herself in her sovereign's behalf. This delusion became daily stronger, and at length, naturally courageous, and rendered still more so by her imagined visions, she overlooked all the vast difficulties which must have been evident to even her inexperienced mind, and presented herself to Baudricourt, the governor of

Vaucouleurs, related to him all her fancied experiences, and besought him to listen to the voice of heaven and to aid her in fulfilling its decrees. After some hesitation, the governor, whether really believing all that Joan affirmed of her visions, or only considering her a visionary of whose delusions a profitable use *might* be made by the king's friends, furnished her with some attendants and sent her to Chinon, where Charles and his scanty court then resided.

Where so much is undeniably true in a tale of which so much must of necessity be false, it is no easy matter to separate the true from the wholly false or the greatly exaggerated. We, therefore, shall simply relate what passed and is said to have passed, contenting ourselves with this single caution to the reader—to conceive that, from very many motives, even the best men then living about the French king's court were liable to be seduced into credulity on the one hand and exaggeration on the other, and that, consequently, the wise plan in reading what follows will be to reject altogether all that assumes to be miraculous, and to credit only what, however extraordinary, is perfectly natural, and especially under the extraordinary state of affairs at that time.

When Joan was introduced to the king she at once singled him out from among the courtiers by whom he was surrounded, although it was attempted to baffle her on this point by the king's assumption of a plain dress, totally destitute of all marks or ornaments that could discover his rank to her. Repeating to him what she had already told to Baudricourt, she assured him, in the name of heaven, that she would compel the English to raise the siege of Orleans, and would safely conduct him to Rheims, that, like his ancestors, he might be crowned there. The king expressed some doubts of the genuineness of her mission, and, very pertinently, demanded some unequivocal and convincing proof of her supernal inspiration; upon which, all the attendants save the king's confidential friends being withdrawn, she told him a secret which, from its very nature, he had every reason to believe that by natural means no one in the world could know; and she, at the same time, described and demanded to be armed with a certain sword which was deposited in the church of St. Catharine of Fierbois, and of which, though it was certain that she never could have seen it, she described the various marks with great exactness. Though greatly staggered, the king was even yet unconvinced; and a conclave of doctors and theologians was assembled, to inquire into and report upon Joan's alledged mission. The report of these learned persons was decidedly in favour of the damsel's truth, and she was then closely interrogated by the parliament which was sitting at Poitiers, and here again it was decided that her mission was genuine.

If the king and his advisers first simulated doubt and scrupulosity, only to increase the effect upon the vulgar of their subsequent and seemingly reluctant belief, the device had all the success they could have desired. Ever prone to belief in the marvellous, the people who had lately been in the deepest despair now spoke in accents not merely of hope but of conviction, that heaven had miraculously inspired a maiden-champion, by whose instructions the king would be enabled to triumph over all his difficulties and to expel all his enemies.

But it was not merely as an adviser that Joan believed herself instructed to aid her king. In her former servile occupation she had learned to manage a horse with ease, and she was now mounted on a war-steed, armed, "cap à pie," and paraded before the people. Her animated countenance, her youth, and, above all, her graceful and fearless equitation, which seemed so marvellous and yet might have been so easily accounted for, confirmed all the favourable impressions which had been formed of her; and the multitude loudly avered that any enterprise headed by her must needs be successful. With these fond prepossessions in her favour

she set out for Blois to head the escort of a convoy about to be sent to the relief of Orleans.

The escort in question consisted of an army of ten thousand men under the command of St. Severe, who now had orders to consider himself second in command to Joan d'Arc; though probably with a secret reservation not to allow her supernatural fancies to militate against any of the precautions commanded by the laws of mortal warfare. Joan ordered every man in the army to confess himself before marching, and all women of bad life and character to be prohibited from following the army, which last order had at least the recommendation of removing a nuisance which sadly militated against good discipline. At the head of the troops, carrying in her hand a consecrated banner, upon which was embroidered a representation of the Supreme Being grasping the earth, Joan led the way to Orleans, and on approaching it she demanded that Orleans should be entered on the side of the Beausse; but Dunois, who well knew that the English were strongest there, so far interfered with her prophetic power as to cause the other side of the river to be taken where the English were weaker. The garrison made a sally on the side of the Beausse, and the convoy was safely taken across the river in boats, and was accompanied by the Maid of Orleans, whose appearance, under such circumstances, arrayed in knightly garb and solemnly waving her consecrated banner, caused the soldiers and citizens to welcome her as being indeed an inspired and glorious prophetess, under whose orders they could not fail of success; and as another convoy shortly afterwards arrived, even Dunois was so far converted to the general belief, as to allow it, in obedience to Joan's orders, to approach by the side of the Beausse. This convoy, too, entered safely, together with its escort, not even an attempt being made on the part of the besiegers to cut it off.

Yet a few days before Joan's first arrival at Orleans, when she had sent a letter to Bedford, threatening him with the divine anger should he venture to resist the cause which she was sent to aid, the veteran duke treated the matter as the ravings of a maniac, or as a most shallow trick, the mere resorting to which was sufficient to show the complete desperation to which Charles was driven. But the age was superstitious, and the *natural* success which had merely accompanied the pretensions of Joan was by the ignorant soldiers and by their (as to superstition) scarcely less ignorant officers, taken to have been caused by it, and to be, therefore, a sure proof of her supernatural mission and an infallible augury of its success. Gloom and terror were in the hearts and upon the countenances of the English soldiery, and Suffolk most unwisely allowed these feelings full leisure to exert themselves by having his men unemployed in any military attempt; their inactivity thus serving to augment their despondency, while it increased the confidence and exultation of the garrison.

Whether merely obeying the promptings of a naturally brave and active spirit, worked into a state of high enthusiasm by the events in which she had taken so conspicuous a part, or from the politic promptings of Dunois and the other French commanders, Joan now exclaimed that the garrison ought no longer to be kept on the defensive; that the brave men who had been so long compulsorily idle and pent up within their beleagured walls should be led forth to attack the redoubts of the enemy, and that she was commissioned by Heaven to promise them certain success. An attack was accordingly made upon a redoubt and was completely successful, the defenders being killed or taken prisoners to a man. This success gave new animation to the French, and the forts on the other side of the river were next attacked. On one occasion the French were repulsed, and Joan received an arrow in her neck; but she led back the French to the charge, and they overcame the fort from which for a moment they had fled, and the heroine—for such she was, apart from her supernatural pre-

tensions—plucked the arrow from the wound with her own hands, and scarcely stayed to have the wound dressed ere she returned to the self-imposed duty into which she so zealously entered.

Such was the effect of Joan's deeds and pretensions, that the English lost redoubt after redoubt, besides having upwards of six thousand men either killed or wounded in these most desperate though only partial contests. It was in vain that the English commanders, finding it completely useless to endeavour to convince their men that Joan's deeds were natural, laboured to persuade them that she was aided not by Heaven, but by the powers of darkness; for it was impossible to persuade the men that those powers were not, for the time at least, too strong to be combated with any possibility of success. Fearing, therefore, that the most extensive disaster, even a total destruction of his army, might result from his keeping men so thoroughly and incurably disheartened, before a place defended by men whose natural courage was indescribably heightened by their belief that they were supernaturally assisted, the earl of Suffolk prudently, but most reluctantly, resolved to raise the siege, and he commenced his retreat from before Orleans with all the deliberate calmness which the deep-seated terror of his men would allow him to exhibit. He himself with the principal part of his army retired to Jergeau, whither Joan followed him at the head of an army six thousand strong. For ten days the place was gallantly attacked and as gallantly defended. At the end of that time orders for the assault were given, and Joan herself descended into the fossé and led the attack. Here she was struck to the ground by a stone, but almost immediately recovered herself, and fought with her accustomed courage until the assault was completely successful. Suffolk was himself taken prisoner by a French officer named Renaud, and on this occasion a singular specimen was given of the nice punctilios of chivalry. When Suffolk, completely overpowered, was about to give up his sword, he demanded whether his successful opponent were a knight. Renaud was obliged to confess that he had not yet attained to that distinction, though he could boast of being a gentleman. *Then I knight you*, said Suffolk, and he bestowed upon Renaud the knightly accolade with the very sword which an instant afterwards was delivered to him as the captor of the man to whom he owed his knighthood!

While these things were passing at Jergeau, the remainder of the English army under Fastolffe, Talbot, and Scales, was making a somewhat disorderly retreat before a strong body of French; and the vanguard of the latter overtook the rear of the former near the village of Patay. So completely dismayed were the English, and so confident the French, that the battle had no sooner commenced than it became converted into a mere rout, in which upwards of two thousand of the English were killed, and a vast number, including both Scales and Talbot, taken prisoners. So great and so universal was the panic of the English at this period, that Fastolffe, who had often been present in the most disastrous scenes of war, actually set the example of flight to his astounded troops, and was subsequently punished for it by being degraded from the order of the garter, which had been bestowed upon him as the appropriate reward of a long life and gallant conduct. So blighting a power has superstition even upon minds accustomed to treat mortal and tangible dangers with indifference!

During this period King Charles had kept remote from the actual theatre of war, though he had actively and efficiently busied himself in furnishing supplies and sending directions to the actual commanders of his troops in the field. But now that Joan had so completely redeemed her pledge as to the raising of the siege of Orleans, and now that the prestige of her supernatural mission had so completely gained the ascendency over the minds of all conditions of men, he felt neither surprise nor reluctance

when she urgently solicited him to set out for Rheims, and confidently repeated her assurances that he should without delay be crowned in that city. True it was that Rheims could only be reached by a very long march through a country in which the enemy was in great force, and in which, of course, every advantageous position was carefully occupied by them. But the army was confident of success so long as Joan marched at its head; and Charles could not refuse to accompany the heroine, without tacitly confessing that he had less faith in her mission, or was himself possessed of less personal courage, than the lowest pikeman in his army. Either of these suppositions would necessarily be fatal to his cause; and he accordingly set out for Rheims, accompanied by Joan and an army of twelve thousand men.

Instead of meeting with the opposition he had anticipated, Charles marched as peacefully along as though no enemy had been in the neighbourhood. Troyes and Chalons successively opened their gates to him; and before he reached Rheims, where he might reasonably have expected that the English would muster their utmost force to prevent a coronation, of which they could not but judge the probable influence on the minds of the French, he was met by a peaceable and humble deputation which presented him with the keys.

And in Rheims, in the especial and antique coronation-place of his fathers, Charles was crowned, as the maid of Orleans had prophesied that he would be; and he was anointed with the holy oil which was said to have been brought from Heaven by a pigeon at the coronation of Clovis; and the lately obscure and menial of the village inn waved over his head the consecrated banner before which his foes had so often fled; and while the glad multitude shouted in triumphant joy, she to whom so much of this triumph was owing fell at his feet and bathed them with tears of joy.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE REIGN OF HENRY VI. (CONTINUED.)

The coronation of Charles in the city of Rheims was doubly calculated to raise the spirits and quicken the loyal attachment of his subjects. For while, as the established coronation-place of the kings of France, Rheims alone seemed to them to be capable of giving sanctity and effect to the solemnity, the truly surprising difficulties that had been surmounted by him in obtaining possession of that city, under the auspices of the Maid of Orleans, seemed to all ranks of men, in that superstitious age, to be so many clear and undeniable evidences that the cause of Charles was indeed miraculously espoused by heaven. On turning his attention to obtaining possession of the neighbouring garrisons, Charles reaped the full benefit of this popular judgment; Laon, Soissons, Chateau-Thiery, Provins, and numerous other towns opening their gates to him at the first summons. This feeling spread far and wide, and Charles, who so lately saw himself upon the very point of being wholly expelled from his country, had now the satisfaction of seeing the favour of the whole nation rapidly and warmly inclining to his cause.

Bedford in this difficult crisis showed himself calm, provident, and resolute as ever he had been during the greatest prosperity of the English arms. Perceiving that the French, and especially the fickle and turbulent populace of Paris, were wavering, he judiciously mixed curbing and indulgence, at once impressing them with a painful sense of the danger of insurrection, and diminishing as far as kindness could diminish, their evidently strong desire for one. Conscious, too, that Burgundy was deeply offended, and that his open enmity would just at this juncture be

absolutely fatal to the English cause, Bedford skilfully endeavoured to win him back to good humour and to confirm him in his alliance.

But there was in Bedford's situation another element of trouble, against which he found it still more difficult to contend. The conquest of France had lost much of its popularity in the judgment of the English. As regarded the mere multitude, this probably arose simply from its having lost its novelty; but thinking men both in and out of parliament had begun to count the cost against the profit; and not a few of them had even begun to anticipate not profit but actual injury to England from the conquest of France. These feelings were so general and so strong, that while the parliament steadily refused supplies of money to Bedford, a corresponding disinclination was shown by men to enlist in the reinforcements which he so much needed. Brave as they were, the English soldiers of that day desired gold as well as glory; and they got a notion that neither the one nor the other was to be obtained by warring against the king of France, who, even by the statements of the English commanders themselves, owed far more of his recent and marvellous successes to the hellish arts of the Maid of Orleans than to mortal skill and prowess.

Just as the duke of Bedford was in the utmost want of reinforcements, it most opportunely chanced that the bishop (now cardinal) of Winchester landed at Calais on his way to Bohemia, whither he was leading an army of five thousand men to combat against the Hussites. This force the cardinal was induced to yield to the more pressing need of Bedford, who was thus enabled to follow the footsteps and thwart the designs of Charles, though not to hazard a general action. But in spite of this aid to Bedford, and in spite of all the skill and firmness of that general, Charles made himself master of Compeigne, Beauvais, Senlis, Sens, Laval, St. Denis, and numerous places in the neighbourhood of Paris. To this amount of success, however, the Fabian policy of Bedford confined the king of France, whose forces being chiefly volunteers, fighting at their own expense, were now obliged to be disbanded, and Charles himself retired to Bourges.

A. D. 1430.—Attributing the advantage which Charles had evidently derived from his coronation rather to the splendour of the ceremony than to the real cause of its locality, Bedford now determined that his own young prince should be crowned king of France, and he was accordingly brought to Paris, and crowned and anointed there with all the pomp and splendour that could be commanded. The splendid ceremony was much admired by the Parisian populace, and all the crown vassals who lived in the territory that was actually in the hands of the English duly appeared and did homage to the young king; but to an observant eye it was very evident that this ceremony created none of the passionate enthusiasm which had marked that of Charles at Rheims.

Hitherto we have seen the maid of Orleans only in one long brilliant and unbroken career of prosperity; but the time now approached for that sad and total reverse which must, from the very first, have been anticipated by all men who had sense enough to discredit alike the representation of her miraculous support that was given by her friends, and of her diabolical commerce that was given by her enemies. It would seem that she herself began to have misgivings as to the nature of her inspiration; as it was quite natural that she should have as the novelties of military splendour grew stale to her eye, and her judgment became more and more alive to the real difficulties of the military achievements which must be performed by her royal master, before he could become king of France in deed as well as by right. From such misgivings it probably arose that, having now performed her two great and at first discredited promises, of raising the siege of Orleans and of causing Charles to be crowned at Rheims, she now urgently desired to be allowed to return to her original

obscurity, and to the occupations and apparel of her sex. But Dunois was too well aware of the influence of her supposed sanctity upon the soldiers, not to be very anxious to keep her among them; and he so strongly urged her to remain, and aid in the crowning of her prophetic and great career by the total expulsion of the enemies of her sovereign, that she, in a most evil hour for herself, was worked upon to consent. As the best service that it was at the instant in her power to do, she threw herself into Compeigne, which the duke of Burgundy and the earls of Arundel and Suffolk were at that time hotly besieging. Her appearance was hailed by the besieged with a perfect rapture of joy; she had proved her miraculous power by such splendid and unbroken success, that every man among them now believed himself invincible and the victory secure; and the news of her arrival undoubtedly imbued with very opposite feelings not a few of the brave hearts in the English camp. But the joy of the one party and the gloom of the other were alike short-lived and unfounded. On the very day after that on which she arrived in the garrison she led forth a sally, and twice drove the Burgundians, under John of Luxembourg, from their intrenchments. But the Burgundians were so quickly and so numerously reinforced, that Joan ordered a retreat, and in the disorder she was separated from her party and taken prisoner, after having defended herself with a valour and address which would have done no discredit to the bravest knight among her Burgundian captors.

This event was so unexpected, that the popular humour of the times attributed it to the treachery of the French officers, who, said the rumour, were so weary of hearing themselves depreciated by the attributing of every success to Joan, that they purposely abandoned her to the enemy. But besides that there is not a shadow of proof of this charge of treachery, which several historians have somewhat too hastily adopted, the fair presumption is entirely against it. On the one hand, we cannot imagine that the private envy of the French officers would thus outweigh alike their ardour for the cause in which they fought and their sense of their own safety, which depended so mainly upon that triumph which the inspiring effect of Joan's presence among their men was more than anything else likely to insure. On the other hand, what more likely, than that a woman, in spite of the best efforts of her friends, should be taken prisoner in such a scene of confusion? How many thousands of men had been, in that very war, taken prisoners in similar scenes, without any surmise of treachery.

A. D. 1431.—It is always painful to have to speak of some one enormous and indelible stain upon a character otherwise fair and admirable. The historian irresistibly and almost unconsciously finds his sympathies awakened on behalf of the great characters whose deeds he describes. It is impossible to write about the wise and valorous course of the great duke of Bedford without a feeling of intense admiration; proportionally painful it needs must be to have to describe him as being guilty of most debased and brutal cruelty. Aware how much the success of Joan had tended to throw disaster and discredit upon his arms, Bedford imagined that to have her in his power was to secure his future success, and he paid a considerable sum for her to John of Luxembourg.

It is difficult in our age, when superstition is so completely deprived of its delusive but terrible power, to imagine that such a man as Bedford could seriously and in good faith give any credit to the absurd stories that were related of the demoniac nature of Joan's powers. But it would be rash to deny the possibility of that belief, however absurd; for few indeed were the men who in that age were free from the stupefying and degrading influence of superstition. Apart from her alledged dealings with the prince of the powers of darkness, there was nothing in the career of Joan which should have excluded her from the privileges of an honourable pris-

oner. In her interference in the deadly business of war she, it is true, departed from the ordinary usages of her sex; but, except in wearing armour and in daring the actual dangers of the fight, she even in this respect only followed the example left to her by the countess of Mountfort and by Philippa, queen of King Edward of England. The gallant and tender feeling towards the sex, which chivalry made so much boast of, ought to have led Bedford on this account to have treated her with even more indulgence than he would have shown to an equally celebrated prisoner of the other sex; and the more attentively we notice all the rest of Bedford's conduct, the more difficult shall we find it to believe that he could have been guilty of the baseness and cruelty of which we have to speak, unless under the influence of a degrading and most powerful impression of superstition. It is, we repeat, very difficult for us, living in an age not only free from superstition but tending very strongly and very perilously towards the contrary extreme, to imagine such a man as Bedford so much deluded; but still more difficult is it to suppose that any less powerful influence could have made so honourable a man guilty of a vile and dastardly cruelty.

Joan, being delivered into the power of Bedford, was loaded with chains and thrown into a dungeon; and the bishop of Beauvais, on the plea that she was captured within his diocese, petitioned Bedford that she might be delivered over to the ecclesiastical power, to be tried on the charges of impiety, sorcery, idolatry and magic; and his petition was seconded by the university of Paris. To the eternal infamy of Bedford, this petition was complied with; and, loaded with irons, the high-hearted and admirable, however deluded, woman was taken before her judges at Rouen, only one of them, the cardinal of Winchester, being an Englishman. She defended herself with courage and with a cogency of reply equal to what might be expected from a man who, to good early training, should add the practice and experience of a long life. She boldly avowed the great aim and end of all her public acts had been to rid her country of its enemies, the English. When taunted with having endeavoured to escape by throwing herself from a tower, she frankly confessed that she would repeat that attempt if she had the opportunity; and when asked why she put trust in a standard which had been consecrated by magical incantations, and why she carried it at the coronation of Charles, she replied that she trusted not in the standard but in the Supreme Being whose image it bore, and that the person who had shared the danger of Charles's enterprise had a just right also to share its glory. The horrors of solitary confinement, and repeated exposure to the taunts and insults of her persecutors, at length broke down even the fine proud spirit of Joan; and, in order to put an end to so much torture, she at length confessed that what she had been in the habit of mistaking for visions from heaven, must needs be mere illusions, as they were condemned by the church; and she promised that she would no longer allow them to influence her mind. This confession temporarily saved her just as she was about to be delivered over to the secular arm; and, instead of being forthwith sentenced to the stake, she was sentenced to the comparatively mild, though still shamefully unjust, punishment of perpetual imprisonment, with no other diet than bread and water.

Here, at all events, one might have supposed that the cruel rage of Joan's enemies would have stopped; for while her imprisonment rendered it impossible that she should personally do any farther damage to the English cause, her very detention and confession naturally tended to disabuse her warmest partizans of all further belief in her alledged supernatural inspiration. But even now that she was a captive, and wholly powerless to injure them, her enemies were not satiated. Judging, with a malignant ingenuity, that the ordinary habiliments of her sex, to which since her capture she had constantly been confined, were less agreeable

to her than the male and martial attire in which she had achieved so many wonders and extorted so much homage, they caused a suit of male attire and appropriate armour to be placed within her reach. As had been anticipated, so many associations were awakened in her mind by this dress, that the temptation to put it on was quite irresistible. As soon as she had donned the dress her enemies rushed in upon her; this mere and very harmless vanity was interpreted into a relapse into heresy, and she was delivered over to the flames in the market-place of Rouen, though the sole crime she had committed was that she had loved her country, and served it.

A. D. 1432.—The brutal injustice inflicted upon Joan whom the nobler delusions of Greece and Rome would have deified and worshipped, by no means produced the striking benefit to the English cause that had been anticipated. The cause of Charles was from rational reflections daily becoming more popular, and the cruelty of the English served rather to confirm than to diminish that tendency; while a series of successes on the part of the French followed as a matter of course.

The death of the duchess of Bedford very much weakened the attachment of her brother, the duke of Burgundy, both to Bedford personally and in general to the English cause; and the coolness which followed this event was still farther increased when Bedford very shortly afterwards espoused Jacqueline of Luxembourg. Philip, not without reason, complained that there was a want of decent regard to his sister's memory exhibited in so hasty a contract of a new marriage, and that a personal affront was offered to himself by this matrimonial alliance without any intimation of it being given to him.

Sensible how serious an injury the continued coolness between these princes must inflict upon the English cause, the cardinal of Winchester offered himself as a mediator between them, and a meeting was appointed at St. Omer's. Both Bedford and Burgundy went to that town, which was in the dominions of the latter; and Bedford expected that, as he had thus far waved etiquette, the duke of Burgundy would pay him the first visit. Philip declined doing so; and upon this idle piece of mere ceremony they both, without a single interview, left a town to which they both professed to have gone with the sole intent of meeting and becoming reconciled. So great is the effect of idle custom upon even the wise and the powerful!

This new cause of discontent to the duke of Burgundy happened the more untowardly, because it greatly tended to confirm him in his inclination to a reconciliation with King Charles. That prince and his friends had made all possible apology to the duke on account of the murder of the late duke his father; and as a desire for the revenge of that murder had been Philip's chief reason for allying himself with England, the more that reason became diminished, the more Burgundy inclined to reflect upon the impolicy of his aiding to place foes and foreigners upon the throne which, failing in the elder French branches, might descend to his own posterity.

A. D. 1435.—These reflections, and the constant urging of the most eminent men in Europe, including his brother-in-law, the duke of Bourbon and the count de Richemont, so far prevailed with Burgundy, that he consented to attend a congress appointed to meet at Arras, at which it was proposed that deputies from the pope and the council of Balse should mediate between King Charles and the English. The duke of Burgundy, the duke of Bourbon, the count of Richemont, the cardinal of Winchester, the bishops of Norwich and St. David's, and the earls of Suffolk and Huntingdon, with several other eminent persons, met accordingly at Arras and had conferences in the abbey of St. Vaast. On the part of France the ambassadors offered the cession of Guienne and Normandy, not in free sovereignty, but only as feudal fiefs; on the part of Eng-

land, whose prior claim was upon the whole of France as rightful possession and free sovereignty, this offer seemed so small as to be wholly unworthy of any detailed counter-offer; and though the mediators declared the original claim of England preposterously unjust, the cardinal of Winchester and the other English authorities departed without any detailed explanation of their wishes, but obviously dissatisfied and inclined to persevere in their original design. The negotiation as between France and England being thus abruptly brought to an end, the reconciliation of Charles and the duke of Burgundy alone remained to be attempted by the mediators. As the provocation originally given to Burgundy was very great, and as the present importance of his friendship to Charles was confessedly of great value, so were his demands numerous and weighty. Besides several other considerable territories, Charles ceded all the towns of Picardy situated between the Low Countries and the Somme, all of which, as well as the proper dominions of the duke, were to be held by him during his life, without his either doing homage or swearing fealty to Charles, who, in pledge of his sincerity in the making of this treaty, solemnly released his subjects from all allegiance to him should he ever violate it.

Willing to break with England with all due regard to the externals of civility, the duke of Burgundy sent a herald to London to notify and apologize for this treaty, which was directly opposed to that of Troyes, of which he had so long been the zealous and powerful defender. His messenger was very coldly listened to by the English council, and pointedly insulted by having lodgings assigned to him in the house of a mean tradesman. The populace, too, were encouraged to insult the subjects of Philip who chanced to be visiting or resident in London; and, with the usual cruel willingness of the mob to show their hatred of foreigners, they in some cases carried their violence to the extent of murder.

This conduct was as impolitic as it was disgraceful, for it not only sharpened Philip's new zeal for France, but also furnished him with that plea which he needed, not only for the world but also for his own conscience, for his sudden and complete abandonment of his alliance with the English. Almost at the same time that England was deprived of the powerful support of Burgundy, she experienced two other very heavy losses, the duke of Bedford dying of disease a few days after he had tidings of the treaty of Arras, and the earl of Arundel dying of wounds received in a battle where he, with three thousand men, was totally defeated by Xaintrailles at the head of only six hundred.

A. D. 1436.—As in private so in public affairs, misfortunes ever come in shoals. Just as England required the most active and most disinterested exertions on the part of those to whom Bedford's death had left the direction of affairs, the dissensions which had long existed between the cardinal of Winchester and the duke of Gloucester grew so violent, that in their personal quarrel the foreign interests of the king and kingdom seemed to be for the time, at least, entirely lost sight of. A regent of France was appointed, indeed, as successor to Bedford, in the person of the duke of York, son of that earl of Cambridge who was executed early in the preceding reign; but owing to the dissensions above-mentioned, his commission was left unsealed for seven months after his appointment, and the English in France were, of course, during that long and critical period virtually left without a governor. The consequence, as might have been anticipated, was, that when he at length was enabled to proceed to his post, Paris was lost; the inhabitants, who had all along, even by Bedford, been only with difficulty prevented from rising in favour of Charles, having seized this favourable opportunity to do so; and Lord Willoughby, with fifteen hundred men, after a brave attempt first to preserve the city and then to maintain themselves in the Bastile, was at length reduced to such distress, that he was glad to capitulate on permission to withdraw his troops into Normandy.

Resolved that his enmity to England should not long be without outward demonstrations, the duke of Burgundy raised an immense but heterogeneous and ill-disciplined army in the Low Countries, and proceeded to invest Calais, which was now the most important territory the English had in France. The duke of Gloucester, as soon as the tidings reached England, raised an army and sent a personal defiance to the duke of Burgundy, whom he challenged to remain before Calais until the weather would permit the English to face him there.

Partly from the evident terror which Gloucester's high tone struck into the Flemings, and partly from the decided ill success which attended two or three partial attempts which Burgundy had already made upon Calais, that prince, instead of waiting for Gloucester's arrival, raised the siege and retreated.

A. D. 1440.—For five years the war was confined to petty enterprises of surprising convoys and taking and re-taking towns. But though these enterprises had none of the brilliancy of more regular and sustained war, they were to the utmost degree mischievous to both the contending parties and the unfortunate inhabitants. More blood was shed in these nameless and indecisive rencontres than would have sufficed for a Cressy or an Agincourt; and the continual presence of numerous and ruthless spoilers rendered the husbandman both unable and unwilling to sow for that harvest which it was so improbable that he would ever be permitted to reap. To such a warfare both the contending parties at length showed themselves willing to put an end, and a treaty was commenced for that purpose. France, as before, offered to cede Normandy, Guienne, and Calais to England as feudal fiefs; England, on the other hand, demanded the cession of all the provinces which had once been annexed to England, including the final cession of Calais, without any feudal burden or observances whatever. The treaty was consequently broken off, and the war was still carried on in the same petty but destructive manner; though a truce was made as between England and the duke of Burgundy.

For a long time after the battle of Agincourt, England had possessed a great advantage in all affairs with France, from the captivity of the royal princes, five in number, who were made prisoners at that battle. Death had now very materially diminished this advantage; only the duke of Orleans surviving out of the whole five. This prince now offered the large ransom of fifty-four thousand nobles, and his proposal—like all public questions at this period—was made matter of factious dispute between the partizans of the cardinal of Winchester and those of the duke of Gloucester. The latter urged the rejection of the proposal of Orleans, on the ground that the late king had on his death-bed advised that no one of the French princes should on any account be released, until his son should be of age to govern the kingdom in his own person. The cardinal, on the other hand, expatiated on the largeness of the offered ransom, and drew the attention of the council to the remarkable and unquestionable fact, that the sum offered was, in truth, very nearly equal to two-thirds of all the extraordinary supplies which the parliament had granted for the public service during the current seven years. To this solid argument of pecuniary matter-of-fact he added the plausible argument or speculation, that the liberation of Orleans, far from being advantageous to the French cause, would be of direct and signal injury to it, by giving to the French malcontents, whom Charles already had much difficulty in keeping down, an ambitious and prominent as well as capable leader.

The arguments of the cardinal certainly seem to deserve more weight than the wishes of a deceased king, who, however politic, could when giving his advice have formed no notion of the numerous changes of circumstances which had since taken place, and which, most probably would have caused him very considerably to modify his opinion. It was

however, owing less to the superiority of his advice than of his influence, that the cardinal gained his point, and that the duke of Orleans was released after a captivity of five-and-twenty years, the duke of Burgundy generously assisting him in the payment of his very heavy ransom.

A. D. 1444.—However acquired, the influence of the cardinal was unquestionably well and wisely exerted in the affair above described; and he now, though with less perfect success, exerted it to a still more important end. He had long encouraged every attempt at peace-making between France and England, and he now urged upon the council the impossibility of a complete conquest of France, and the great difficulty of even maintaining the existing English power there while Normandy was in disorder, the French king daily gaining some advantage, the English parliament so incurably reluctant to grant supplies. He urged that it would be far better to make peace now than when some new advantage should make the French king still more unyielding and *exigeant* in his humour; and his arguments, based alike upon humane motives and facts which lay upon the very surface, prevailed with the council. The duke of Gloucester, indeed, accustomed to consider France the natural battle-ground and certain conquest of England, opposed the pacific views of the cardinal with all the violence arising from such haughty prepossessions increased by his fixed hatred of witnessing the triumph of any proposal made by the cardinal. The latter, however, was too completely in the ascendant to allow Gloucester's opposition to be of any avail, and the earl of Suffolk was sent to Tours with proposals for peace. The pretensions of the two parties were still too wide asunder to admit of a permanent peace being concluded; but as the earl of Suffolk was in earnest, and as the dreadful state to which most of Charles's territories were reduced by the long-continued war made some respite of great importance to his subjects, as well as to his more personal interests, it was easily agreed that a truce should take place for twenty-two months, each party as to territory remaining as it then was.

As Henry of England had now reached the mature age of twenty-three, this truce afforded the English ministers opportunity and leisure to look around among the neighbouring princesses for a suitable queen for him. To all the usual difficulties of such cases a serious one was added by the extremely simple, weak, and passive nature of Henry. Without talent and without energy, it was clear to every one that this prince would reign well or ill, exactly as he fell under the influence of a princess of good or bad disposition. Easily attached, he was as easily governed through his attachments; and each faction was consequently possessed with the double anxiety of marrying him well, as to itself in the first place and as to the nation in the next. The first princess proposed was a daughter of the count de Armagnac; but as she was proposed by the duke of Gloucester, the predominant faction of the cardinal at once rejected her, and proposed Margaret of Anjou, daughter of Regnier, the titular king of Sicily, Naples, and Jerusalem, whose real worldly possessions, however, were in exactly inverse ratio to his magnificent and sounding titles.

Margaret of Anjou, notwithstanding her poverty, had personal qualities, independent of mere beauty, though she excelled even in that, which made her indeed a promising queen for a prince who, like the weak and almost childish Henry, required not a burden but a support in the person of his wife. She had great and, for that age, very highly cultivated talents, and her courage, sagacity, and love of enterprise were such as are seldom found in their highest perfection even in the other sex. Her own high qualities and the strong advocacy of the cardinal caused Margaret to be selected, in spite of all opposition on the part of the duke of Gloucester; and Suffolk was entrusted with the important business of negotiating the marriage. In this important negotiation Suffolk proved that his party had by no means

overrated either his tact or his zeal. Notwithstanding the high personal qualities of Margaret, it could not be concealed that she was the daughter of a house far too poor to offer any dowry to such a monarch as the king of England; and yet Suffolk, desirous to prepossess the future queen to the utmost in favour of himself and his party, overlooking altogether the poverty from which the princess was to be raised by her marriage, consented to the insertion of a secret article in the treaty, by which the province of Maine was ceded to her uncle, Charles of Anjou, prime minister and favourite of the king of France, who had previously made Charles the grant of that province—only the grant was conditional upon the wresting of the province from the English who at present possessed it.

Had any member of the Gloucester faction been guilty of this impudently politic and dexterous sacrifice of his country's interest, he would undoubtedly have been impeached and ruined for his pains; but it is most probable that Suffolk had in secret the concurrence of the cardinal, for the treaty was received in England and ratified as though it had secured some vast territorial advantage; and Suffolk was not only created first a marquis and then a duke, but also honoured with the formal thanks of parliament for the ability he had displayed.

As the cardinal and his party had calculated, Margaret as soon as she came to England fell into close and cordial connection with them, and gave so much increase and solid support to the already overgrown, though hitherto well exerted, authority of Winchester himself, that he now deemed it safe to attempt what he had long desired, the final ruin of the duke of Gloucester.

A. D. 1447.—The malignity with which the cardinal's party hated the duke of Gloucester abundantly shows itself in the treatment which, to wound him in his tenderest affections, they had already bestowed upon his duchess. She was accused of the impossible, but at that time universally credited, crime of witchcraft, and of having, in conjunction with Sir Roger Bolingbroke and Margery Jordan, melted a figure of the king before a slow fire, with magical incantations intended to cause his natural body to consume away simultaneously with his waxen effigy. Upon this preposterous charge the duchess and her alledged confederates were found guilty; and she was condemned publicly to do penance, her less illustrious fellow-sufferers being executed.

The duke of Gloucester, though noted for his hasty temper and somewhat misproud sentiments, was yet very popular on account of his candour and general humanity; and this shameful treatment of his duchess, though committed upon what we may term the popular charge of witchcraft, was very ill taken by the people, who plainly avowed their sympathy with the sufferer and their indignation against her persecutors.

The popular feeling for once was well founded as well as humane; but as the cardinal's party feared that the sympathy that was expressed might soon shape itself into deeds, it was now resolved to put the unfortunate duke beyond the power of doing or causing mischief. A parliament was accordingly summoned to meet; and, lest the popularity of the duke in London should cause any obstruction to the fell designs of his enemies, the place of meeting was St. Edmund's Bury. The duke arrived there without any suspicion of the mischief that was in store for him, and was immediately accused before the parliament of high treason. Upon this charge he was committed to prison, and shortly afterwards was found there dead in his bed. It is true that his body was publicly exposed, and that no marks of violence could be detected; but the same thing had occurred in the cases of Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, Richard the Second, and Edward the Second, yet does any reader of sane mind doubt that they were murdered? Or can any such reader doubt that this unfortunate prince was murdered, too, his enemies fearing that his public

execution, though the servility of the parliament would have surely sanctioned it, might be dangerous to their own interests? The death of the duke did not prevent certain of his suite, who were accused of being accomplices of his alledged treasons, from being tried, condemned, and partially executed We say partially executed, because these unfortunate men, who were ordered to be hanged and quartered, were actually hanged, preparatory to the more brutal part of the sentence being executed; but just as they were cut down and the executioners preparing to perform their more revolting task, orders arrived for that part of the sentence to be remitted, and surgical means to be taken for the resuscitation of the victims. And this was actually done.

The unhappy prince who thus fell a victim to the raging ambition of the cardinal's party was a scholar and a man of intellect, far superior to the rude age in which he lived. Sir Thomas More gives a striking though whimsical instance of his acuteness of judgment. The duke while riding out one day chanced upon a crowd which had gathered round an impostor who alledged that he, having been blind from his birth, had just then obtained his sight by touching the then famous shrine of St. Albans. The duke, whose learning enabled him to see through and to despise the monkish impostures which found such ready acceptance with the multitude, high as well as low, condescended to ask this vagrant several questions, and, by way of testing his story, desired him to name the colours of the cloaks of the bystanders. Not perceiving the trap that was laid for him, the fellow answered with all the readiness of a clothier commending his wares, when the duke replied, "You are a very knave, man; had you been born blind, though a miracle had given you sight, it could not thus early have taught you accurately to distinguish between colours," and, riding away, he gave orders that the flagrant impostor should be set in the nearest stocks as an example.

It was generally considered that the queen, whose masculine nature had already given her great weight in the dominant party, had at least tacitly consented to the murder of the unfortunate Gloucester. This probable supposition had caused her considerable unpopularity, and a circumstance now occurred by which the ill opinion of the people was much aggravated. It would seem that that article of Margaret's marriage settlement which ceded Maine to her uncle was kept secret during the life of the duke of Gloucester, to whose opposition to the cardinal's party it would of necessity have given additional weight. But the court of France now became so urgent for its immediate performance, that King Henry was induced by Margaret and the ministers to despatch an autograph order to the governor of Mans, the capital of that province, to give up that place to Charles of Anjou. The governor, Sir Francis Surienne, strongly interested in keeping his post, and probably forming a shrewd judgment of the manner in which the king had been induced to make such an order, flatly refused to obey it, and a French army was forthwith led to the siege of the place by the celebrated Dunois. Even then Surienne ventured to hold out, but being wholly left without succour from Normandy, where the duke of Somerset had forces, he was at length obliged to capitulate, and to give up not only Mans but the whole province, which thus ingloriously was transferred from England to Charles of Anjou.

A. D. 1448.—The ill effects of the disgraceful secret article did not stop here. Surienne, on being suffered to depart from Mans, had two thousand five hundred men with him, whom he led into Normandy, naturally expecting to be attached to the force of the duke of Somerset. But the duke, straitened in means, and therefore unwilling to have so large an addition to the multitude that already depended upon him, and being, besides, of the cardinal's faction, and therefore angry at the disobedience of Surienne to the orders of the king, would not receive him. Thus suddenly and en-

tirely thrown upon his own resources, Surienne, acting on the maxims common to the soldiery of his time, resolved to make war upon his own account; and as either the king of England or the king of France would be too potent and dangerous a foe, he resolved to attack the duke of Brittany. He accordingly marched his daring and destitute band into that country, ravaged it in every direction, possessed himself of the town of Fougeres, and repaired, for his defence, the dilapidated fortresses of Poutorson and St. Jacques de Beavron. The duke of Brittany naturally appealed for redress to his liege lord, the king of France; and Charles, glad of an opportunity to fasten a plausible quarrel upon England, paid no attention to Somerset's disavowal alike of connection with the adventurer Surienne and control over his actions, but demanded compensation for the duke of Brittany, and put the granting of that compensation wholly out of the question by fixing it at the preposterously large amount of one million six hundred crowns.

A. D. 1449.—Payment of this sum was, in truth, the very last thing that Charles would have desired. He had most ably employed himself during the truce for a renewal of war at its expiration, or sooner, should fortune favour him with an advantageous opening. While he had been thus employed, England had been daily growing weaker; faction dividing the court and government, and poverty and suffering rendering the people more and more indifferent to foreign wars and conquests, however brilliant. Under such circumstances Charles gladly seized upon the wrong done to the duke of Brittany by a private adventurer as an excuse for invading Normandy, which he suddenly entered on four different points with as many well-appointed armies, under the command, respectively, of Charles in person, the duke of Brittany, the duke of Alençon, and the count of Dunois. So sudden was the irruption of Charles, and so completely unprepared were the Norman garrisons to resist him, that the French had only to appear before a place to cause its surrender; and they at once, and at the mere expense of marching, obtained possession of Verneuil, Noyent, Chateau Gaillard, Ponteau de Mer, Gisors, Nantes, Vernon, Argentau, Lisieux, Fecamp, Coutances, Belesine, and Peurt de L'Arche, an extent of territory which had cost the English incalculable expense of both blood and treasure.

Thus suddenly and formidably beset, the duke of Somerset, governor of Normandy, found it utterly useless to endeavour to check the enemy in the field; so far from being able to raise even one numerous army for that purpose, his force was too scanty even to supply sufficient garrisons; and yet, scanty as it was, far too numerous for his still more limited means of subsisting it. He consequently threw himself with such force as he could immediately command into Rouen, hoping that he might maintain himself there until assistance could be sent to him from England. But Charles allowed no time for the arrival of such aid, but presented himself with an army of fifty thousand men at the very gates of Rouen. The inhabitants, already disaffected to the English, now became driven to desperation by their dread of the severities of the French, and tumultuously demanded that Somerset should instantly capitulate in order to save them. Thus assailed within as well as from without, Somerset led his troops into the castle, but finding it untenable he was at length obliged to yield it, and to purchase permission to retire to Harfleur by surrendering Arques, Tancarville, Honfleur, and several other places in higher Normandy, agreeing to pay the sum of fifty-six thousand crowns, and delivering hostages for the faithful performance of the articles. Among the hostages was the earl of Shrewsbury, the ablest English general in France, who was now condemned to detention and inactivity at the very moment when his services were the most needed, by the positive refusal of the governor of Honfleur to give up that place at the order of Som-

erset. Honfleur also gave a refusal, but, after a smart defence by Sir Thomas Curson, was at length compelled to open its gates to the French under Dunois.

Succour at length arrived from England, but only to the very insufficient number of four thousand men, who soon after they landed were completely defeated at Fourmigni by the count of Clermont. Somerset, who had retired to Caen in hope of aid, had now no choice but to surrender. Falaise was given up in exchange for the liberty of the earl of Shrewsbury; and just one year after Charles's first irruption into Normandy, the very last possession of the English in that province, the important town of Cherbourg was surrendered.

In Guienne the like rapid progress was made by the French under Dunois, who encountered but little difficulty even from the strongest towns, his artillery being of a very superior description. Bourdeaux and Bayonne made a brave attempt at holding out, but no assistance being sent to them from England, they also were compelled to submit; and the whole province of Guienne was thus reunited to France after it had been held and battled for by the English for three hundred years. A faint effort was subsequently made, indeed, to recover Guienne, but it was so faint that it utterly failed, and war between England and France ceased as if by mutual consent, and without any formal treaty of peace or even truce.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE REIGN OF HENRY VI. (*concluded.*)

A. D. 1450.—The affairs of England were as threatening at home as they were disastrous abroad. The court and the ministerial factions gave rise to a thousand disorders among the people, besides habituating them to the complacent anticipation of disorders still more extreme and general; and it was now only too well known that the king, by whom both factions might otherwise have been kept in awe, was the mere and unresisting tool of those by whom he chanced to be surrounded. To add to the general distress, the cessation of the war in France, or, to speak more plainly, the ignominious expulsion of the English from that country, had filled England with hordes of able and needy men, accustomed to war, and ready, for the mere sake of plunder, to follow any banner and support any cause. A cause for the civil war which these needy desperadoes so ardently desired soon appeared in the pretensions to the crown put forward by Richard, duke of York. Descended by his mother from the only daughter of the duke of Clarence, *second* son of Edward III., the duke claimed to stand before King Henry, who was descended from the duke of Lancaster, the *third* son of Edward III. His claim being thus cogent, and he being a brave and capable man, immensely rich and connected with numerous noble families, including the most potent of them all, that of the earl of Westmoreland, whose daughter he had married, he could not fail to be a most formidable opponent to so weak and incapable a king as Henry; and the daily increasing disorders, sufferings and discontents of the nation, promised ere long to afford him all the opportunity he could require of pressing his claim with advantage.

Though parliament and the people at large were unwilling to make any sacrifices for the defence of the foreign interests of the nation, and could not or would not understand that much more exertion and expense are often necessary to preserve than to make conquests, they were not a jot the less enraged at the losses in France, which, though they mainly originated in the cession of Maine to Charles of Anjou, were consummated

through the rigid parsimony which withheld supplies and reinforcements when they were actually indispensable. The cession of Maine to Charles of Anjou, coupled with his fast friendship to the king of France and his active exertions in that prince's interest, persuaded the English people that their queen was their enemy at heart, and that her influence in the English council was a chief cause of their disgrace and loss. Already the partisans of the duke of York busied themselves in preparing to kindle a civil war; and already the murder of Gloucester began to be avenged upon its authors, not merely in the bitterness which it gave to the hatred of the people, but by the loss of the courageous authority of the murdered duke, now so much needed successfully to oppose York and his seditious partizans.

As the favourite minister of the unpopular Margaret, as the dexterously unpatriotic ambassador, who, to oblige her had robbed England of Maine, and as the man most strongly suspected of having brought about the murder of Gloucester, Suffolk would under any circumstances have been detested; but this detestation was lashed into something very like insanity by the consideration which was constantly recurring, that this noble, so powerful that he could aid in murdering the nation's favourite ruler, and rob the nation to conciliate the favour of a princess who so lately was a stranger to it, was only a noble of yesterday; the great grandson, merely, of a veritable trader! It was this consideration that gave added bitterness to every charge that was truly made against him, and also caused not a few things to be charged to him of which he was wholly innocent.

Suffolk's wealth, always increasing, as well-managed wealth needs must be, was contrasted with the daily increasing penury of the crown, which caused the people to be subjected to a thousand extortions. While he was continually growing more and more dazzling in his prosperity, the crown, indebted to the enormous extent of £372,000 was virtually bankrupt, and the very provisions for the royal household were obtained by arbitrary purveyance—so arbitrary, that it fell little short of open robbery with violence.

Aware of the general detestation in which he was held, Suffolk, who, apart from all the mere exaggerations of the mob, was a "bold, bad man," endeavoured to forestal any formal attack by the commons' house of parliament, by rising in his place in the lords and loudly complaining of the calumnies that were permitted to be uttered against him, after he had lost his father and three brothers in the public service, and had himself lived seventeen years wholly in service abroad, served the crown in just double that number of campaigns, been made prisoner, and paid his own heavy ransom to the enemy. It was scandalous, he contended, that any one should dare to charge him with treachery and collusion with foreign enemies, after he had thus long and faithfully served the crown, and been rewarded by high honours and important offices.

Though Suffolk's apology for his conduct was professedly a reply only to the rumours that were current against him among the vulgar, the house of commons well understood his real object in making it to be a desire to prevent them from originating a formal charge against him; and feeling themselves in some sort challenged and bound to do so, they sent up to the peers a charge of high treason against Suffolk. Of this charge, which was very long and divided into a great number of clauses, Hume thus gives a summary: "They insisted that he had persuaded the French king to invade England with an armed force, in order to depose the king Henry, and to place on the throne his own son, John de Lakole, whom he intended to marry to Margaret, the only daughter of the late duke of Somerset, and for whom, he imagined, he would by that means acquire a title to the crown, that he had contributed to the release of the duke of

Orleans, in the hope that that prince would assist King Charles in expelling the English from France and recovering full possession of his kingdom; that he had afterwards encouraged that monarch to make open war on Normandy and Guienne, and had promoted his conquests by betraying the secrets of England, and obstructing the succours intended to be sent to those provinces; and that he had, without any powers or permission, promised by treaty to cede the province of Maine to Charles of Anjou, and had ceded it accordingly, which proved in the issue the chief cause of the loss of Normandy."

These charges were easily refuted by a resolute and self-possessed man like Suffolk. As regards the cession of Maine, he justly enough said, that he had the concurrence of others of the council; but he took care not to add, that though that was an excellent reason why he should not be alone in bearing the punishment, it was no reason why he should escape punishment altogether. With respect to his alledged intentions as to his son and Margaret of Somerset, he more completely answered that charge by pointing out that no title to the throne could possibly be derived from Margaret, who was herself not included in the parliamentary act of succession, and by confidently appealing to many peers present to bear witness that he had intended to marry his son to one of the earl of Warwick's co-heiresses, and had only been prevented from doing so by the death of that lady. As if they were themselves conscious that the particulars of their first charge were too vague and wild to be successful, the commons sent up to the lords a second accusation, in which, among many other evil doings, Suffolk was charged with improperly obtaining excessive grants from the crown, with embezzling the public money, and with conferring offices upon unworthy persons, and improperly using his influence to defeat the due execution of the laws.

The court now became alarmed at the evident determination of the commons to follow up the proceedings against Suffolk with rigour, and an extraordinary expedient was adopted for the purpose of saving him from the worst. The peers, both spiritual and temporal, were summoned to the king's presence, and Suffolk being then produced denied the charges made against him, but submitted to the king's mercy; when the king pronounced that the first charge was untrue, and that as to the second, Suffolk having submitted to mercy, should be banished for five years. This expedient was far too transparent to deceive the enemies of Suffolk, who clearly saw that it was merely intended to send him out of the way until the danger was past, and then to recall him and restore him to authority. But their hatred was too intense to allow of their being thus easily baffled in their purpose; and they hired the captain of a vessel and some of his fellows, who surprised Suffolk near Dover, as he was making for France, beheaded him, and threw his body into the sea.

So great a favourite as Suffolk had been of Queen Margaret, it was, however, not deemed expedient to take any steps to bring his murderers to justice, lest in the inquiry more should be discovered than would consist with the possibility of the queen and the house of commons keeping up any longer even the simulation of civility and good feeling.

Though the duke of York was in Ireland during the whole of the proceedings against Suffolk, and therefore could not be directly connected with them, Margaret and her friends did not the less suspect him of evil designs against them, and were by no means blind to his aspiring views to the crown; nor did they fail to connect him with an insurrection which just now broke out under the direction of one Cade. This man, who was a native of Ireland, but whose crimes had obliged him for a considerable time to find shelter in France, possessed great resolution and no small share of a rude but showy ability, well calculated to impose upon the multitude. Returning to England just as the popular discontent was at its high-

est, he took the name of John Mortimer, wishing himself to be taken for a son of Sir John Mortimer, who early in the present reign had been sentenced to death by parliament, upon an indictment of high treason, wholly unsupported, and most iniquitously, on the part of Gloucester and Bedford, allowed to be executed. Taking up the popular outcry against the queen and minister, this Cade set himself up as a redresser of grievances; and partly from his own plausible talents but chiefly from the charm of the very popular name he had assumed, he speedily found himself at the head of upwards of twenty thousand men. Imagining that a very small force would suffice to put down what was considered but a vulgar riot, the court sent Sir Humphrey Stafford with a mere handful of men upon that errand; but Sir Humphrey was attacked by Cade near Sevenoaks, his little force cut up or scatterred, and himself slain. Emboldened by this success, Cade now marched his disorderly band towards London and encamped upon Blackheath, whence he sent a list of obvious grievances of which he demanded the correction; but solemnly protested that he and his followers would lay down their arms and disperse, the moment those grievances should be remedied, and Lord Say, the treasurer, and Cromer, the sheriff of Kent, against both of whom he had a malignant feeling, should be condignly punished for sundry malversations with which he strongly charged them. Confining his demands within these bounds, and taking care to prevent his fellows from plundering London, whence he regularly withdrew them at nightfall, he was looked upon with no animosity, at least, by the generality of men, who knew many of the grievances he spoke of really to exist. But when the council, seeing that there was at least a passive feeling in favour of Cade, withdrew with the king to Kenilworth, in Warwickshire, Cade so far lost sight of his professed moderation as to put Lord Say and Cromer to death without even the form of a trial. As soon as he had thus set the example of illegal violence he lost all his previous control over the mob, who now conducted themselves so infamously towards the citizens of London, that they, aided by a party of soldiers sent by Lord Scales, governor of the Tower, resisted them, and the rebels were completely defeated with very great slaughter. This severe repulse so far lowered the spirits of the Kentish mob, that they gladly retired to their homes on receiving a pardon from the archbishop of Canterbury, who also filled the office of chancellor. As soon as it could safely be done, this pardon was pronounced to be null and void, upon the ground that it had been extorted by violence; many of the rebels were seized and executed, and Cade himself, upon whose head a reward was set, was killed by a gentleman named Arden, while endeavouring to conceal himself in Sussex.

Many circumstances concurred to lead the court to suspect that this revolt had been privately set on foot by the duke of York, to facilitate his own designs on the crown; and as he was now returning from Ireland they imagined that he was about to follow up the experiment, and accordingly issued an order in the name of the imbecile Henry, to oppose his return to England. But the duke, who was far too wary to hasten his measures in the way his enemies anticipated, converted all their fears and precautions into ridicule, by coolly landing with no other attendants than his ordinary retinue. But as the fears of his enemies had caused them to betray their real feelings towards him, he now resolved to proceed at least one step towards his ultimate designs. Hitherto his title had been spoken of by his friends only in whispers among themselves, but he now authorized them openly to urge it at all times and in all places.

The partizans of the reigning king and of the aspiring duke of York, respectfully, had each very plausible arguments; and though men's minds were pretty equally divided as to their respective claims, the superiority which York had as to the favour of powerful noblemen seemed to be more

than counterbalanced by the possession, by the royal party, not only of all authority of the laws, but also of that "tower of strength," "the king's name." On the side of the crown, besides the advantages to which we have already alluded, there were ranged the earl of Northumberland and the earl of Westmoreland, and these two nobles carried with them all the power and influence of the northern counties of England; and besides these two great men, the crown could reckon upon the duke of Somerset and his brother the duke of Exeter, the duke of Buckingham, the earl of Shrewsbury, the lords Clifford, Scales, governor of the Tower, Audley and a long list of nobles of less note.

A. D. 1451.—The party of the duke of York was scarcely less strong · but so far had arts and literature begun to show their civilizing effects, that instead of instantly and fiercely flying to arms, the hostile parties seemed inclined to struggle rather by art than force. The duke of York was the more inclined to this plan, because he imagined that he had power enough in the parliament to deprive the weak Henry of the presence and support of his friends; in which case he would have but little difficulty in causing the succession to be altered by law, or even in inducing Henry to abdicate a throne which he was obviously and lamentably unfit to fill.

Nor did the parliament which now met fail to confirm York's hopes; the first step taken by the house of commons was to petition the king to dismiss from about his person the duke of Somerset, the duchess of Suffolk, the bishop of Chester, Lord Dudley, and Sir John Sutton, and to forbid them on any pretence to approach within twelve miles of the court. The king agreed to banish all named, save the lords, for a whole year, unless, as the answer written for him very significantly said, he should need their services in the suppression of rebellion. Still farther to show his sense of the temper of the lower house, the king—or rather his friends—refused to consent to a bill of attainder against the late duke of Suffolk, though it had passed through all the parliamentary stages.

A. D. 1452.—The mere demonstrations thus made by the house of commons, even though it had proved but partially successful, was sufficient to encourage the duke to more open advances, and he issued a proclamation demanding a thorough reform of the government, and especially a removal of the duke of Somerset from all office and authority; and he then marched upon London with an army of ten thousand men. Greatly popular as he knew himself to be in London, where he counted upon an affectionate welcome and a considerable addition to his force, he was astounded to find the gates fast closed against him. Scarcely knowing how to act under such unexpected and untoward circumstances, he retreated into Kent, whither he was closely pursued by the king at the head of a far superior army. In the king's suite were Salisbury, Warwick, and many more fast friends of the duke of York, who probably thus attended the king in hope of serving York as mediators, or even, should an action take place, turning the fortune of the day by suddenly leading their forces to his side. A parley ensued, and Somerset was ordered into arrest to await a parliamentary trial, and York, whom the court did not as yet dare to assail, was ordered to confine himself to his secluded house at Wigmore in Herefordshire.

Cool and circumspect as he was resolute, the duke of York lived quietly in this retirement for some time, but was at length called from it by the torrent of popular indignation against the ministers, which followed a new and abortive attempt to reconquer Gascony; in which attempt, besides a vast number of men, the English lost their deservedly beloved general, the earl of Shrewsbury, who fell in battle at the age of more than eighty years. This event, and the queen giving birth to a son, which did away with the hope great numbers had entertained that York might wait

and succeed to Henry quietly and as next heir, urged the Yorkists beyond all farther power of their chief to control them; and Henry being, by an illness, now rendered too completely imbecile even to appear to rule, the queen and her council were obliged to yield to the torrent of popular feeling, and they consented to send Somerset to the Tower—he being now hated even more than Suffolk had formerly been—and to appoint the duke of York lieutenant of the kingdom. The friends of the duke of York might, naturally enough, desire to see him in a situation so favourable to him and their ultimate views; but the duke's conduct wholly disappointed any expectations they might have formed of decisive measures on his part, as he fairly and moderately exerted the proper authority of his office, and no more.

A. D. 1455.—Margaret and her friends, however well pleased to profit by the duke's moderation, showed no intention of imitating it. On the contrary, the king recovering sufficiently to be again put forward in public as if acting from his own free will, was made to annul the appointment of York, and to release Somerset from the Tower, and give him back all his former power. Even the moderation of York was no longer able to avoid open extremities, as it was clear from the hasty annulling of his commission, that he was not safe from being, by some artful device, brought into difficulty for having even consented to accept it. But even now, though he called his forces about him and placed himself at their head, he made no claim to the crown, but limited his demands to a reformation of the government and dismissal of the obnoxious ministry.

The hostile forces met near St Alban's, and in the battle which ensued the Yorkists gained the victory, their enemies losing 5000 men, including the detested Somerset, Stafford, eldest son of the duke of Buckingham, the lord Clifford, and many other leading men of the party. The prisoners, too, were numerous, and, chief of all, the king was among them. His own utter imbecility and the mild temper of the duke of York saved the unfortunate Henry from all annoyance. The duke showed him every possible respect and tenderness; and though he availed himself of his good fortune to exert all the kingly authority, while still leaving unclaimed the empty title of king, Henry was little inclined to quarrel with an arrangement which saved him from what he most of all detested, exertion and trouble.

The moderate or timid policy of the duke of York, and the spirit and ability with which Margaret kept together her weakened party, prevented farther bloodshed for a time, even after this battle had commenced the dread war of "the roses;" in which, besides innumerable skirmishes, twelve pitched battles were fought upon English ground, and which for thirty long years divided families, desolated the land, and caused a loss of life of which some notion may be formed from the simple fact, that among the slain were no fewer than eighty princes of the blood! The parliament, seeing the disinclination of the duke of York to grasp the sceptre which seemed so nearly within his reach, shaped its proceedings accordingly; and while, by granting an indemnity to the Yorkists and restoring the duke to his office of lieutenant or protector of the kingdom, they renewed their oaths of allegiance to the unconscious and imbecile king, and limited York's appointment to the time when the king's son, who was now made prince of Wales, should attain his majority. This parliament also did good service by revoking all the impolitic and extensive grants which had been made since the death of the late king, and which were so extensive that they had mainly caused the excessive poverty into which the crown had fallen.

A. D. 1456.—Margaret was of too stern and eager a nature to neglect any of the opportunities of strengthening her party which were afforded by the singular moderation or indecision of York. The king having a tem-

porary lucid interval—for his real disease was a sort of idiotcy—she took advantage of the duke's absence to parade her unfortunate and passive husband before the parliament, and to make him declare his intention of resuming his authority. Unexpected as this proposal was, York's friends were wholly unprepared with any reasonable argument against it; and, indeed, many of them, being sufferers from the recent resumption of the crown grants, were greatly disgusted with their leader on that account. The king was accordingly pronounced in possession of his proper authority; and York, constant to his moderate or temporising polity, laid down his office without a struggle or even a complaint.

A. D. 1457.—The king, or rather Margaret, being thus again in full possession of power, the court went to pass a season at Coventry, where York and the earls of Warwick and Salisbury were invited to visit the king. They were so unsuspicious of the real motive of this invitation, that they readily accepted it, and were actually on the road when they were informed of Margaret's intention certainly to seize upon their persons, and, not improbably, to put them to death. On receiving this startling intelligence the friends separated, to prepare for their defence against the open violence which, it seemed probable, Margaret would resort to on finding her treachery discovered and disappointed; York retiring to Wigmore, Salisbury to his noble place at Middleham in Yorkshire, and Warwick to Calais, of which he had been made governor after the battle of St. Alban's, and which was especially valuable to the Yorkist cause, inasmuch as it contained the only regular military body which England then supported. Even now York was not inclined to proceed to extremities; and as Margaret on her part was doubtful as to the sufficiency of her military strength, and well aware of the very great extent to which the popular sympathies were enlisted on the side of York, a pause ensued, of which Bourchier, archbishop of York, and some other sincere lovers of their country, availed themselves, to attempt a mediation by which the people might be spared the ruinous and revolting horrors of civil war.

A. D. 1458.—The humane endeavour of these personages so far succeeded, that the leaders of both parties agreed to meet in London for a solemn and public reconciliation: but the very manner of their meeting, notwithstanding the avowed purpose of it, was sufficient to have convinced all accurate observers of the little reliance that could be placed upon the friendly feelings of either party. Both came numerously attended, and both kept their attendants near them, and in the same close watch and serried distribution as would be observed in hostile armies encamped upon the same ground at evening, preparatory for the bloodshed and the struggle of the morrow.

Though this mutual jealousy and dread augured but ill for the permanence of a friendship declared under such circumstances, the terms between the opposing parties were arranged without much difficulty and wholly without strife; and the hollow peace having been fully arranged, the parties went in solemn procession to St. Paul's, that their union might be evident to the people; York gallantly leading by the hand his truculent and implacable enemy Margaret, and each of the couples who followed them in the procession being composed of a leading man of the opposing parties respectively.

A. D. 1459.—The peace thus patched up was of exactly the frail tenure that might have been anticipated. The trivial accident of a retainer of the earl of Warwick being insulted led to a general brawl, swords were drawn, the fight became serious, and the royal party being the more numerous, Warwick only saved his own life by flying to Calais. This originally petty affair put an end to peace; both parties took off their masks; everywhere the din of preparation was heard, and it became evident even

to those who most desired peace for their country, that a civil war was now wholly inevitable.

The earl of Salisbury having raised a considerable force was making hasty marches to form a junction with the duke of York, when he was overtaken at Blore heath, in Staffordshire, by a much larger party of the royalists under the lord Audley. Salisbury's numerical inferiority was fully compensated by his superiority of judgment. To reach him the royalists had to descend a steep bank and cross a stream. Salisbury caused his men to retreat, as if alarmed at their enemies' number; and Audley, falling into the snare, gave his vanguard the word to charge and led them in full pursuit. As the vanguard reached the side of the rivulet, Salisbury suddenly faced about, and having only to deal with a body inferior to his own, put it completely to the rout, the remaining body of the royalists, instead of hastening over to support their comrades, betaking themselves to flight in good earnest.

York's post was at Ludlow, in Shropshire, and thither Salisbury now marched his troops, whose spirits were heightened and confirmed by their victory. Soon after his arrival York received a new accession to his numbers, the earl of Warwick joining him with a body of veterans from the garrison of Calais. York was naturally delighted with this accession of disciplined men, who, under ordinary circumstances, must necessarily have been of immense importance; but their commander, Sir Andrew Trollope, turned their presence into a calamity instead of an advantage to the duke's cause. The royal army arrived in sight of the Yorkists, and a general action was to take place on the morrow, when Sir Andrew, under cover of the night, basely led his veterans over to the king. The mere loss of a large and disciplined body of men was the least mischief this treachery did to York. It spread a perfect panic of suspicion and dismay through the camp; the very leaders could no longer rely upon each other's good faith; hope and confidence fled, and the Yorkists determined to separate and await some more favourable state of things ere putting their cause to the hazard of a pitched battle. The duke of York retired to Ireland, where he was universally beloved, and Warwick returned to Calais, were he was from time to time joined by large reinforcements; York's friends who remained in England continuing to recruit for him as zealously as though his cause had sustained no check from the recent treason.

A. D. 1460.—Having completed his own preparations, and being satisfied from the advices of his friends in England that he might rely upon a considerable rising of the people in his favour, Warwick now sailed from Calais with a large and well-equipped army, and, after capturing some of the royal vessels at sea, landed in safety on the coast of Kent, accompanied by the earl of Marche, the eldest son of the duke of York, and the earl of Salisbury; and on his road to London he was joined by the archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Cobham, and other powerful nobles and gentlemen.

The city of London eagerly opened its gates to Warwick, whose numbers daily increased so much, that he was able with confidence to advance to Northampton to meet the royal army. The battle commenced furiously on both sides, but was speedily decided. The royalists who had lately been benefited by treason were now sufferers from it; the lord Grey of Ruthin, who had the command of its vanguard, leading the whole of his troops over to the Yorkists. A universal panic spread through the royalists by this base treachery, and the battle became a rout. The slaughter among the nobility was tremendous, and included the duke of Buckingham, the earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Egremont, Sir William Lucie, and many other gallant officers. The loss of the common soldiery on the royal side was comparatively trifling; the earl of Warwick and his col-

leagues directing the Yorkists, both in the battle and the chase, to spare the soldiery, but to give no quarter among the leaders.

The unhappy Henry, who was far more fit for the quiet seclusion of some well-ordered country abode, was by the compulsion of his imperious wife a spectator of this battle, and was taken prisoner; but both policy and good feeling led the Yorkist leaders to show every respect and kindness to one whose greatest misfortune was being a king, and whose greatest fault was a disease of the brain; whose patient and simple bearing, moreover, had won him the tender pity of his people.

Warwick marched with his royal captive to London, where the duke of York shortly afterwards arrived from Ireland, and a parliament was summoned in the king's name to meet at Westminster on the 7th of October. The real or affected scruples of York were now wholly at an end, and he had determined to bring forward for the first time an open and positive claim to the throne. But even now he would only do so through the medium of a farce which one cannot read of without feeling something like contempt for him, in spite of the remarkable ability of his general conduct. Though the archbishop of Canterbury knew the intentions of York fully as well as the duke himself knew them, that prelate on seeing him enter the house of lords and advance towards the throne, asked him, in a low tone, whether he had as yet paid his respects to the king; and York answered—as the prelate well knew that he was to answer—that he knew of no one to whom he owed the respect due to that title. How two grave men could unblushingly perform this scene of needless mockery, or how they could perform it unchecked by the indignant and contemptuous laughter of their fellow-peers, it really is not easy to imagine.

Having by this ridiculous scene made all the preparations that he could desire, the duke placed himself close to the throne, and addressed a long speech to the peers in advocacy of his right to the throne, and in comment upon the treason and cruelty by which the house of Lancaster had usurped and kept possession of it. So unnecessary was the farce with which the duke had thought fit to preface the statement—so well prepared were at least the majority of the peers present to hear it, that they proceeded to take the subject into consideration as coolly as their descendants of the present day would resolve themselves into a committee for the consideration of a turnpike bill. The duke probably was not very well pleased with the excess of this coolness; for the spot upon which he had placed himself and his bearing throughout the scene go to show, that he expected that the peers would by acclamation place him upon the throne against which he leaned.

The lords having invited the leading members of the lower house to aid them in the investigation of the claim of the duke of York, objections were made to it, grounded on former parliamentary settlements of the succession, and upon the fact that the duke, who had always borne the arms of York, now claimed through the house of Clarence; but to both these objections the duke's friends replied by alledging the prevailing power and great tyranny of the Lancastrians; and the peers, whom this reply satisfied—as, no doubt, had been duly agreed upon long before they met in the house—proceeded to determine that the title of the duke of York was beyond doubt just and indefeasible, but that in consideration of Henry having worn the crown thirty-eight years, he should continue to do so for the remainder of his life, the duke acting during that time as regent. The lords further determined that the duke should succeed to the throne at Henry's decease; that any attempts upon his life should be equally treason with attempts on the life of the king; and that this new settlement of the crown should be final, and abrogate and annul the settlement made previously. The duke was well contented with this moderate settlement of the question; the weak-minded and captive king

had of course no power to oppose it, and this transfer of the settlement was agreed to by the whole parliament with less excitement than a trivial party question has often caused since.

Invested with the regency, and also having the king's person in his power, York was now king in all but name; but he too well understood the audacious and able spirit of Queen Margaret, to deem himself permanently in possession as long as she remained in the kingdom at liberty. Anxious to get her into his power, that he might either imprison or banish her, he sent her, in the name of her husband, a summons to join him in London. But Margaret, who was busy raising forces in Scotland and the north of England, by promising to the bravest and most turbulent men in those parts the spoiling of all the country north of the Trent, instead of complying with this summons, unfurled the royal standard, and showed herself at the head of twenty thousand men, and prepared to fight yet another battle against York in despite of disadvantageous fortune. Whether from some unaccountable want of judgment on the part of the duke, or from the exceeding popularity of Margaret among the inhabitants of the north, causing him to be wantonly misled as to her resources, the duke with only five thousand men marched against Margaret's army, as though he had merely to put down an ordinary revolt of an undisciplined handful of men. A fatal mistake, from whatever cause it arose! The duke had already led his little army as far as Wakefield, in Yorkshire, ere he discovered his error just in time to throw himself in Sandal Castle, in that neighbourhood; and even now he might have been safe had he not been guilty of a second error, for which no one but himself could possibly be blamed. He was urged by the earl of Salisbury and the rest of the friends who accompanied him, to keep close within the castle until his son, the earl of March, could arrive from the borders of Wales, where he was levying troops, and thus, when he had something like an equality as to numbers, to descend into the plain and give the queen battle. This prudent counsel the duke with unconceivable folly rejected, upon the ridiculous plea that he should be forever disgraced as a soldier were he to remain shut up within a fortress because threatened by a woman. Now the duke must full well have known, that, spirited and sanguinary as Margaret undoubtedly was, she was in merely the nominal command of her army that she was aided by commanders of whose talents it would be no disgrace to him to show his respect; and that finally, her force outnumbered his in the overwhelming proportion of four to one. But the truth was, that the duke had more courage as a knight than judgment as a commander; and, in spite of all that could be said by his real and judicious friends, he obstinately persisted in descending to the neighbouring plain and giving battle to the queen. As might have been anticipated, the royalists availed themselves of their vast numerical superiority, and at the commencement of the action detached a considerable body to fall upon the rear of the duke's force. This manœuvre hastened the event, which was not doubtful even from the commencement; the duke's army was completely routed and he himself was among the number of the slain.

That Margaret should chose to resist the prince was natural, even apart from any doubt she might have felt as to the superiority of his claim to that of her husband; but her conduct after the battle showed a depraved and virulent feeling, which was at once unwomanly and of evil augury to the people in the event of her ever being firmly fixed in power. The body of her illustrious opponent, whose triumph would have been secure some years before had he chosen to push his power to extremity, was found among the slain; and this disgustingly unfeminine queen had the head struck off and affixed to the gate of York castle, a paper crown being first placed upon the ghastly head, in bitter and cruel mockery of the duke's unsuccessful endeavours. Margaret's cruel temper seems to have in-

fluenced her friends. The young earl of Rutland, son of the duke of York, and then only seventeen years old, being taken prisoner and led into the presence of Lord Clifford, was by that nobleman's own hand put to death. This dastardly butchery of a mere boy is accounted for by the historians on the ground of Clifford's own father having perished in the battle of St. Alban's! As though that could have been any justification of his present butchery of a young prince who at the time of that battle was barely twelve years old! Another illustrious victim was the earl of Salisbury, who being severely wounded was taken prisoner, carried to Pontefract, and there beheaded.

This battle was a terrible loss to the Yorkists, upwards of three thousand of whom perished, besides the duke. That prince was only fifty years of age when he fell, and was reasonably looked upon by his party as being likely to be their support and ornament for many years. He was succeeded in his title and pretensions by his eldest son, Edward; besides whom he left two other sons, George and Richard, and three daughters, Anne, Elizabeth, and Margaret.

A. D. 1461.—Immediately after this action the able and active, though most hatefully cruel Margaret, marched with the main body of her army against the earl of Warwick, who was left in command of the main body of the Yorkists at London, while she sent a detachment under Jasper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, and half-brother to her unfortunate husband, against Edward, the new duke of York, who was still on the Welsh border. The earl of Pembroke and the duke of York met at Mortimer's Cross, in Herefordshire, when the earl was completely routed with the loss of nearly four thousand men; the remainder of his force being scattered in all directions, and he himself having no small difficulty in making good his retreat. His father, Sir Owen Tudor, who accompanied him to this disastrous battle, was still less fortunate; being taken prisoner and led into the presence of the duke of York, that prince instantly ordered him to be beheaded.

Margaret was more fortunate than Pembroke. She encountered Warwick at St. Alban's, whither he had marched from London to meet her. Warwick's own force was large, and he was strongly reinforced by volunteers, the Londoners being for the most part staunch Yorkists. At the commencement of the battle Warwick even had the advantage, but he was suddenly deserted by Lovelace, who commanded under him, and who led the whole of his men over to the enemy. The consequence was the complete rout of the Yorkists, two thousand three hundred of whom perished on the field. Many Yorkists also were taken prisoners, as was the unhappy king, who had been taken to the battle by Warwick, and who, in falling again into the power of his queen, could scarcely so properly be said to be rescued as to be taken prisoner. Unhappy prince! Into whose hands soever he might pass, the weakness of his mind rendered him but the mere tool and pretext of his possessors, who hurried him hither and thither, now vexing his dull intellect with the subtle schemes of party, and now startling his tame and timorous spirit with the bloody scenes and rude alarms of the tented field. Unhappy, thrice unhappy prince!

Margaret here gave a new proof of her sanguinary temper. Lord Bonville, who had been entrusted with the care of the king's person during the battle, was rather agreeable to the weak prince, who, on the defeat of the Yorkists, begged this nobleman to remain, and assured him of pardon and protection. But Margaret, as soon as the confusion of battle allowed her to interfere, ordered him to be beheaded; and a similar doom was inflicted upon Sir Thomas Kyriel, who had greatly distinguished himself during the wars in France.

Before Margaret could turn the victory she thus abused to any practical advantage, the young duke of York rapidly approached her; and as she

was sensible of her disadvantages in being between his army and London, where he was so popular, she hastily retreated northward; while Edward, whom she but narrowly avoided, and whose army was far more numerous than hers, entered London in triumph, and to the great delight of his party. Finding his cause so numerously supported by the Londoners, and greatly elated by the cordial gratulations which they bestowed upon him, which he doubtless owed fully as much to his youth, the elegance of his person, and his kindly though courtly address, he determined to cast aside all the hesitation and delay which had proved so fatal to his father, to assume the throne in despite of Henry's existence, and to maintain his assumption by treating as traitors and rebels all who should venture to oppose it. As, however, he was desirous of having at least the appearance of the national consent to his claims, and as the appealing to parliament would be infinitely too tedious for his impatience, and might even give time for some fatal bar to arise to his success, he assembled his army and a great multitude of the Londoners in St. John's Fields, where an artful and yet passionate harangue was pronounced in vituperation of the other faction, and in support of the claims and in praise of the high qualities of Edward himself. Such an harangue as this, delivered before a meeting composed exclusively of the friends and partizans of Edward, could not fail to elicit applause; and when it was followed up by the question "which king they would have, Henry of Lancaster or Edward of York?" who can be in doubt as to the reply with which the multitude made the very welkin ring. Edward duke of York having thus been hailed by "the people" as their king under the style of Edward IV., certain peers, prelates, and other influential personages were next assembled at Baynard's castle, who confirmed what they obstinately affected to call "the people's decision;" and Edward IV. was duly proclaimed king on the 5th of March, thus putting a formal end to the reign of the unfortunate Henry, whose infancy was graced with two crowns, and hailed by the loyal shouts of two nations, and whose manhood had been only one long series of servitude in the hands of avowed enemies, or of friends whose yoke was quite as heavy, and perhaps even more painful.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE REIGN OF EDWARD IV.

Though Edward was now only in his twentieth year, he had already given proofs of activity, courage and a very determined purpose; to which we must add, that almost the very first act of his reign showed that if he were more prompt and resolute than his father, he was also by far more violent and sanguinary. A citizen of London had the sign of the crown above his shop, and jocularly said that his son should be "heir to the crown." Anything more harmless than this jocular speech, or more obvious than the tradesman's real meaning, it would not be easy to imagine. But Edward, jealous of his title and feeling himself insecure upon the throne, gave a treasonable interpretation to a merry joke, insisted that it had a derisive allusion to himself, and actually had the unfortunate man condemned for treason—and executed!

This brutal murder was a fitting prelude to the scenes of slaughter with which the kingdom was soon filled; and plainly proclaimed that Margaret had now to deal with an opponent to the full as truculent and unsparing as herself. The nation was divided into Lancastrians and Yorkists, the former bearing the symbol of the red, the latter of the white rose; and as though the blood shed in actual fight were insufficient to allay the tiger-like desire of the principal opponents, the scaffolds were dyed deeply with the blood of the prisoners taken by either party.

Margaret's popularity in the northern counties had enabled her to get together an army of sixty thousand men, with which she took post in Yorkshire, whither Edward and the earl of Warwick hastened to meet her. On arriving at Pontefract, Edward despatched Lord Fitzwalter with a detachment to secure the passage over the river Ayre, at Ferrybridge. Fitzwalter obtained possession of the important post in question, but was speedily attacked there by very superior numbers of the Lancastrians under Lord Clifford, who drove the Yorkists from their position with great slaughter, Fitzwalter himself being among the slain. When the remains of the beaten detachment carried these disastrous tidings to the earl of Warwick, that nobleman, fearing that the misfortune would destroy the spirits of his troops, had his horse brought to him, stabbed it to the heart in presence of the whole army, and solemnly swore that he would share the fatigues and the fate of the meanest of his soldiers. He at the same time caused public proclamation to be made, giving permission to any soldier who feared the approaching struggle immediately to depart from the army; and in a similar spirit denounced the most severe punishment upon any who on the actual day of battle should show any symptoms of cowardice while before the enemy. As the post which had been so disastrously lost by Fitzwalter was of great importance, Lord Falconberg was sent with a new detachment to recover it; and, crossing the river at some miles above Ferrybridge, he fell suddenly upon Lord Clifford's detachment and routed it, Clifford himself being among the very considerable number of the killed.

The opposing armies at length met at Towton. The Yorkists charged under favour of a severe snow-storm which the wind drove into the faces of the enemy, whose half blinded condition was still further turned to advantage by Lord Falconberg, who caused a party of his archers, while yet at more than ordinary arrow-shot from the opposite army, to discharge a volley of the light, far flying, but nearly harmless arrows called *flight* arrows, and immediately to shift their position. The Lancastrians, quite unsuspicious of the stratagem, and prevented by the snow from noticing their opponents' change of position, sent volley after volley of their arrows in the direction whence they had been assailed, and when they had thus bootlessly emptied their quivers the main body of the Yorkists, led on by Edward himself, made a grand and terribly destructive charge; the bow was laid aside on both sides for the sword and battle-axe, and the Lancastrians were routed and pursued all the way to Tadcaster by their enemy. The Lancastrian loss, in the battle and the scarcely less murderous pursuit, was calculated at six and thirty thousand men; among whom were the earl of Westmoreland and his brother Sir John Nevil, the earl of Northumberland, the lords Dacres and Welles, and Sir Andrew Trollope, whose treachery had formerly been so disastrous to the cause of the Yorkists. The earl of Devonshire, who was among the prisoners, was carried before Edward, who sternly ordered him to be beheaded and his head to be stuck upon the gate of York castle; whence the heads of the late duke of York and the earl of Salisbury were now taken down. Margaret and her unhappy husband were fortunate enough to escape to Scotland, whither they were accompanied by the duke of Somerset and by the duke of Exeter, who had sided against Edward, although he had married his sister. Scotland was so much torn by faction that the Scottish council afforded but little encouragement to Margaret to even hope for assistance, until she promised to give up Berwick and to contract for a marriage of her son and the sister of King James. Even then the friendship of the Scots did not assume an aspect very threatening to Edward, who tranquilly returned to London and summoned a parliament.

Edward's success rendered this parliament very ready to recognise his title to the throne by descent from the family of Mortimer it expressed

the utmost detestation of what it now called the intrusion of Henry IV., annulled all grants made by the Lancastrians, and declared Edward's father rightly seized of the crown, and himself the rightful king from the very day that he was hailed so by acclamation of the soldiery and rabble, which it complacently termed "the people."

A. D. 1462.—Though Edward found his parliament thus accommodating, he soon perceived that he had very great difficulties to contend against ere he could consider himself secure in his possession of the crown. Not only were there numerous disorders at home, the necessary result of civil war, but there were enemies abroad. France, especially, seemed to threaten Edward with annoyance and injury. The throne of that country was now filled by Louis XI., a wily, resolute, and unsparing despot. Fortunately for Edward, however, the tortuous policy of Louis had placed him in circumstances which rendered his power to injure the reigning king of England very unequal indeed to his will to do so. He at first sent only a very small body to the assistance of Margaret, and even when that queen subsequently paid him a personal visit to solicit a more decided and efficient aid, his own quarrels with the independent vassals of France only allowed him to spare her two thousand men-at-arms, a considerable force, no doubt, but very unequal to the task of opposing such a prince as Edward.

With this force, augmented by numerous Scottish adventurers, Margaret made an irruption into the northern counties of England, but she was defeated by Lord Montague, warder of the eastern marches between England and Scotland, first at Hedgeley Inver, and then at Hexham. In the latter action Margaret's force was completely destroyed. Among the prisoners were Sir Humphrey Neville, the duke of Somerset, and the lords Hungerford and De Roos, all of whom, with many gentleman of less note, were summarily executed as traitors. Henry, who had been as usual, forced to the battle-field, was for a time concealed by some of his friends in Lancashire, but at the end of about a year was given up to Edward, who held him in too much contempt to injure him beyond committing him to close custody in the Tower of London.

Margaret after her escape from the fatal field of Hexham went through adventures which read almost like the inventions of romance. She was passing through a forest with her son when she was attacked by robbers, who, treating with contempt her royal rank, robbed her of her valuable jewels and also personally ill treated her. The division of their rich booty caused a general quarrel, which so much engaged their attention that Margaret and her son were enabled to escape. She was again stopped in the forest by a single robber, to whom—deriving fearlessness from the very desperation of her circumstances—she courageously said, "Here, my friend, is the son of your king; to your honour I entrust his safety." The bold demeanour of the queen chanced to chime in with the robber's humour; he vowed himself to her service, and protected her through the forest to the sea coast, whence she escaped to her father's court, where for several years she lived in a state of ease and quietude strangely in contrast with the stormy life she so long had been accustomed to lead.

Margaret powerless, Henry imprisoned, and Louis of France fully engaged with quarrels nearer home, Edward now thought himself sufficiently secured upon his throne to be warranted in indulging in the gayeties and amours which were so well suited to his youth and temperament. But though his gallantries were by no means ill taken by his good citizens of London, and perhaps even made him more popular than a prince of graver life would have been at that time, his susceptibility to the charms of the fair at length involved him in a serious quarrel.

The earl of Warwick and other powerful friends of Edward advised him to marry, and thus, by his matrimonial alliance, still farther strengthen

his throne. The advice tallied well with Edward's own judgment, and the earl of Warwick was dispatched to Paris to treat for the hand of Bona of Savoy, sister of the queen of France, and Warwick succeeded so well that he returned to England with the whole affair ready for formal ratification. But during Warwick's absence his fickle and amorous master had been engaged in rendering the earl's mission not merely useless, but as mischievous as anything could be that was calculated to excite the hatred and rage of such a prince as Louis XI.

The lady Elizabeth, widow of Sir John Grey, of Groby, who was killed at the second battle of St. Albans, was, by the confiscation of her husband's estates, for his siding with the Lancastrians, so reduced in her worldly circumstances, that she and her children were dependant on her father, in whose house, at Grafton in Northamptonshire, they all resided. She was still young, and her remarkable beauty was little impaired by the sorrows she had endured; and the king, while hunting, chancing to visit Grafton, the lady Elizabeth took the opportunity to throw herself at his feet and entreat the restoration of her husband's estates, for the sake of her unfortunate children. At sight of her beauty, heightened by her suppliant attitude, the inflammable king fell suddenly and deeply in love with her. He in his turn became a suitor, and as her prudence or her virtue would not allow her to listen to dishonourable proposals, the infatuated monarch privately married her.

When Warwick returned from France with the consent of Louis to the marriage with Bona of Savoy, the imprudent marriage of the king, hitherto kept quite secret, was of necessity divulged; and Warwick, indignant and disgusted with the ridiculous part he had been made to play in wooing a bride for a prince who was already married, left the court with no amicable feelings towards his wayward master.

A. D. 1465.—The mischief of Edward's hasty and inconsiderate alliance did not end here. Like all persons who are raised much above their original rank, the queen was exceedingly presuming, and the chief business of her life was to use her influence over her still enamoured husband to heap titles and wealth upon her family and friends, and to ruin those who were, or were suspected to be, hostile to her grasping and ambitious views. Her father, a mere private gentleman, was created earl of Rivers, made treasurer in the room of the lord Mountjoy, and constable for life, with succession to his son, who, marrying the daughter of Lord Scales, had the title as well as the vast estates of that nobleman conferred upon him. The queen's sisters were provided with proportionally splendid marriages, and the queen's son by her first marriage, young Sir Thomas Grey, was contracted to the heiress of the duke of Exeter, a niece of the king, whose hand had been promised to Lord Montague, who, with the whole powerful Neville family, was consequently very deeply offended.

The exorbitant and insatiable craving of the queen's family disgusted every one; but to no one did it give such bitter feelings as to the earl of Warwick, who, though from his favour with the crown he had made up his fortune to the enormous amount of eighty thousand crowns per annum, as we learn from Philip de Comines, was himself of so grasping a nature that he was still greedy for more gain, and, perhaps, still more disinclined to see others in possession of the favour and influence which he formerly had almost exclusively enjoyed. This powerful noble, having vexations of this kind to imbitter his anger at the way in which he had been treated as regarded the marriage, was urged to wishes and projects most hostile to Edward's throne; and as many of the nobility were much disgusted with Edward on account of his resumption of grants, Warwick had no difficulty in finding sympathy in his anger and association in his designs.

Among all the high personages of the kingdom to whom Edward's imprudent marriage and uxorious folly gave offence, none felt more deeply, perhaps none more reasonably, offended than Edward's second brother, the duke of Clarence. From his near relationship to the king he had every right to expect the most liberal treatment at his hands; but so far was he from receiving it, that while the queen and her recently obscure relations were overwhelmed with favours of the most costly kind, his fortunes were still left precarious and scanty. Warwick, a shrewd judge of men's tempers, easily descried the wounded and indignant feelings of Clarence, and offered him the hand of his eldest daughter, who, being Warwick's co-heiress, could bring the duke a much larger fortune than the king could bestow upon him, even had he been better inclined than he had hitherto appeared, to mend the slender fortunes of his brother. Having thus united the influence of the duke of Clarence to his own, and engaged him inextricably in his projects, Warwick had no difficulty in forming an extensive and very powerful confederacy against the king.

A. D. 1469.—The unsettled and turbulent temper of the kingdom, and the preparatory measures of such a confederacy, so headed, could not fail to produce a state of things in which the slightest accidental occurrence might lead to the most extensive and dangerous public disorders, especially as in spite of all Edward's success, and the stern severity with which he had used it, there was still remaining throughout the country a strong though a concealed attachment to the ruined house of Lancaster. A grievance which at first sight appeared little connected with state quarrels, and of a nature to be easily settled by so arbitrary a monarch as Edward, caused the brooding discontents to burst forth into open violence.

St. Leonard's hospital, in Yorkshire, like many similar establishments, had from a very early age possessed the right of receiving a thrave of corn from every ploughland in the district; and the poor complained, most likely with great reason, that this tax, which was instituted for their relief, was altogether, or nearly so, perverted to the personal emolument of the managers of the charity. From complaints, wholly treated with contempt or neglect, the peasantry in the neighbourhood proceeded to refusal to pay the tax; and when their goods and persons were molested for their contumacy, they fairly took up arms, and having put to death the whole of the hospital officials, they marched, full fifteen thousand strong, to the gates of the city of York. Here they were opposed by some troops under the lord Montague, and he having taken prisoner their leader, by name Robert Hulderne, instantly caused him to be executed, after the common and disgraceful practice of those violent times.

The loss of their leader did not in the least intimidate the rebels; they still kept in arms, and were now joined and headed by friends of the earl of Warwick, who saw in this revolt of the peasantry a favourable opportunity for aiding their own more extensive and ambitious views.

Sir Henry Neville and Sir John Conyers having placed themselves at the head of the rebels, drew them off from their merely local and loosely contrived plans and marched them southward, their numbers increasing so greatly during their progress as to cause great and by no means ill-founded alarm to the government. Herbert, who had obtained the earldom of Pembroke on the forfeiture of Jasper Tudor, was ordered to march against the rebels at the head of a body of Welshmen, reinforced by five thousand well-appointed archers commanded by Stafford, earl of Devonshire, who had obtained that title on the forfeiture of the great Courtney family. Scarcely had these two noblemen, however, joined their forces, when a quarrel broke out between them upon some trivial question about priority of right to quarters, and so utterly forgetful did the anger of Devonshire render him of the great and important object of

his command, that he sullenly drew off his valuable force of archers, and left the earl of Pembroke to stand the brunt of the approaching encounter with the rebels with his own unaided and inferior force.

Undismayed by this defection of his colleague, Pembroke continued to approach the rebels, when the hostile forces met near Banbury. At the first encounter Pembroke gained the advantage, and Sir Henry Neville being among his prisoners, he had that popular gentleman immediately executed. If this severity was intended to strike terror into the rebels it wholly failed of its purpose. The rebels, so far from being intimidated, were incited by their rage to a carnage more desperate than, probably, any other means could have inspired them with, and they attacked the Welsh so furiously that the latter were completely routed, and vast numbers perished in the pursuit, the Welsh sternly refusing quarter. Pembroke being unfortunately taken prisoner by the rebels, was by them consigned to the same fate which he had inflicted upon their leader. The king was very naturally excited to the utmost indignation by the fatal results of the obstinacy and insubordination of the earl of Devonshire, whom he caused to be executed.

Even here the cold butcheries which either party dignified with the name of executions did not terminate. Some of the rebels, dispatched to Grafton by Sir John Conyers, succeeded in capturing the queen's mother, the earl of Rivers, and his son, Sir John Grey; and, their sole crime being that they were related to the queen and that they were not philosophers enough to refuse to profit by that relationship, they, too, were "executed" by the rebels.

Though there is no reasonable ground for doubting that the earl of Warwick, and his son-in-law, the duke of Clarence, were the real directors of the revolt, they deemed it politic to leave its public management to Neville and Conyers—doubtless to be tolerably sure of the result before they would too far commit their personal safety. Accordingly all the while that so much bloodshed had been going on in England, Warwick and Clarence lived in great apparent unconcern at Calais, of which the former was governor, and, still farther to conceal their ultimate intentions from the king, Warwick's brother, the lord Montague, was among the bravest and most active of the opponents of the rebels. So confident was Warwick that the suspicions of the king could not fall upon him, though the murder of the earl Rivers was surely a circumstance to have pointed to the guilt of that nobleman's bitterest rival, that he and Clarence, when the languid rate at which the rebellion progressed seemed to promise a disastrous issue to it, came over to England, and were entrusted by Edward with very considerable commands, which, probably from want of opportunity, they made no ill use of. The rebellion having been already very considerably quelled, Warwick, probably anxious to save as many malcontents as possible for a future and more favourable opportunity, persuaded Edward to grant a general pardon, which had the effect of completely dispersing the already wearied and discouraged rebels.

Though Warwick and Montague gave so much outward show of loyalty, and though the king heaped favours and honours upon the family, he yet seems to have been by no means unaware of the secret feelings of both these restless noblemen; for on one occasion when he accompanied them to a banquet given by their brother, the archbishop of York, he was so impressed with the feeling that he intended to take that opportunity of dispatching him by poison or otherwise, that he suddenly rushed from the banqueting room and hastily returned to his palace.

A. D. 1470.—A new rebellion now broke out. At the outset there were no signs to connect either Clarence or the earl of Warwick with it; ye as we know how inveterately disloyal both the duke and the earl were from the moment that Edward married, and also that as soon as they had

an opportunity, and had reason to believe that the rebellion would be successful, they prepared, as will be seen, to add open revolt to the foulest treachery. This rebellion commenced in Lincolnshire, and in a very short time the leader of it, Sir Robert Welles, was at the head of not fewer than thirty thousand men. Sir Robert's father, the Lord Welles, not only took no part in the proceedings of his son, but showed his sense of both their danger and impropriety by taking shelter in a sanctuary. But this prudent conduct did not save him from the vengeance of the king. The unfortunate nobleman was by plausible arguments allured from the sanctuary, and, in company of Sir Thomas Dymoke, beheaded by the king's orders. Edward soon after gave battle to the rebels and defeated them, and Sir Robert Welles and Sir Thomas Launde being taken prisoners, were immediately beheaded. So little did the king suspect Clarence and Warwick of any concealed influence in these disturbances, that he gave them commissions of array to raise troops to oppose the rebels. The opportunity thus afforded them of forwarding their treasonable views was too tempting to be resisted, and they at once removed all doubts as to their real feelings by levying forces against the king, and issuing remonstrances against the public measures and the king's ministers. The defeat of Sir Robert Welles was a sad discouragement to them, but they had now proceeded too far to be able to withdraw, and they marched their army into Lancashire. Here they fully expected the countenance and aid of Sir Thomas Stanley, who was the earl of Warwick's brother-in-law, but finding that neither that nobleman nor the lord Montague would join them, they dismissed their army and hastened to Calais (the government of Warwick) where they confidently calculated upon finding a sure and safe refuge. Here again, however, they were doomed to be disappointed. On leaving Calais the last time, Warwick had left there, as his deputy governor, a Gascon named Vaucler. This gentleman, who was no stranger to Warwick's disloyalty, readily judged by the forlorn and ill-attended style in which that nobleman and the duke of Clarence now made their appearance before Calais, that they had been unsuccessfully engaged in some illegal proceeding; he therefore refused them admittance, and would not even allow the duchess of Clarence to land, though she had been delivered of a child while at sea, and was in a most pitiable state of ill health. As, however, he by no means wished to break irremediably with men whom some chance might speedily render as powerful as ever, Vaucler sent wine and other stores for the use of the duchess, and secretly assured Warwick that he only seemed to side against him, in order that he might, by gaining the confidence of the king, be able to give the fortress up to the earl at the first opportunity; and he dilated upon those circumstances of the place which rendered it very improbable that the garrison and inhabitants would just at that time suffer it to be held by Warwick against the established government of England. Whatever might be Warwick's real opinion of the sincerity of Vaucler, he feigned to be quite satisfied with his conduct, and having seized some Flemish vessels which lay off the coast, he forthwith departed to try his fortune at the court of France. Here he was well received, for the French king had formerly held a close correspondence with the earl, and was just now exceedingly hostile to Edward on account of the friendship which existed between that monarch and the most turbulent as well as the most powerful vassal of France, the duke of Burgundy. Though the earl of Warwick had so much reason to hate the house of Lancaster, the king so urgently pressed him to a reconciliation, and to attempt to restore that house to the throne of England, that at an interview with Queen Margaret the earl consented to a reconciliation, and to doing his utmost to restore Henry to his throne on certain conditions. The chief of these conditions were, that the earl of Warwick and the duke of Clarence should administer in England during

the whole minority of Prince Edward, son and heir of Henry; that that young prince should marry the lady Anne, Warwick's second daughter, and that, failing issue to them, the crown should be entailed on the duke of Clarence, to the absolute exclusion of the issue of the reigning king. By way of showing the sincerity of this unnatural confederacy, Prince Edward and the lady Anne were married immediately.

Edward, who well knew the innate and ineradicable hostility of Warwick's real feelings towards the house of Lancaster, caused a lady of great talent to avail herself of her situation about the person of the duke of Clarence, to influence the duke's mind, especialy with a view to making him doubtful of the sincerity of Warwick, and of the probability of his long continuing faithful to this new alliance; and so well did the fair envoy exert her powers, that the duke, on a solemn assurance of Edward's forgiveness and future favour, consented to take the earliest favourable opportunity to desert his father-in-law. But while Edward was intent upon detaching the duke of Clarence from Warwick, this latter nobleman was no less successful in gaining over to his side his brother, the marquis of Montague, whose adhesion to Warwick was the more dangerous to Edward because Montague was entirely in his confidence.

When Warwick had completed his preparations, Louis supplied him with men, money, and a fleet; while the duke of Burgundy, on the other hand, closely united with Edward, and having a personal quarrel with Warwick, cruised in the channel in the hope of intercepting that nobleman ere he could land in England. The duke of Burgundy, while thus actively exerting himself for Edward's safety, also sent him the most urgent and wise advice; but Edward was so over confident in his own strength, that he professed to wish that Warwick might make good his landing.

In this respect his wish was soon granted. A violent storm dispersed the duke of Burgundy's fleet, and Warwick was thus enabled to land without opposition on the coast of Devon, accompanied by the duke of Clarence and the earls of Oxford and Pembroke. The king was at this time in the north of England engaged in putting down a revolt caused by Warwick's brother-in-law, the lord Fitzhugh; and Warwick's popularity being thus left unopposed, he, who had landed with a force far too small for his designs, saw himself in a very few days at the head of upwards of sixty thousand men.

The king on hearing of Warwick's landing hastened southward to meet him, and the two armies came in sight of each other at Nottingham. An action was almost hourly expected, and Edward was still confident in his good fortune; but he was now to feel the ill effects of the overweening trust he had put in the marquis of Montague. That nobleman suddenly got his adherents under arms during the darkness of the night hours, and made their way to the quarter occupied by the king, shouting the war-cry of the hostile army. Edward, who was awakened by this sudden tumult, was informed by Lord Hastings of the real cause of it, and urged to save himself by flight while there was still time for him to do so. So well had the marquis of Montague timed his treacherous measure, that Edward had barely time to make his escape on horseback to Lynn, in Norfolk, where he got on board ship and sailed from England, leaving Warwick so suddenly and rapidly master of the kingdom, that the fickle and hesitating Clarence had not had time for the change of sides he had contemplated, and which would now have been fatal to him.

So sudden had been Edward's forced departure from his kingdom, that he had not time to take money, jewels, or any other valuables with him; and when, after narrowly escaping from the Hanse towns, then at war with both England and France, he landed at Alcmaer, in Holland, he had nothing with which to recompense the master of the ship save a robe richly

lined with sable fur, which he accompanied with assurances of a more substantial recompense should more prosperous times return.

The duke of Burgundy was greatly annoyed at the misfortune of Edward. Personally and in sincerity the duke really preferred the Lancastrian to the Yorkist house; he had allied himself with the latter solely from the politic motive of being allied to the reigning house of England; and now that the Lancastrians were so triumphant that even the cautious Vaucler, who had been confirmed by Edward in his government of Calais, did not scruple to give that important place up to Warwick—a pretty certain proof that the Lancastrians were secure for some time at least—the duke was greatly perplexed by the necessity he was under of invidiously giving a cold reception to a near connection who was suffering from misfortune, or of being at the expense and discredit of supporting a penniless fugitive whose very misfortunes were in no slight degree attributable to his own want of judgment.

The flight of Edward from the kingdom was the signal for Warwick to give liberty to the unhappy Henry, whose confinement in the Tower had been chiefly the earl's own work. Henry was once more proclaimed king with all due solemnity, and a parliament was summoned to meet him at Westminster, whose votes were, of course, the mere echoes of the insructions of the more dominant faction of Warwick. As had formerly been agreed between Warwick and Queen Margaret, it was now enacted by the parliament that Henry was the rightful and only king of England, but that his imbecility of mind rendered it requisite to have a regency, the powers of which were placed in the hands of the duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick during the minority of Prince Edward, and the duke of Clarence was declared heir to the throne failing the issue of that young prince. As usual, very much of the time of the parliament was occupied in reversing the attainders which had been passed against Lancastrians during the prosperity of the house of York. In one respect, however, this parliament and its dictator Warwick deserve considerable praise—their power was used without that wholesale and unsparing resort to bloodshed by which such triumphs are but too generally disgraced. Many of the leading Yorkists, it is true, fled beyond the sea, but still more of them were allowed to remain undisturbed in the sanctuaries in which they took refuge; and among these was even Edward's queen, who was delivered of a son whom she had christened by the name of his absent father.

A. D. 1471.—Queen Margaret, who was perhaps, somewhat less active than she had been in earlier life, was just preparing to return to England with Prince Edward and the duke of Somerset, son to the duke of that title who was beheaded after the battle of Hexham, when their journey was rendered useless by a new turn in the affairs of England; a turn most lamentable to those Lancastrians who, as Philip de Comines tells us of the dukes of Somerset and Exeter, were reduced to absolute beggary. The turn of affairs to which we allude was mainly caused by the imprudence of the earl of Warwick, who acted towards the duke of Burgundy in such wise as to compel that prince in sheer self-defence to aid the exiled Edward. The duke's personal predilections being really on the side of the Lancastrians, it required only a timely and prudent policy on the part of the earl of Warwick to have secured, at the least, the duke's neutrality. But the earl, laying too much stress upon the relationship between Edward and Burgundy, took it for granted that the latter must be a determined enemy to the Lancastrians, and caused him to become so by sending a body of four thousand men to Calais, whence they made very mischievous irruptions into the Low Countries. Burgundy, fearing the consequences of being attacked at once by France and by England, determined to divert the attention and power of the latter by assisting his brother-in-law. But while determined so to aid Edward as to enable him

to give Warwick's party abundant anxiety and trouble, the duke was not the less careful to do so with the utmost attention to the preservation of friendly appearances towards the English government. With this view he furnished Edward with eighteen vessels, large and small, together with a sum of money; but he hired the vessels in the name of some merchants, and still further to mislead Warwick, or to give him a plausible reason for pretending to be misled, no sooner had Edward sailed than the duke publicly forbade his subjects from affording any aid or countenance to that prince either by land or water.

Edward in the meantime, with a force of two thousand men, attempted to land upon the coast of Norfolk, but was driven off, and he then landed at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire. Perceiving that here, too, from the care which Warwick had taken to fill the magistracy with his own partizans, the Lancastrian party was far the most popular and powerful, Edward adopted the policy which had formerly so well served the duke of Lancaster, and issued a proclamation in which he solemnly averred that he had landed without any intention of challenging the crown or of disturbing the national peace, but had come solely for the purpose of demanding the family possessions of the house of York, to which he was incontestibly entitled. This affected moderation caused great numbers to join his standard who would not have done so had he openly avowed his intention of endeavouring to recover the crown; and he speedily found himself possessed of the city of York and at the head of an army sufficiently numerous to promise him success in all his designs; while his chance of success was still further increased by the unaccountable apathy of the marquis of Montague, who had the command of all the forces in the north, but took no steps to check the movements of Edward, though he surely could not have been unaware how important and dangerous they were. Warwick was more alert, and having assembled a force at Leicester he prepared to give battle to Edward, who, however, contrived to pass him and to make his way to London. Had Edward been refused admittance here, nothing could have saved his cause from complete ruin; but he had not taken so bold a step without carefully and, as it proved, correctly calculating all his chances. In the first place, the sanctuaries of London were filled with his friends, who he well knew would join him; in the next place, he was extremely popular with the ladies of London, and indebted to their husbands for sums of money which they could never hope to receive unless he should succeed in recovering the crown; and in the third place, Warwick's brother, the archbishop of York, to whom the government of the city was entrusted, gave a new instance of the facile and shameless treachery which disgraced that time, by entering into a correspondence with Edward, and agreeing to betray his own brother.

Being admitted into the city of London, Edward made himself master of the person of the unfortunate Henry, who was thus once more passed from the throne to the dungeon.

Though many circumstances gave advantage to Edward, the earl of Warwick was by no means inclined to yield without a fairly stricken field, and having collected all the force he could raise he stationed himself at Barnet. Here he was doomed to the deep mortification of fully experiencing the ingratitude and treachery of Clarence, who suddenly broke from his quarters during the night, and made his way over to Edward with twelve thousand of Warwick's best troops. Had Warwick listened to the dictates of prudence he would now have closed with the offers of a peaceful settlement which were made to him by both Edward and Clarence; but he was thoroughly aroused and enraged, and he resolved to put all consequences upon the issue of a general action. It commenced accordingly, and both leaders and soldiers on each side displayed extraordinary valour. A mere accident gave a decisive turn to the long uncer

tain fortune of the day. The cognizance of the king was a sun, that of Warwick a star with rays diverging from it; and in the dense mist which prevailed during the battle the earl of Oxford was mistaken for a Yorkish leader, and he and his troops were beaten from the field with very great slaughter by his own friends. This disaster was followed by the death of Warwick, who was slain while fighting on foot, as was his brother Montague. The Lancastrians were now completely routed, and Edward giving orders to deny quarter, a vast number were slain in the pursuit as well as in the battle. Nor was the victory wholly without cost to the conquerors, who lost upwards of fifteen hundred men of all ranks.

As Warwick had determined not to make terms with Edward, his best policy would have been to await the arrival of Queen Margaret, who was daily expected from France, and whose influence would have united all Lancastrians and probably have ensured victory. But Warwick, unsuspicious of Clarence's treachery, felt so confident of victory, that he was above all things anxious that Margaret should not arrive in time to share his anticipated glory; but though he had on that account hurried on the action, Margaret and her son, attended by a small body of French, landed in Dorsetshire on the very day after the fatal battle of Barnet. Here as soon as she landed she learned Warwick's defeat and death, and the new captivity of her inveterately unfortunate husband; and she was so much depressed by the information that she took sanctuary at Beaulieu abbey. She was here visited and encouraged by Tudor, earl of Pembroke, Courtenay, earl of Devonshire, and other men of rank and influence, and induced to make a progress through Devon, Somerset, and Gloucestershire. In this neighbourhood her cause appeared to be exceedingly popular, for every day's march made a considerable addition to her force. She was at length overtaken at Tewkesbury, in Gloucestershire, by Edward's army, and in the battle which ensued she was completely defeated, with the loss of about three thousand men, among whom were the earl of Devonshire and Lord Wenlock, who were killed in the field, and the duke of Somerset and about a score more persons of distinction who, having taken sanctuary in a church, were dragged out and beheaded.

Among the prisoners were Queen Margaret and her son. They were taken into the presence of Edward, who sternly demanded of the young prince on what ground he had ventured to invade England. The high-spirited boy, regarding rather the fortune to which he was born than the powerless and perilous situation in which the adverse fortune of war had placed him, boldly and imprudently replied that he had come to England for the rightful purpose of claiming his just inheritance. This answer so much enraged Edward, that he, forgetful alike of decency and mercy, struck the youth in the face with his gauntleted hand. As though this violent act had been a preconcerted signal, the dukes of Gloucester and Clarence, with Lord Hastings and Sir Thomas Gray, dragged the young prince into an adjoining room and there dispatched him with their daggers. The unhappy Margaret was committed to close confinement in the Tower, in which sad prison Henry had expired a few days after the battle of Tewkesbury. As Henry's health had long been infirm, it seems quite likely that his death was natural, but as the temper of the times made violence at the least probable, Edward caused the body to be exposed to public view, and it certainly showed no signs of unfair means.

The cause of the Lancastrians was now extinguished. The princes of that house were dead, the best and most devoted of its friends were either fugitive or dead, and Tudor, earl of Pembroke, who had been raising forces in Wales, now disbanded them in despair, and sought safety, with his nephew, the earl of Richmond, in Brittany. The last effort was made by the bastard of Falconberg, who levied forces and advanced to London but he was deserted by his troops, taken prisoner, and executed

Edward, now wholly triumphant, summoned a parliament, which compliantly sanctioned his deeds; and all dangers being now at an end, he resumed the jovial and dissipated life to which he owed no small portion of that popularity which would, most probably, have been refused to a prince of a higher cast of character and of more manly and dignified bearing.

Edward, however, was soon recalled from his indulgence in pleasure, by the necessity for attending to his foreign interests. He was by no means unconscious of the cold and constrained reception that had been given to him in his adversity by the duke of Burgundy; but considerations of interest now led Edward to make a league with the duke against the king of France. By this league it was provided that Edward should cross the sea with not fewer than ten thousand men for the invasion of France, in which he was to be joined by the duke of Burgundy with all the force he could command. The objects proposed by the allies were to acquire for England the provinces of Normandy and Guienne, at least, and if possible the crown of France, to which Edward was formally to challenge the right; while the duke of Burgundy was to obtain Champagne, with some farther territory, and the freedom for his hereditary territories from all feudal superiority on the part of France. Their league seemed the more likely to be successful, because they had good reason to hope for the co-operation of the duke of Brittany, and they had the secret assurance of the count of St. Pol, who was constable of France, and held St. Quentin and other important places on the Somme, that he would join them when they should enter France.

A French war was always sure to excite the pecuniary liberality of the English parliament, which now granted the king two shillings in the pound on all rents, and a fifteenth and three quarters of a fifteenth; but this money was to be kept in religious houses, and returned to the contributors in the event of the expedition against France not taking place. From this stringent care of the money we may perceive how much the commons of England had increased, both in power and in the knowledge how to make efficient and prudent use of it.

A. D. 1475.—So popular was the king's project against France, that all the powerful nobles of England offered him their aid and attendance; and instead of the stipulated ten thousand men, he was enabled to land at Calais with fifteen thousand archers and fifteen hundred men-at-arms. But to Edward's great annoyance, when he entered France he was disappointed by the count of St. Pol, who refused to open his gates to him, and by the duke of Burgundy, who, instead of joining Edward with all his forces, had employed them against the duke of Lorraine and on the frontiers of Germany. This circumstance, so fatal to Edward's views, arose out of the fiery temper of Burgundy, who personally apologized, but at the same time confessed that it would be impossible for him to make his troops available to Edward for that campaign. Louis XI., that profound politician who thought nothing mean or degrading which could aid him in his views, no sooner learned the disappointment which had befallen Edward, than he sent him proposals of peace; and a truce was easily concluded between them, Louis paying seventy-five thousand crowns down, and agreeing to pay two-thirds of that sum annually for their joint lives, and to marry the dauphin, when of age, to Edward's daughter. The two monarchs met at Pecquigin to ratify this treaty; and the precautions which were taken to prevent the possibility of assassination on either side give us but a low notion of the honour by which either prince was actuated himself or supposed the other to be.

There was one clause of this treaty—otherwise so disgraceful to Louis—which was highly creditable to the French king. By it he stipulated for the safe release of the unfortunate Margaret, for whose ransom Louis

consented to pay fifty thousand crowns. She was released accordingly, and until her death, which occurred in 1482, she lived in complete seclusion from that world in which she had formerly played so conspicuous and so unfortunate a part.

There was in the character of Edward a certain cold and stubborn severity which made it no easy matter to recover his favour after he had once been offended. His brother Clarence, much as he had done in the way of treachery towards his unfortunate father-in-law, was far enough from being really restored to Edward's confidence and favour. The brooding dislike of the king was the more fatal to Clarence from that unfortunate prince having imprudently given deep offence to the queen and to his brother the duke of Gloster, a prince who knew not much of truth or of remorse when he had any scheme of ambition or violence to carry. Well knowing the rash and open temper of Clarence, his formidable enemies determined to act upon it by attacking his friends, which they rightly judged would be sure to sting him into language that would ruin him with his already suspicious and offended king and brother.

It chanced that as the king was hunting at Arrow, in Warwickshire, he killed a white buck which was a great favourite of the owner, a wealthy gentleman named Burdett. Provoked by the loss of his favourite, the gentleman passionately exclaimed that he wished the buck's horns were stuck in the belly of whoever advised the king to kill it. In our settled and reasonable times it really is no easy matter to understand how—even had the speech related, as it did not, to the king himself—such a speech could by the utmost torturing of language be called treason. But so it was. Burdett had the misfortune to be on terms of familiar friendship with the duke of Clarence: and he was tried, condemned, and beheaded at Tyburn for no alledged offence beyond these few idle and intemperate words. That Clarence might have no shadow of doubt that he was himself aimed at in the persons of his friends, this infamous murder was followed by that of another friend of the duke, a clergyman named Stacey. He was a learned man, and far more proficient than was common in that half barbarous age in astronomy and mathematical studies in general. The rabble got a notion that such learning must needs imply sorcery; the popular rumour was adopted by Clarence's enemies, and the unfortunate Stacey was tried, tortured, and executed, some of the most eminent peers not scrupling to sanction these atrocious proceedings by their presence. As the enemies of Clarence had anticipated, the persecution of his friends aroused him to an imprudent though generous indignation. Instead of endeavouring to secure himself by a close reserve, he loudly and boldly inveighed against the injustice of which his friends had been the victims, and bore testimony to their innocence and honour. This was precisely what the enemies of the duke desired; the king was insidiously urged to deem the complaints of Clarence insulting and injurious to him, as implying his participation in the alledged injustice done to the duke's friends.

A. D. 1478.—The unfortunate duke was now fairly in the toils which had been set for him by his enemies. He was committed to the Tower, and a parliament was specially summoned to try him for treason. The treasons alledged against him, even had they been proved by the most trustworthy evidence, were less treasons than mere petulant speeches. Not a single overt act was even alledged, far less proved against him. But the king in person prosecuted him, and the slavish parliament shamelessly pronounced him guilty; the commons adding to their vileness by both petitioning for the duke's execution and passing a bill of attainder against him. The dreadfully severe temper of Edward required no such vile prompting. There was little danger of his showing mercy even to a brother whom he had once fairly learned to hate! The

sole favour that he would grant the unhappy duke was that of being allowed to choose the mode of his death; and he made choice of the strange and unheard-of one of being drowned in a butt of Malmsey wine, which whimsically tragic death was accordingly inflicted upon him in the Tower of London.

A. D. 1482.—Louis XI. of France having broken his agreement to marry the dauphin to the daughter of Edward, this king contemplated the invasion of France for the purpose of avenging the affront. But while he was busily engaged with the necessary preparations he was suddenly seized with a mortal sickness, of which he expired in the twenty-third year of his reign and the forty-second of his age.

Though undoubtedly possessed of both abilities and courage, Edward was disgracefully sensual and hatefully cruel. His vigour and courage might earn him admiration in times of difficulty, but his love of effeminate pleasures must always preclude him from receiving the approbation of the wise, as his unsparing cruelty must always insure him the abhorrence of the good.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE REIGN OF EDWARD V.

A. D. 1483.—From the time of the marriage of Edward IV. with the lady Elizabeth Gray the court had been divided into two fierce factions, which were none the less dangerous now because during the life of Edward the stern character of that king had compelled the concealment of their enmities from him. The queen herself, with her brother the earl of Rivers and her son the marquis of Dorset, were at the head of the one faction, while the other included nearly the whole of the ancient and powerful nobility of the kingdom, who naturally were indignant at the sudden rise and exceeding ambition of the queen's family. The duke of Buckingham, though he had married the queen's sister, was at the head of the party opposed to her family influence, and he was zealously and strongly supported by the lords Hastings, Stanley, and Howard.

When Edward IV. felt that his end was approaching he sent for these noblemen and entreated them to support the authority of his youthful son; but no sooner was Edward dead than the leaders of both factions endeavoured to secure the chief interest with the heartless and ambitious duke of Gloster, whom Edward IV. most fatally had named regent during the minority of Edward the Fifth.

Though Gloster was entrusted with the regency of the kingdom, the care of the young prince was confided to his uncle the earl of Rivers, a nobleman remarkable in that rude age for his literary taste and talents. The queen, who was very anxious to preserve over her son the same great influence she had exerted over his father, advised Rivers to levy troops to escort the king to London to be crowned, and to protect him from any undue coercion on the part of the enemies of his family. To this step, however, Lord Hastings and his friends made the strongest and most open opposition; Hastings even going so far as to declare that if such a force were levied he should think it high time to depart for his government of Calais, and his friends adding that the levying such a force would be the actual recommencement of a civil war. Gloster, who had deeper motives than any of the other of the parties concerned, affected to think such force needless at least, and his artful professions of determination to afford the young king all needful protection so completely deceived the queen, that she altered her opinion and requested her brother to accompany his nephew to London with only such equipage as was befitting his high rank.

When the young king was understood to be on his road, Gloster set out with a numerous retinue, under pretence of desiring to escort him honourably to London, and was joined at Northampton by Lord Hastings, who also had a numerous retinue. Rivers, fancying that his own retinue added to the numerous company already assembled at Northampton would cause a want of accommodation, sent Edward to Stony Stratford, and went himself to pay his respects to the regent Gloster at Northampton. Rivers was cordially received by the duke of Gloster, with whom and Buckingham he spent the whole evening. Not a word passed whence he could infer enmity or danger, yet on the following morning as he was entering Stony Stratford to join his royal ward, he was arrested by order of the duke of Gloster. Sir Richard Gray, a son of the queen by her first marriage, and Sir Thomas Vaughan, were at the same time arrested, and all three were immediately sent under a strong escort to Pontefract castle.

Having thus deprived the young king of his wisest and most zealous protector, Gloster waited upon him with every outward show of kindness and respect, but could not with all his art quiet the regrets and fears excited in the prince's mind by the sudden and ominous arrest of his kind and good relative. The queen was still more alarmed. In the arrest of her brother she saw but the first step made towards the ruin of herself and her whole family; and she immediately retired to the sanctuary of Westminster, together with the young duke of York and the five princesses, trusting that Gloster would scarcely dare to violate the sanctuary which had proved her efficient defence against all the fury of the Lancastrian faction during the worst times of her husband's misfortunes. Her confidence in the shelter she had chosen was naturally increased by the consideration, that whereas formerly even a family opposed to hers by the most deadly and immitigable hostility was not tempted to violate the sanctuary, she had now to dread only her own brother-in-law, while her son, fast approaching the years which would enable him to terminate his uncle's protectorate, was the king.

But in reasoning thus the queen wholly overlooked the deep and dangerous nature of her brother-in-law, whose dark mind was daring enough for the most desperate deeds, and subtle enough to suggest excuses fit to impose even upon the shrewdest and most cautious. Gloster saw that the continuance of his nephew in sanctuary would oppose an insurmountable obstacle to his abominable designs; and he at once devoted his powers of subtlety to the task of getting the young prince from that secure shelter without allowing the true motive to appear. Making full allowance for the power of the church, he represented to the archbishops of Canterbury and York, that the queen in some sort insulted the church by abusing, to the protection of herself and children against the dangers which existed only in her imagination, a privilege which was intended only for persons of mature years having reason to fear grievous injury on account of either crime or debt. Now, he argued, could a mere child like the brother of their young king be in anywise obnoxious to the king, of dangers for which alone the right of sanctuary was instituted? Was not the church as well as the government concerned in putting a stop, even by force if necessary, to a course of conduct on the part of the queen which was calculated to possess mankind with the most horrible suspicions of those persons who were the most concerned in the king's happiness and safety? The prelates, ignorant of the dark designs of Gloster, and even of his real nature, which hitherto he had carefully and most dexterously disguised, could scarcely fail to agree with him as to the folly of the queen's conduct, and its entire needlessness for securing her son's safety. But, careful of the privileges of the church, they would not hear of the sanctuary being forcibly assailed, but readily agreed to

use their personal influence with the queen to induce her voluntarily to abandon alike her retreat and her fears.

The prelates had much difficulty in inducing the queen to allow the young duke of York to leave her and the protection of the sanctuary. His continuance there she again and again affirmed to be important, not only to his own safety, but to that of the young king, against whose life it would appear to be both useless and unsafe to strike while his brother and successor remained in safety. In reply to this, the prelates, sincerely though most mistakenly, assured her that she did but deceive herself in her fears for either of the royal brothers. But perhaps their strongest argument was their frank declaration that the seclusion of the young prince was so offensive both to the duke of York and the council, that it was more than possible that even force might be resorted to should the queen refuse to yield the point. Dreading lest further opposition should but accelerate the evil that she wished to avert, the unhappy queen at length, with abundance of tears and with lamentations which were but too prophetic, delivered the young prince up, bidding him, as she did so, farewell for ever.

Possessed of the protectorate, which the council, on account of his near relation to the throne, had at once conferred upon him without waiting for the consent of parliament, and now possessed of the persons of the young princes, Gloster seems to have deemed all obstacles removed to his bloody and treacherous purpose, though to any less uncompromising and daring schemer there might have seemed to be a formidable one in the existence of numerous other children of Edward, and two of the duke of Clarence.

The first step of Gloster in his infamous course was to cause Sir Richard Ratcliffe, a tool well worthy of so heartless and unsparing an employer, to put to death the earl of Rivers and the other prisoners whom he had sent to Pontefract castle, as before named; and to this measure the tyrant had the art to obtain the sanction of the duke of Buckingham and Lord Hastings, whom subsequently he most fittingly repaid for their participation in this monstrous guilt.

Gloster now quite literally imitated the great enemy of mankind—he made this first crime of Buckingham's, this participation in one murder the cause and the justification of farther crime. He pointed out to Buckingham that the death—however justifiably inflicted, as he affected to consider it—at their suggestion and command, of the queen's brother and son, was an offence which a woman of her temper would by no means forget; and that however impotent she might be during the minority of her son, the years would soon pass by which would bring his majority; she would then have both access to and influence over him; and would not that influence be most surely used to their destruction? Would it not be safer for Buckingham, aye, and better for all the real and antique nobility of the kingdom, that the offspring of the comparatively plebeian Elizabeth Gray should be excluded from the throne, and that the sceptre should pass into the hands of Gloster himself—he, who was so indissolubly the friend of Buckingham, and so well affected to the true nobility of the kingdom? Safety from the consequences of a crime already committed and irrevocable, with great and glowing prospect of rich benefits to arise from being the personal friend, the very right hand of the king, albeit a usurping king, were arguments precisely adapted to the comprehension and favour of Buckingham, who with but small hesitation agreed to lend his aid and sanction to the measures necessary to convert the duke of Gloster into King Richard III.

Having thus secured Buckingham, Gloster now turned his attention to Lord Hastings, whose influence was so extensive as to be of vast importance. Through the medium of Catesby, a lawyer much employed b

Gloster when chicane seemed the preferable weapon to actual violence Gloster sounded Hastings; but that nobleman, weak and wicked as he had proved himself, was far too sincerely attached to the children of his late sovereign and friend to consent to their injury. He not only refused to aid in the transfer of the crown from them, but so refused as to leave but little room for doubt that he would be active in his opposition. The mere suspicion was sufficient to produce his ruin, which Gloster set about instantly and almost without the trouble of disguise.

A council was summoned to meet Gloster at the Tower, and Hastings attended with as little fear or suspicion as any other member. Gloster, whose mood seems ever to have been the most dangerous when his bearing was the most jocund, chatted familiarly with the members of the council as they assembled. Not a frown darkened his terrible brow, not a word fell from his lips that could excite doubt or fear; who could have supposed that he was about to commit a foul murder who was sufficiently at ease to compliment Bishop Morton upon the size and earliness of the strawberries in his garden at Holborn, and to beg that a dish of them might be sent to him? Yet it was in the midst of such light talk that he left the council-board to ascertain that all his villainous arrangements were exactly made. This done, he entered the room again with a disturbed and angry countenance, and startled all present by sternly and abruptly demanding what punishment was deserved by those who should dare to plot against the life of the uncle of the king and the appointed protector of the realm. Hastings, really attached to Gloster, though still more so to the royal children, warmly replied that whoever should do so would merit the punishment of traitors.

"Traitors, aye traitors!" said the duke, "and those traitors are the sorceress, my brother's widow, and his mistress, Jane Shore, and others who are associated with them." And then laying bare his arm, which all present knew to have been shriveled and deformed from his earliest years, he continued, "See to what a condition they have reduced me by their abominable witheraft and incantations!"

The mention of Jane Shore excited the first suspicion or fear in the mind of Hastings, who, subsequent to the death of the late king, had been intimate with the beautiful though guilty woman of that name.

"If," said Hastings, doubtfully, "they have done this, my lord, they deserve the severest punishment."

"If!" shouted Gloster, "and do you prate to me of your *ifs* and *ands*? You are the chief abettor of the sorceress Shore; you are a traitor, and by St. Paul I swear that I will not dine until your head shall be brought to me."

Thus speaking, he struck the table with his hand, and in an instant the room was filled with armed men who had already received his orders how to act; Hastings was dragged from the room and beheaded on a log of wood which chanced to be lying in the court-yard of the Tower. In two hours after this savage murder, a proclamation was made to the citizens of London, apologising for the sudden execution of Hastings on the score of the equally sudden discovery of numerous offences which the proclamation charged upon him. Though Gloster had but little reason to fear any actual outbreak in the city, the lord Hastings was very popular there; and not a few of the citizens, even including those who were the most favourable to Gloster, seemed to agree with a merchant who, noticing the elaborate composition of the fairly written proclamation, and contrasting it with the shortness of the time which had elapsed from Hastings murder, shrewdly remarked that "the proclamation might safely be relied on, *for it was quite plain that it had been drawn by the spirit of prophecy*.

Though the extreme violence of Gloster was for the present confined to Hastings, as if in retributive justice upon his crime towards the victims of

Pontefract, the other councillors were by no means allowed to escape scot free. Lord Stanley was actually wounded by the poll-axe of one of the soldiers summoned by the treacherous protector, and only, perhaps, escaped being murdered in the very presence of that tyrant by the more dexterous than dignified expedient of falling under the table, and remaining there till the confusion attendant upon the arrest of Hastings had subsided. He was then, together with the archbishop of York, the bishop of Ely, and some other councillors whom Gloster hated for their sincere attachment to the family of the late king, conveyed from the council room of the Tower to its too ominous dungeons.

A new and a meaner victim was now essential to the dark and unsparing purposes of the protector. His connection of the murdered Hastings with the alledged sorceries of the late king's mistress, Jane Shore, rendered it necessary that he should appear to be fully convinced that she was guilty of the crimes which he had laid to her charge. The charge of witchcraft, that upon which he laid the most stress, was so wholly unsupported by evidence, that even the ignorance of the age and the power of Gloster could not get her convicted upon it; but as it was notorious that she, a married woman, had lived in a doubly adulterous intercourse with the late king, the spiritual court was easily induced to sentence her to do penance publicly, and attiredi n a white sheet, at St. Paul's. Her subsequent fate was just what might be expected from her former life. Though in her guilty prosperity she showed many signs of a humane and kindly temper, liberally succouring the distressed and disinterestedly using her influence with the king for the benefit of deserving but friendly court suitors, she passed unheeded and unaided from her public degradation to a privacy of miserable indigence.

Gloster's impunity thus far very naturally increased both his propension to crime and his audacity in its commission, and he now no longer made a secret of his desire to exclude the present king and his brother from the throne. Reckless of woman's fame as of man's life, Gloster took advantage of the known luxuriousness of the late king's life to affirm, that previous to that prince marrying the lady Elizabeth Gray he had been married to the lady Eleanor Talbot, the daughter of the earl of Shrewsbury; that this marriage, though secret, was legal and binding, and had been solemnized by Millington, bishop of Bath; and that, consequently and necessarily, Edward's children by the lady Elizabeth Gray were illegitimate. The children of Edward being thus pronounced illegitimate, Gloster, by his partisans, maintained that the attainder of the duke of Clarence necessarily dispossessed *his* children of all right. But as assertion in the former case could hardly pass for proof, and as attaint had never been ruled to exclude from the crown as from mere private succession, Gloster soared to a higher and more damning pitch of infamy; hitherto he had impugned the chastity of his sister-in-law—now he passed beyond all the ordinary villany of the world and imputed frequent and familiar harlotry to his own mother! To make his right to the throne wholly independent either of the alledged secret marriage of the late king to the lady Eleanor, or of the effect upon Clarence's children of the attainder of their father, Gloster now taught his numerous and zealous tools to maintain that his mother, the duchess of York, who was still alive, had been repeatedly false to her marriage vows, that both Edward IV. and the duke of Clarence had been illegitimate and the sons of different fathers, and that the duke of Gloster was alone the legitimate son of the duke and duchess of York.

As if this horrible charge of a son against his mother, who had lived and was still living in the highest credit of the most irreproachable virtue, were not sufficiently revolting to all good and manly feelings, the subject was first brought forward *in church; on the occasion of Dr. Shaw preaching*

a sermon before the protector. The preacher, well worthy of the patron, took the significant text, "*Bastard slips shall not thrive;*" upon which the preacher enlarged with great zeal in the endeavour to throw the stain of bastardy upon Edward IV. and his brother Clarence. Though Gloster was far too free from shamefacedness, as well as from everything in the shape of "compunctious visiting," to have any objection to being present during the delivery of the whole of the tirade against his own mother's chastity, yet from a politic motive it was arranged that he should not enter the church until the preacher should finish pronouncing the following passage. Contrasting the duke of Gloster with the alledged illegitimate sons of his mother, the preacher exclaimed, "Behold this excellent prince, the express image of his noble father, the genuine descendant of the house of York; bearing, no less in the virtues of his mind than in the features of his countenance the character of the gallant Richard, once your hero and favourite. He alone is entitled to your allegiance; he must deliver you from the dominion of all intruders; he alone can restore the lost glory and honour of the nation."

It was intended that this glowing panegyric on the duke of Gloster should be pronounced at the very moment of the object of it making his appearance in the church, in the hope that, taken by surprise and urged into enthusiastic feeling, the congregation might be induced to hail the wily and heartless tyrant with the cry of "God save King Richard." But by one of those mistakes which very often occur to throw ridicule upon the deepest schemes, the duke did not make his appearance until the whole of this precious passage had already been delivered. Rather than his eloquence and the chance of its success should be lost by this accident, the preacher actually repeated it; but the audience, either from the repetition seeming ridiculous, or its impressing them the more strongly with the falsehood and villany of the charges insinuated against the duchess of York, witnessed the performance of the disgusting farce with an indifference which probably was more severely felt by Gloster than any other punishment would have been.

The preaching of Dr. Shaw having thus failed to effect the purpose of Gloster, recourse was now had to the management of Dr. Shaw's brother, who at this time was mayor of London. He called a meeting of the citizens, to whom he introduced the duke of Buckingham, who exerted to the utmost his powers of eloquence upon the subject of Gloster's great and numerous virtues, and upon the superiority of his unquestionable claim to the throne. Though Buckingham was as earnest as he was eloquent, he could by no means communicate his own feelings to the bosoms of the good citizens, who, with most unmoved countenances and lack lustre eyes heard him in all gravity, and heard the very conclusion of his address with all silence. At once annoyed by this repulsive silence, and as much abashed by it as so experienced a courtier well could be by anything, the duke angrily demanded of the mayor what the silence of the citizens might mean. The mayor replied, that probably the citizens had not fully understood the duke, who then repeated the former speech, but still failed to elicit any reply from his auditors. The mayor, in his desire to gratify the duke, pretended that the citizens, who were always accustomed to be harangued by their own recorder, could only comprehend the duke's speech if delivered to them through the medium of that officer.

The recorder, Fitzwilliam, was accordingly desired to repeat the duke's speech, which, being no friend to Gloster's projects, he took care to do in such wise that the people could by no means take the words, though delivered by him, to leave any echo in his wishes; and he, like the duke, was heard to the very last word without any one giving him a word of reply.

The duke now became too much enraged to refrain from speaking out,

Murder of the Princes in the Tower.

and he said, "This is wonderful obstinacy; express your meaning, my friends, in one way or the other. When we apply to you on this occasion it is merely from the regard which we bear to you. The lords and commons have sufficient authority without your consent to appoint a king; but I require you here to declare, in plain terms, whether or not you will have the duke of Gloster for your sovereign?" The earnestness and anger of the duke, and the example set by some of his and the duke of Gloster's servants, caused this address, more fortunate than the former ones, to be received with a cry of *God save King Richard!* The cry was feeble, and raised by people few in numbers and of the humblest rank; but it served the purpose of Buckingham, who now, as had been concerted, hurried off to Baynard's castle to inform Gloster that the voice of "the people" called him to the throne!

Buckingham was attended to Baynard's castle by the mayor and a considerable number of citizens; and though the wily protector was most anxiously expecting this visit, he affected to be surprised and even alarmed at so many persons in company demanding to speak to him; which pretended surprise and alarm of the protector, Buckingham took care to point out to the especial notice of the thick-witted citizens. When the protector at length suffered himself to be persuaded to speak to the duke of Buckingham and the citizens, he affected astonishment on hearing that he was desired to be king, and roundly declared his own intention of remaining loyal to Edward V., a course of conduct which he also recommended to Buckingham and his other auditors. Buckingham now affected to take a higher tone with the protector. That prince, argued Buckingham, could undoubtedly refuse to accept the crown, but he could not compel the people to endure their present sovereign. A new one they would have, and if the duke of Gloster would not comply with their loving wishes on his behalf, it would only behove them to offer the crown elsewhere. Having now sufficiently kept up the disgusting farce of refusing that crown for the sake of which he had already waded through so much innocent blood, and was so perfectly prepared and determined to commit even more startling crimes still, Gloster now gave a seemingly reluctant consent to accept it; and without waiting for further repetition of this offer from "the people," he thenceforth threw aside even the affectation of acting on behalf of any other sovereign than his own will and pleasure.

The farcical portion of the usurpation, however, was but too soon afterward followed by a most tragical completion of Richard's vile crime. Tortured by the true bane of tyrants, suspicion and fear, Richard felt that so long as his young nephews survived, his usurped crown would ever be insecure, as an opponent would always be at hand to be set up against him by any noble to whom he might chance to give offence. This consideration was quite enough to insure the death of the unfortunate young princes, and Richard sent orders for their murder to the constable of the Tower, Sir Robert Brackenbury. But this gentleman was a man of honour, and he with a man of honour's spirit and feeling refused to have aught to do with a design so atrocious. The tyrant was, however, not to be baffled by the refusal of one good man to bend to his infamous designs, and having found a more compliant tool in the person of Sir James Tyrrel, it was ordered that for one night Brackenbury should surrender to that person the keys of the Tower. On that fatal night three wretches, named Slater, Dighton, and Forrest, were introduced to the chamber in which the two young princes were buried in sinless and peaceful sleep. In that sleep the young victims were smothered by the three assassins just named, Tyrrel waiting outside the door while the horrid deed was being perpetrated, and, on its completion, ordering the burial of the bodies at the foot of the staircase leading to the chamber.

It may not be quite unnecessary to mention here that doubts, from which man's ingenuity allows few truths, however plain, wholly to escape, have been thrown upon this portion of Richard's guilt; but the most ingenious reasoning and the utmost felicity at guessing are but idle when opposed to plain fact, as in the present case; something more is requisite in opposition to the actual confession made by the murderers themselves in the following reign.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE REIGN OF RICHARD III.

A. D. 1483.—Having not only grasped the crown, but also put to death the two claimants from whom he had the most reason to fear future annoyance, Richard now turned his attention to securing as strong a body of supporters as he could, by the distribution of favours. And so anxious was he upon this point, so ready to forget all other considerations in the present usefulness of those of whose services he stood in need, that he cast his shrewd eye upon powerful enemies to be conciliated as well as devoted friends to be rewarded for the past and retained for the future.

Among those whom Richard the most carefully sought to keep firm to his interests was the duke of Buckingham. Descended from Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloster, and uncle of Richard II. this nobleman was allied to the royal family, and from the same cause he had a claim upon a moiety of the vast property of Bohun, earl of Hereford, which moiety had long been held by the crown under escheat. Buckingham, though his wealth and honours were already enormous, deemed that the services he had recently rendered to Richard gave him good ground to claim this property, and also the office of constable of England, which had long been hereditary in the Hereford family. In the first exultation caused by his own success, so much of which was owing to Buckingham, Richard granted all that nobleman asked. But on cooler reflection Richard seems to have imagined that Buckingham was already as wealthy and powerful as a subject could be consistently with the safety of the crown, and though he virtually made a formal grant of the Hereford property, he took care to oppose insuperable difficulties to its actual fulfilment. Buckingham was far too shrewd to fail to perceive the real cause of the property being withheld from him; and he who had so unscrupulously exerted himself to set up the usurper, now felt fully as anxious and resolute to aid in pulling him down. The flagrancy of Richard's usurpation was such as to promise every facility to an attempt to dethrone him, if that attempt were but headed by a man of adequate power and consequence. In truth, the very success of his usurpation was scarcely more attributable to his own daring and unprincipled wickedness than to the absence of any powerful opponent. Even the lowest and meanest citizens of London had rather been coerced into a passive admission of his right to the crown than into an active support of it; and now that the duke of Buckingham was converted into an enemy of the usurper, the long dormant claims of the Lancastrians were pressed upon his attention, and not unfavourably looked upon by him. Morton, bishop of Ely, whom Richard committed to the Tower on the day of Lord Hastings' murder, had recently been committed to the less rigorous custody of the duke of Buckingham, and, perceiving the duke's discontent, turned his attention to a fitting rival to oppose the tyrant, in the person of Henry, the young earl of Richmond. Through his mother the young earl was heir of the elder branch of the house of Somerset; and though that claim to the crown would formerly have been looked upon as very slight, the failure of the legitimate branches of the house

of Lancaster now gave it considerable importance in the eyes of the adherents of that house. Even Edward IV. had been so jealous of the earl of Richmond's claim upon the throne, that after vainly endeavouring to get him into his power, he had agreed to pay a considerable yearly sum to the duke of Brittany to keep the dangerous young noble at his court, nominally as a guest, but really as a prisoner. The very jealousy thus shown towards the young earl naturally increased the attention and favour of the Lancastrians; and it now occurred to the bishop Morton, and, from his reasonings to the duke of Buckingham, that Richard might be dethroned in favour of young Henry. But as the long depression of the house of Lancaster had diminished both the zeal and the number of its adherents, Morton, with profound policy suggested the wisdom of strengthening the bonds of Henry, and at the same time weakening those of Richard, by the marriage of the former to King Edward's eldest daughter, the princess Elizabeth, and thus uniting the party claims of both families against the mere personal usurpation of Richard, who was deeply detested by the nation for his cruelty, and would consequently meet with no hearty support should he be openly opposed with even a probability of success.

Young Henry's mother, the countess of Richmond, was informed by Morton and Buckingham of their views in favour of her son; and the honour intended for him was too great to allow of any hesitation on her part. Dr. Lewis, a physician who had, professionally, the means of communicating with the queen dowager, who still found shelter in the sanctuary of Westminster, knew that whatever might have been her former prejudices against the Lancastrians, they instantly yielded to the hate and disgust with which she thought of the successful usurper who had murdered her brother and three sons. She not only gave her consent to the proposed marriage, but also borrowed a sum of money which she sent to aid Henry in raising troops, and she at the same time required him to swear to marry her daughter as soon as he could safely reach England.

Morton and Buckingham having thus far met with success, began to exert themselves among their influential friends in the various counties, to prepare them for a general and simultaneous rising in favour of the earl of Richmond when he should land; and in this respect, too, their efforts met with an uncommon success, the tyranny of Richard becoming every day more hateful to all orders of his trampled subjects.

But guilt such as that of Richard is ever suspicious, even where there is no real cause for suspicion; and the sudden activity of various men of influence could neither escape the sharpened observation of the tyrant, nor seem explicable to him on any other ground than that of treason against him. Well knowing that Buckingham was greatly addicted to political plotting, Richard with many friendly expressions invited the duke to court, where for some time he had been a stranger. Whether the king really sought a reconciliation with the duke or merely wished to obtain possession of his person does not clearly appear. The duke, however, who well knew with whom he had to deal, interpreted the king's message in the latter sense, and only replied to it by unfurling the standard of revolt in Wales at the moment when Richard was levying troops in the north.

It happened most unfortunately for Buckingham, that just as he had marched his troops to the Severn, that river was so swollen in consequence of rains of almost unexampled copiousness and duration, as to be quite impassable. This unlooked-for check cast a damp upon the spirits of Buckingham's followers, who were still farther dispirited by great distress from want of provisions. Desertions among them daily became more numerous, and Buckingham at length finding himself wholly abandoned, disguised himself in a mean habit and made his way to the house of an old servant of his family. Even in this obscure retreat, however

he was discovered and carried as a prisoner to the king, who was then posted at Salisbury. All the former services rendered by the duke were forgotten in the fact of his more recent appearance in arms as the avowed enemy of the king, and he was immediately sent to execution. Several other though less eminent prisoners fell into the hands of Richard, and were by him transferred to the executioner; and one of these, a gentleman named Collingbourne, is said to have suffered not for his direct and open opposition to Richard, but for some miserable doggrel in which he made it a complaint that

> "The cat, the rat, and Lovel the dog,
> Rule all England under the hog."

Stupid as this doggrel production was, its stupidity and the heinous offence of playing upon the names of Catesby and Ratcliffe, upon that of Lovel and upon the cognizance of the king, seem to have merited a somewhat less severe punishment than death! The bishop of Ely and the marquis of Dorset, to neither of whom would Richard have shown any mercy, were fortunate enough to escape from the kingdom. In the meantime the young earl of Richmond with a levy of five thousand men had sailed from St. Maloes, in ignorance of the misfortune that had occurred to his cause in England; and on arriving there he found that, for the present at least, all hope was at an end, and he sailed back to Brittany.

A. D. 1484.—The politic Richard easily saw that the recent attempt to dethrone him had, by its ill success, and the severity with which he had punished some of the chief actors in it, very considerably tended to strengthen his cause not in the affections, indeed, but in the terrors of the people. Hitherto, being sensible of the flagrant impudence as well as deep guilt of his usurpation, he had been well content to rest his right to the throne upon the tyrant's right, superior strength. But he judged that he now might safely call a parliament without any doubt of its recognising his title. His anticipation proved to be quite correct; the parliament acted just as he wished, echoed his words, granted him the usual tonnage and poundage for life, and passed a few popular laws. With the same purpose in view he now addressed himself to the seemingly difficult task of converting the queen dowager from a foe into a friend. He saw that the chief source of Richmond's popularity was his projected espousal of the princess Elizabeth, and he knew enough of human nature to feel sure that a woman of the queen dowager's temper would be far from unlikely to prefer the union of her daughter with a king in fact, to her union with an earl who might never be a king at all. True it was that the princess Elizabeth was solemnly betrothed to his rival and foe, the earl of Richmond, and was related to Richard within the prohibited degrees; but then Rome could grant a dispensation, and Rome was venal. Thus reasoning, Richard applied himself to the queen dowager, and met with all the success he had anticipated. Wearied with her long seclusion from all pleasure and all authority, she at once consented to give her daughter to the wretch who had deprived her of three sons and a brother, and was so completely converted to his interests that she wrote to her son, the marquis of Dorset, and all the rest of her connections to withdraw from supporting Richmond, a piece of complaisance for which she paid full dearly in the next reign.

Flattering himself that no material danger could assail his throne during the interval necessary for procuring the dispensation from Rome, Richard now began to consider himself securely settled on the throne. But danger accrued to him even out of the very measure on which he mainly rested for safety. The friends of the earl of Richmond now more than ever pressed him to try his fortune in invading England, lest the dispensation from Rome should enable Richard to complete his project of mar-

rying the princess Elizabeth, which marriage would do so much to injure all the future hopes of the earl, as far as the sympathies of the people were concerned, in a union of the houses of York and Lancaster. Henry accordingly escaped from Brittany, where he deemed himself in danger from the treachery of the duke's confidential minister, and proceeded to the court of France. Here he was greatly aided by Charles VIII., who had succeeded the tyrant Louis XI., and here, too, he was joined by the earl of Oxford, who had escaped from the gaol into which Richard's suspicions had thrown him, and who now brought Henry most flattering accounts of the excellent chance he had from the popular disposition in England.

Richard in the meantime, unconscious or careless of the effect produced on the conduct of Richmond by the expectation of the dispensation which was to allow Richard to deprive him of his promised bride, triumphed in his fortune of having become a widower at only a short time before by the sudden death—so sudden that poison was suspected, but rather from the suddenness and from the general character of Richard than from anything like proof—of his wife Anne, widow of that Edward, prince of Wales, of whom Richard was the murderer. His actual and his proximate marriage must, in truth, have led him to believe that the murder of a lady's male relatives was anything rather than a bar to her favour!

A. D. 1485.—But while Richard was exulting in triumph as to the past and in hope as to the future, Richmond with an army of two thousand men had sailed from the Norman port of Harfleur, and landed, without experiencing opposition, at Milford Haven, in Wales. Here, as he expected, the zealous though unfortunate exertions of the duke of Buckingham had prepossessed the people in his favour, and his little army was increased by volunteers at every mile he marched. Among those who joined him was Sir Rice ap Thomas with a force with which he had been entrusted by Richard; and even the other commander of the tyrant, Sir Walter Herbert, made but a faint and inefficient show of defence for Richard. Thus strengthened by actual volunteers, and encouraged by the evident lukewarmness of Richard's partizans, Richmond marched to Shrewsbury, where he was joined by the whole strength of the great Shrewsbury family under Sir Gilbert Talbot, and by another numerous reinforcement under Sir Thomas Bourchier and Sir Walter Hungerford.

Richard, who had taken post at Nottingham, as being so central as to admit of his hastening to whichever part of the kingdom might earliest need his aid, was not nearly so much annoyed by the utmost force of his known enemies as he was perplexed about the real extent to which he could depend upon the good faith of his seeming friends. The duke of Norfolk Richard had reason to believe that he could securely rely upon; but Lord and Sir William Stanley, who had vast power and influence in the north, were closely connected with Richmond's family. Yet while the usurper felt the danger of trusting to their professions of friendship and good faith, he dared not break with them. Compelled by his situation to authorize them to raise forces on his behalf in Cheshire and Lancashire, he endeavoured to deter them from arraying those forces against him, by detaining as a hostage Lord Stanley's son, Lord Strange.

Though in his heart Lord Stanley was devoted to the cause of Richmond, the peril in which his son Lord Strange was placed induced him to forbear from declaring himself, and he posted his numerous levies at Atherstone, so situated that he could at will join either party. Richard in this conduct of Lord Stanley saw a convincing proof that the hostility of that nobleman was only kept in check by the situation of his son; and judging that the destruction of the young man would be a spell of very different effect from his continued peril, the politic tyrant for once refused to shed blood when advised to do so by those of his friends who discerned the meaning of Lord Stanley's delay. Trusting that Lord Stanley's hesitation

would last long enough to allow of the royal troops dealing only with the earl of Richmond, Richard approached the army of the latter nobleman at Bosworth, in Leicestershire. The army of Richmond was only six thousand, that of Richard double the number. Both Richard and the earl fought in the main guards of their respective armies, which had scarcely charged each other ere Lord Stanley led up his forces to the aid of Richmond. The effect of this demonstration was tremendous, both in encouraging the soldiers of the earl and of striking dismay into the already dispirited troops of Richard. Murderous and tyrannous usurper as he was, Richard was as brave as a lion in the field. Perceiving that such powerful aid had declared for his rival, nothing but the death of that rival could give him any hope of safety for life or throne; Richard intrepidly rushed towards the spot where Richmond was ordering his troops, and endeavoured to engage with him in personal combat, but while fighting with murderous vigour he was slain, after having dismounted Sir John Cheyné and killed Sir William Brandon, Richmond's standard bearer.

The battle ended with the life of Richard, of whom it may with the utmost truth be said, that "nothing in his life became him like the leaving of it." Even while under his dreaded eye his soldiers had fought with no good will; and when he fell they immediately took to flight. On the side of Richard, besides the tyrant himself, there fell about four thousand, including the duke of Norfolk, the lord Ferrars of Chartley, Sir Richard Ratcliffe, Sir Robert Piercy, and Sir Robert Brackenbury; and Catesby, the chief confidant and most willing tool of Richard's crimes, being taken prisoner, was, with some minor accomplices, beheaded at Leicester.

The body of Richard being found upon the field, was thrown across a miserable horse, and carried, amid the hooting and jeers of the people who so lately trembled at him, to the Grey Friar's church at Leicester, where it was interred.

The courage and ability of this prince were unquestionable; but all his courage and ability, misdirected as they were, served only to render him a new proof, if such were needed, of the inferiority of the most brilliant gifts of intellect *without* honour and religion, to comparatively inferior talents *with* them. Low in stature, deformed, and of a harsh countenance, Richard might yet have commanded admiration by his talents, but for his excessive and ineradicable propensity to the wicked as regards projects and the bloody as regards action.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE REIGN OF HENRY VII.

A.D. 1485.—The joy of Richmond's troops at the defeat of Richard was proportioned to the hatred with which that tyrant had contrived to inspire every bosom. *Long live King Henry the Seventh!* was the exulting cry which now everywhere saluted the lately exiled and distressed earl of Richmond; and his victorious brow was bound with a plain gold coronal which had been worn by Richard, and had been torn from the tyrant's forehead by Sir William Stanley in personal combat with him when he fell

Though Henry, late earl of Richmond, and now, by possession, King Henry VII., had more than one ground upon which to rest his claim, there was not one of those grounds which was not open to objection. The Lancastrian claim had never been clearly established by Henry IV., and if the parliament had often supported the house of Lancaster, so the parliament had not less frequently—and with just as much apparent sincerity—paid a like compliment to the house of York. Then again, allowing the Lancastrian claim to be good *ex fonte*, yet Richmond claimed only

from the illegitimate branch of Somerset; and again, it in reality was now vested not in him but in his still living mother, the countess of Richmond.

On the other hand, it was open to Henry to fix upon himself, by virtue of his marriage with the princess Elizabeth, the superior and more popular title of the house of York; but in this, so far as the York title was concerned Henry could look upon himself only as a king consort, with the loss of his authority should his queen die without issue.

The right of conquest he could scarcely claim, seeing that conquest was achieved by Englishmen. On the whole review of his case, therefore, Henry's obvious policy was to set forward no one of his grounds of claim with such distinctiveness as to challenge scrutiny and provoke opposition, but to rely chiefly upon the strongest of all rights, that of possession, strengthened still farther by his concurrent circumstances of right and maintained by a judicious policy at once firm and popular, watchful yet seemingly undoubting. In heart Henry was not the less a Lancastrian from his determination to link himself to the house of York, and strengthen himself by its means in the popular love. Of the Yorkish support he was sure while connected with the house of York by marriage, but this far-sighted and suspicious temper taught him to provide against his possible disconnection from that house, and to give every "coign of 'vantage" to the Lancastrians, whose friendship was, so to speak, more germane to his identity.

Only two days after the victory of Bosworth field Henry gave a proof of the feelings we have thus attributed to him, by sending Sir Robert Willoughby to convey the young earl of Warwick from Sheriff Watton, in Yorkshire, where Richard had detained him in honourable and easy captivity, to the close custody of the Tower of London. Yet this unfortunate son of the duke of Clarence, inasmuch as his title, however superior to that of Richard, was not hostile to the succession of either Henry or his destined bride, might have reasonably expected a more indulgent treatment.

Having thus made every arrangement, present and prospective, which even his jealous policy could suggest, Henry gave orders for the princess Elizabeth being conveyed to London preparatory to her marriage. He himself at the same time approached the metropolis by easy journies. Everywhere he was received with the most rapturous applause; which was the more sincere and hearty, because while his personal triumph was shared by the Lancastrians, his approaching marriage to Elizabeth gave a share of that triumph to the Yorkists, and seemed to put an end for ever to those contests between the rival houses which had cost them both so much suffering during so long a time. But even amidst all the excitement attendant upon the joy with which men of all ranks hailed their new sovereign, the cold, stern, and suspicious temper of Henry displayed itself at once offensively and unnecessarily. On his arrival at London the mayor and the civic companies met him in public procession; but as though he disdained their gratulations, or suspected their sincerity, he passed through them in a close carriage, and without showing the slightest sympathy with their evident joy.

Though Henry well knew the importance which a great portion of his people attached to his union with the princess Elizabeth, and, with his customary politic carefulness, hastened to assure them of his unaltered determination to complete that marriage, and to contradict a report—founded upon an artful hint dropped by himself while he was yet uncertain of the issue of his contest with Richard—of his having promised to espouse the princess Anne, the heiress of Brittany, yet he delayed his marriage for the present; being anxious, tacitly at the least, to affirm his own claim to the crown by having his coronation performed previous to

the people upon that head. The parliament, even when showing its trustfulness of him and its zeal for his pleasure in granting him the tonnage and poundage, expressed strong wishes upon the subject; and though they concealed their real motives under a general declaration of their desire that they should have heirs to succeed him, his own comparative youth must have sufficed to convince so astute a person that the parliament had other and stronger reasons for its anxiety. This very conviction, however, was but an additional reason for his hastening to comply; and the nuptials were now celebrated with a pomp and luxury surpassing even those which had marked his coronation. The joy of the people was conspicuously greater in the former than it had been in the latter case; and to the brooding and anxiously suspicious mind of Henry this new and plain indication of the warmth of affection with which the house of York was still looked upon by a great portion of his subjects, was to the highest degree painful and offensive. Publicly his policy prevented this from appearing, but in his domestic life it caused him to treat the queen with a harshness and coldness which her amiable temper and the extreme submissiveness of her bearing towards her husband by no means appear to have deserved

Soon after his marriage Henry determined to make a progress through the northern counties, in the view of awing some and conciliating the rest of the partizans of the late king and his house, who were more numerous in that part of the kingdom than elsewhere. He had already reached Nottingham when he received information that Sir Humphrey Stafford, his brother, and the viscount Lovel had left the sanctuary at Colchester, in which they had found shelter since the battle of Bosworth field. Unheeding, or at any rate not fearing the consequences of this movement, he continued his progress to York, where he learned that Viscount Lovel, with a force three or four thousand strong, was marching to York, while another army, under Sir Humphrey Stafford and his brother, was hastening to be siege Worcester. The uprising of such enemies at the very moment when he was in the centre of precisely that part of England which was the most disaffected to him might have paralysed an ordinary mind; but the resources of Henry's intellect and courage rose in accordance with the demands on them. The mere retinue with which he travelled formed no mean nucleus of an army, and he actively and successfully engaged himself in adding to their numbers. The force thus raised was of necessity ill found in either arms or the munitions of war; and Henry therefore charged the duke Bedford, to whom he entrusted the chief command, to avoid any instant general engagement, and to devote his chief exertions to weakening Lovel by seducing his adherents by promises of pardon. This policy was even more successful than Henry could have anticipated. Conscious of the great effect which the king's offers were likely to produce upon rude minds, already by no means zealous in the cause which they had embraced, Lovel was so terrified with the thought of being abandoned, and perhaps even made prisoner by his motley levy, that he fairly ran away from his troops, and after some difficulty escaped to Flanders, where he was sheltered by the duchess of Burgundy. Abandoned by their leader, Lovel's troops gladly submitted to the king in accordance with his offers of mercy; and the utter failure of this branch of the revolt so terrified the revolted who were before Worcester, that they hastily raised the siege of that place and dispersed. The Staffords, thus deserted by their troops and unable to find instant means of escaping beyond sea, took shelter in the church of Colnham, near Abingdon. It turned out, however, that this church was one which did not possess the right of sanctuary, and the unfortunate Staffords were dragged forth. The elder was executed as a traitor and rebel at Tyburn; the younger was pardoned on the ground of his having been misled by his elder brother, who was presumed to have a *quasi* paternal influence over his mind.

To the joy which the dissipation of this threatening revolt diffused among the friends of Henry was now added that excited by the delivery of the queen of a son and heir, on whom was conferred the name of Arthur, both in compliment to the infant's principality of Wales, and in allusion to the pretended descent of the Tudors from the far-famed Prince Arthur

The success of the king in putting an end to the late revolt had arisen chiefly from the incapacity of Lovel for the task he had ventured to undertake; and there was still a strong under-current of ill-feeling towards the king, to which he was daily, though, perhaps, unconsciously, adding strength. To the vexation caused by Henry's evident Lancastrian feeling, as manifested by his severities to men of the opposite party, and especially by his stern and harsh treatment of the queen, much more vexation was caused by the sufferings of many principal Yorkists from the resumption by the crown of all grants made by princes of the house of York. This resumption was made by Henry upon what appears really to have been the just plea that it was absolutely necessary for the remedy of the great and mischievous impoverishment of the crown. This plea has all the more appearance of sincerity from the fact that by the very same law all the grants made during the later years of Henry VI. were resumed; a resumption which injured not Yorkists but Lancastrians. But losing men are rarely reasonable men; and as the balance and injury was heaviest on the side of the Yorkists, they saw in this a new proof of the Lancastrian prejudice of Henry, which had caused him to imprison in "Julius' bloody tower," in the very place where his unfortunate cousin had been butchered, the young earl of Warwick. Faction is deprived of none of its virulence or activity by the admixture of pecuniary interests; and those who were injured by the resumption of grants were not ill disposed, as events soon proved, to countenance, at the least, aught that promised to injure the gaoler of the earl of Warwick, and the harsh spouse of the princess of the house of York, who, merely because she was such, was still uncrowned, though the mother of a prince of Wales, and wholly irreproachable whether as queen, wife, or mother.

The great and growing unpopularity of Henry's government combined with other circumstances to suggest to a priest of Oxford one of the most remarkable and audacious impostures recorded in our history. The priest in question, Richard Simon, well knowing how strong the Yorkist feeling among the people was rendered by the king's unpopular manners and measures, formed a plan for disturbing Henry by bringing forward, as a pretender to the crown, a very handsome and graceful youth named Lambert Simnel. This youth, though he was only the son of a baker, added great shrewdness and address to his external advantages; and Simon doubted not, by careful instruction, of being able to form this youth to personate Richard, duke of York, the younger of the murdered princes, whose escape from the Tower and from the fate of his elder brother had become a matter of rather extensive belief. But while Simon was carefully giving young Simnel the necessary instructions and information to enable him to support the part of the duke of York, a new rumour prevailed that the earl of Warwick had escaped from the Tower. "On this hint spake the priest;" the name of the earl of Warwick would be as good to conjure with as that of Richard, duke of York; and Simnel was now instructed in all such particulars of the life and family of young Warwick as would be necessary to enable him to bear the questioning of the friends of that family. So excellently was the young impostor "crammed," for his task, so well informed did he afterwards appear to be upon certain points of the private history of the royal family, that could by no means have come within the observation of an obscure priest like his instructor, that shrewd suspicions were entertained that certain of the royal family of

York must themselves have aided in preparing the youth for his mission of imposture. The queen dowager was among the personages thus suspected. She and her daughter were both very unkindly treated by Henry, and the dowager was precisely of that busy and aspiring turn of mind which would render neglect and forced inaction sufficiently offensive to prompt the utmost anger and injury; and she might safely promote the views of the impostor in the first place, in the full confidence of being able to crush him whensoever he should have sufficiently served the views of herself and of her party.

Aware that, after all the pains he had taken to prepare the apt mind of his promising young pupil, many chances of discovery would exist in England which would be avoided by commencing their nefarious proceedings at a distance, Simon determined to lay the opening scene of his fraudulent drama in Ireland. In that island Warwick's father, the late duke of Clarence, was remembered with the utmost affection on account of his personal character, as well as of his many public acts of justice and wisdom while he had been governor. The same public officers now held their situations there who had done so under Clarence, and under so many favourable circumstances Simon, probably, could not better have chosen the scene of the first act of his elaborate and very impudent imposture.

Henry, on getting the alarming intelligence from Dublin, consulted with his ministers, and among the first measures taken was that of seizing upon all the property of the queen dowager, and closely confining her in the nunnery of Bermondsey. This rigorous treatment of the queen dowager, occurring, too, at this particular time, seems to leave no doubt that she had been discovered to have materially aided the imposture of Simon and Simnel. The alledged reason of the king for thus severely dealing with one with whom he was so closely connected, was her having shown so much favour to the deceased tyrant Richard, as to place herself and her daughters in his power when she was safe within her sanctuary, and to consent to his marriage with the princess Elizabeth. But it was quite clear to every man of discernment, that the king's subsequent marriage to the princess was a complete condonation of all that had previously passed between him and the dowager which could materially offend him; nor was he of a temper so long to have suffered his avarice and his vengeance to remain in abeyance, had that really been the ground of his offence. That he disliked, not to say hated, his mother-in-law, had long been certain; and it seems no less so, from his present proceeding with respect to her, that he now had discovered reason to fear her, as being importantly aiding and abetting in an imposture, which had been eminently successful in Ireland, and which he was by no means sure would not be equally so in England. Having securely guarded against any future mischief from the queen dowager, by thus consigning her to a poverty and seclusion which terminated only with her life, the king now gave his English subjects the very best possible proof of the imprudence and falsehood of Simnel's assumption of the title and character of the earl of Warwick, by producing that unfortunate young nobleman himself at St. Paul's, and causing many persons of rank who had intimately known him to have free conversation with him; and thus not only demonstrate that the pretensions of Simnel were false, but also that they were even founded upon a false report, the earl's escape from the Tower, which Simon and his abettors had too hastily believed on the strength of popular rumour, never having actually taken place.

In London and in England generally this judicious measure was completely decisive of the popular belief; and all who were acquainted with the king's tortuous mind, easily understood that he himself had caused the rumour of the young earl's escape, for the purpose of saving himself from

being importuned to release him, and also to prevent any plots being formed for that purpose.

Henry's bold temper would probably have prompted him to go over to Ireland, carrying with him the real Warwick. But, in the first place, he knew that the consummate assurance of Simon and his friends had led them, even after the imposture had become a mere mockery in England, to protest that the real Warwick was the youth in their company, and that the Warwick whom Henry had so ostentatiously produced was the only impostor. And, in the next place, Henry from day to day had information which made it quite certain that too many powerful people in England were his enemies, and inclined to aid the impostor, to render it safe for him to be absent from the kingdom for even a brief space of time. He therefore resolved to await the farther proceedings of the impostor, and contented himself with levying troops, which he placed under the command of the duke of Bedford and the earl of Oxford, and throwing into confinement the marquis of Dorset, not on account of any actual overt act, but lest he should be inclined to treason by the hard measure which had been dealt out to his mother, the queen dowager.

Having pretty nearly worn out their welcome in Ireland, and having, besides numerous Irish adventurers, been supplied by the dowager duchess of Burgundy with about two thousand veteran Germans headed by a veteran commander, Martin Schwartz, Simon and Simnel made a landing at Foudrey, in Lancashire, not doubting that the Yorkists, whom they knew to be so numerous in the northern counties, would join them in great numbers. In this respect they were grievously disappointed. The well known courage and conduct of the king, the general impression even among the Yorkists of England that Simnel was a mere impostor, and the excellent military arrangements and large military force of the king, caused the inhabitants of the northern counties either to look on passively or to manifest their loyalty by joining or supplying the royal army.

John, earl of Lincoln, son of John de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, and of Elizabeth, eldest sister of Edward IV., had for some time past been residing with the king's bitter enemy, the dowager duchess of Burgundy; and he now appeared at the head of the mingled crew of impostors, rebels, and their foreign and hireling mercenaries. This nobleman perceiving that nothing was to be hoped from any general rising of the people in favour of the pseudo earl of Warwick, resolved to put the fate of the cause upon the issue of a general action. The king was equally ready to give battle, and the hostile forces at length met at Stoke, in Nottinghamshire. The rebels, conscious that they fought with halters around their necks, fought with proportionate desperation. The action was long and sanguinary; and though it at length terminated in favour of the king, his loss was far more extensive than could have been expected, considering his advantage of numbers and the ability of his officers. The loss on the side of the rebels, also, was very great. The earl of Lincoln, Broughton, and the German, Schwartz, were among four thousand slain on that side; and as the viscount Lovel, the runaway of the former and less sanguinary revolt, who also took a part in this, was missing and never afterwards heard of, it was supposed that he, too, was among the slain. Both the impostor Simnel and his tutor Simon fell into the hands of the king. The priest owed his life to his clerical character, but was sentenced to pass the whole remainder of it in confinement; and Henry, both mercifully and wisely, signified his contempt of the boy Simnel, by making him a scullion in the royal kitchen. In this capacity, better suited to his origin than the part the priest had so uselessly taught him to play, Simnel conducted himself so humbly and satisfactorily, that he was afterwards advanced to the rank of falconer, a rank at that time very far higher than could ordinarily be attained by one so humbly born.

Having freed himself from a danger which had at one time been not a little alarming, Henry now turned his attention towards making it, as we loved to make everything, a source of profit. Few perished on the scaffold for this revolt, but vast numbers were heavily fined for having taken part in it. And lest the mulcture of actual combatants should not sufficiently enrich the royal treasury, Henry caused all to be fined who were proved to have given circulation to a rumour, which had somehow got into circulation before the battle of Stoke, that the rebels were victorious, and that Henry himself, after seeing his friends cut to pieces, had only secured his safety by flight. To our modern notions, the mere crediting and reporting of such a statement seems to be somewhat severely punished by heavy pecuniary fine; but Henry perhaps, thought that in most of the cases "the wish was father to the thought," and that many who had given circulation to the report would not have been violently grieved had it turned out to be "prophetic, though not true."

Warned by much that had reached his ears during the absurd and mischievous career of Simnel, Henry now determined to remove at least one cause of dissatisfaction, by having the queen crowned. This was accordingly done; and to render the ceremony the more acceptable to the people in general, but especially to the Yorkists, Henry graced it by giving liberty to the young marquis of Dorset, son of the queen dowager.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE REIGN OF HENRY VII. (CONTINUED.)

A. D. 1488.—HENRY'S steadfast style of administering the affairs of his kingdom, and the courage, conduct, and facility with which he had delivered himself from the dangerous plots and revolts by which he had been threatened, acquired him much consideration, out of his own dominions as well as in them. Of this fact he was well aware, and internal peace now seeming to be permanently secured to him, he prepared to exert his influence abroad.

The geographical circumstances of Scotland rendered it inevitable, that so long as that kingdom remained politically independent of England the former must always remain either an open and troublesome enemy, or an unsafe, because insincere, friend to the latter. The character of James III. who now filled the Scottish throne, was precisely of that easy and indolent cast which, while it encouraged a turbulent nobility to waste the country and vex the people, would have encouraged a king of England addicted to war and conquest merely for their own sake, to prosecute war with Scotland in the assured trust of making a final and complete conquest. But Henry, though he could look with unblenched cheek upon the most sanguinary battle-field, was profoundly sensible of the blessings of peace. He therefore now sent ambassadors to Scotland to propose a permanent and honorable peace between the two countries. James on his part would have well liked to conclude such a peace, but his nobility had other views, and all that came of this embassy was a somewhat sullen agreement for a seven-year's truce; but it must have been evident to a far less keen observer than Henry, that even that truce would be very likely to be broken, should the breach be invited by any peculiarly unfavourable circumstances in the situation of England. With this truce, however, sullen and insincere as the Scottish temper very evidently was, Henry determined to content himself; and from Scotland he now turned his attention to France.

Louis XI. was some time dead, and his son and heir was too young for rule, especially in a kingdom more than any other in Europe obnoxious to disturbance from the turbulence and ambition of powerful vassals. But

Louis, a profound judge of human dispositions and talents, had well provided for the juvenile incapacity of his son, by committing the care of the kingdom, during his minority, to his daughter Anne, lady of Beaujeu, a princess of masculine talents and courage. This lady became involved in many and serious disputes with Brittany, which disputes were greatly fomented by the duke of Orleans, and so far involved France with other provinces, that at this time the lady of Beaujeu felt that the issue of the struggle in which she was engaged, greatly, almost entirely, depended upon the part which might be taken by the powerful, prosperous, and sagacious king of England. The subjection of Brittany by France seemed quite certain did not England interfere; and Anne of Beaujeu sent ambassadors to England, ostensibly with the chief purpose of congratulating Henry on his success over Simnel and the partizans of that misguided youth. The real purpose of this embassy was, in fact, to engage Henry to look on without interfering, while his benefactor, the duke of Brittany, should be plundered of his territory. Henry, who well understood that, and who really wished to serve the duke of Brittany, but who mortally hated the expense of war, endeavoured by polity and mediation to put an end to the strife. As will be seen in the history of France, both mediation and warfare were tried in vain until the year 1491, when the young duchess of Rennes being besieged in Rennes by the French, was compelled to surrender, and restored the duchy to peace by giving her hand to the French monarch.

This termination of an affair in which he had lost the benefit of much thought and money, by not being more liberal both of money and vigour, vexed Henry exceedingly; but, with a most philosophic creed, he resolved to turn even his failure to profit. The loss of independence to Brittany really affected Henry very deeply, and the more so as he had been in some sort out-generalled by Charles VIII. of France. But it was Henry's care to appear more deeply hurt than he really was, and he loudly and passionately declared his intention to go to war. He well knew that the acquisition of Brittany to France was to the last degree offensive to the people of England, and a war with France proportionally popular, and he took his measures accordingly. He issued a commission for the raising of a benevolence, which species of tax had, however, been formally and positively abolished by a law of the tyrant Richard, though now so coolly laid on by a king who wolud have deemed it strange had he been called a tyrant. Of the extent of the extortion—for it was no better—practised upon this occasion, some notion may be formed from the fact, that London alone contributed upwards of 10,000*l*. Morton, the chancellor, and now archbishop of Canterbury, was disgracefully pleasant upon the occasion, directing the commissioners to take no excuse; if men lived handsomely and at expense it was only fair to conclude that they must be wealthy, and if they lived after a mean and miserable fashion, it was equally sure that their means must be hoarded! The dilemma is not always a figure of logic even for a chancellor; the archbishop's dilemma had one horn very faulty, for it is quite certain that badness of trade and oppressiveness of taxation might make many a man live meanly, from sheer necessity, who, nevertheless, would far rather have furnished his table with viands than his strong box with gold. Having raised all that he could by way of benevolence, that is to say, by a violence expressly forbidden by a law made even during the reign of a bad king, Henry now proceeded to summon his parliament together, for the purpose of seeing how much more money could be extracted in a more regular way. Still keeping in view the warlike character of his people, and their recent and deep vexation with France, Henry now appealed to the national feelings in a speech to parliament, which is so curious a specimen of the art of being eloquently insincere, that we transcribe Hume's summary of the

speech. He told them that "France, elated with her late successes, had even proceeded to a contempt to England, and had refused to pay the tribute which Louis XI. had stipulated to Edward IV.; that it became so warlike a nation as the English to be roused by this indignity, and not to limit their pretensions merely to repelling the present injury. That for his part, he was determined to lay claim to the crown itself of France, and to maintain by force of arms so just a title transmitted to him by his gallant ancestors. That Cressy, Poitiers, and Agincourt were sufficient to instruct them in their superiority over the enemy, nor did he despair of ad ding new names to the glorious catalogue. That a king of France had been prisoner in London, and a king of England had been crowned in Paris; events which should animate them to an emulation of like glory with that which had been enjoyed by their forefathers. That the domestic dissensions of England had been the sole cause of her losing these foreign dominions, and that her present internal union would be the effectual means of recovering them; that where such lasting honour was in view, and such an important acquisition, it became not brave men to repine at the advance of a little treasure; and that, for his part, he was determined to make the war maintain itself, and hoped by the invasion of so opulent a kingdom as France, to increase rather than to diminish the riches of the nation."

How profoundly Henry seems to have known human nature! How skilfully does he appeal to the vanity, the fierceness, the high courage, and the cupidity so inherent in man's heart! "Warlike nation," "just title," "gallant ancestors," "Cressy, Poitiers, and Agincourt," "lasting honour," and "important acquisition," how admirably are they all pressed into service, in the precise places where best calculated to act at once upon the good and the evil feelings of those whom he addresses! And then, with what a sublime contempt of all filthy lucre does he not dehort "brave men" from caring about "the advance of a little treasure!"

If all men were gifted with the far sight of La Rochefoucault into the human heart, perhaps such a speech as this of Henry would defeat itself by the very excess and exquisitness of its art. But all men are not so gifted, and never was man better aware of that fact than Henry was. He knew the instruments he had to work with, and he worked accordingly. Though there were many circumstances in the state of Europe which ought to have made the parliament chary of advancing hard cash for a war with France; though that country was strengthened by the very feudal fiefs which had so fatally weakened it when the gallant ancestors of Henry had deeply dyed with French blood those fatal fields, to which Henry so proudly and so effectually alluded; though even on the very edge of England, to wit, in Scotland, a new and warlike monarch, James IV. had succeeded to the indolent James III. and was so much attached to the interests of France, that he was nearly sure to evince his attachment by making war on England whenever Henry should lead the flower of England's forces to the shores of France, the parliament hailed Henry's boastful promises with delight. Two fifteenths were readily voted to him, and an act was passed to enable the nobility to sell their estates; by which Henry accomplished the double purpose of having wealthy volunteers defray many unavoidable expenses, and of greatly diminishing that baronial power which even yet trod closely upon the kibes of English royalty.

A. D. 1492.—As Henry had anticipated, many powerful nobles, inflamed with a desire of making in France rich territorial acquisitions, such as their Norman ancestors had made in England, availed themselves of his politic act, and sold or pawned their broad lands to raise troops for the invasion of the Gallic Dorado. So well, in short, were Henry's well-feigned desires seconded that on the 6th of October in this year, he was enabled

to land at Calais, with a splendidly equipped army of twenty-five thousand infantry and sixteen hundred cavalry, the whole commanded, under the king himself, by the earl of Oxford and the duke of Bedford, and officered by some of the very first men in England. Many a bright vision of avarice and of nobler ambition was dreamed among that mighty host; but like other splendid dreams, they were as fallacious and short-lived as they were brilliant. The truth is, that, nobly as the king had denounced wrath to France and promised wealth to England, he had from the very first not the slightest intention of firing a gun or drawing a sword. His object was, simply, to obtain money; the only sincere part of his speech was that in which he professed his hope of making the war maintain itself; and he so managed the affair, with both friend and foe, that he really did make the war not only pay its own expenses, but contribute a very handsome surplus to the royal treasury.

It was whispered among shrewd men, that October was a singular season at which to invade France, if a real war of conquest was intended. Henry heard or guessed this rumour, and he hastened to contradict it, by professing his conviction that to conquer the whole of France would not cost him a whole summer, and that as he had Calais for winter-quarters the season of his arrival was a matter of perfect indifference.

Yet at the very time that Henry made this boast, which would have been marvellously silly and vain-glorious had it not been entirely insincere, and made only for an especial and temporary purpose, a secret correspondence for a peace had for some time been carried on by Henry and the king of France. The landing of Henry in France, with a numerous and well-appointed army, had, as he had foreseen, greatly strengthened the desire for peace on the part of the king of France, and commissioners were now very speedily appointed to settle the terms.

Any other man but Henry would have been much puzzled for even plausible reasons by which to account to his subjects for so early and suddenly agreeing to treat for peace, after making such magnificent promises of a war of actual conquest; promises, too, which had caused so many of his subjects very largely to invest their fortunes in his service. But to Henry this was no difficult matter. He had represented himself as sure of large aid from the Low Countries; he now caused Maximilian, king of the Romans, to send to inform him that such aid could not then be furnished. Spain, too, was at war with France, and Spain suddenly received the counties of Rousillon and Cordagne, and concluded peace with France! These alterations in the state of affairs would naturally suggest some alteration in the proceedings and hopes of Henry! He gave full time for the circulation of the news through his camp, and then he caused the marquis of Dorset, and numerous other nobles in his confidence, to petition him to do precisely what he had from the first intended to do—to make a treaty with France! Strangely enough, too, they were made to alledge in their petition, that very lateness of the season which the king had so recently affected to be entirely without importance, and the difficulties attendant upon the seige of Boulogne, which he had only just commenced, and which no one with a particle of common-sense could ever have supposed to be an undertaking without its difficulties! Henry, with well-feigned reluctance, suffered himself to be persuaded; and France bought peace by the payment of seven hundred and forty-five thousand crowns down, and a pension of twenty-five thousand crowns yearly. Well indeed might the money-loving Henry consider, now, that between the contributions of his subjects and those of France, the war *had* indifferently well maintained itself.

Scarcely had Henry concluded this singularly cool and as singularly successful endeavour to convert a glaring political blunder into a means of

raising a large sum of money, than he was once more called upon to defend his throne against a daring and impudent pretender.

The duchess of Burgundy, whose hatred of Henry was by no means decreased by the ease and perfect success with which he had baffled the designs of Simnel, once more endeavoured to disturb Henry's throne. She caused it to be given out, that Richard, the young duke of York, escaped from the Tower when his young brother and sovereign was murdered by Richard, duke of Gloster, who afterwards usurped the throne. Improbable as it was that the younger of the two brothers should have escaped from the monstrous and unsparing murderer of the elder, the tale was eagerly and credulously listened to by the people, who seem to have received no warning from the former impudent imposture of Simnel. Perceiving that the fund of public credulity was far from being exhausted, the duchess eagerly looked around her for some youth qualified to sustain the part of that young duke, of whose approaching re-appearance emissaries were now instructed to hold out expectations. The youth she desired soon presented himself in the person of Perkin Warbeck, the son of a christianized Jew. Young Perkin was born during the reign of the amorous monarch, Edward IV., who was a frequent visitor to the house of the wealthy Jew. This circumstance, and the singular likeness of young Perkin to the king, had occasioned not a little scandalous remark as to the actual parentage of the boy. The youth, who had removed with his father to Tournay, the native country of the latter, was subsequently thrown upon his own resources, and caused by the change of fortune to visit a variety of places; and travel had thus added its benefits to those of nature and the advantages of a good education. The youth was naturally very quick-witted and of graceful manners, and the singular likeness he bore to Edward IV. was thus rendered the more remarkable, especially when, having been introduced to the duchess of Burgundy, and by her instructed in the part it was desired that he should play, he designedly made the utmost display of those qualities which hitherto he had enjoyed almost unconsciously. The rapidity and completeness with which he mastered all that it was deemed necessary to teach him delighted the duchess, who, however, in order to give time to the reports of her emissaries to spread among the populace in England, sent the pseudo duke of York to Portugal under the care of Lady Brampton. From Portugal he was recalled on the breaking out of what Henry had called the "war" with France; and, as his predecessor in imposture had formerly been, he was sent to make the first public essay of his powers of impudence in Ireland. His success there was sufficient to cause a great interest and curiosity not only in England but also in France, to which country he was invited by Charles VIII., who received him with all the honours due to distressed royalty, assigning him splendid apartments, and giving him a personal guard of honour, of which the lord Congresal was made the captain.

The personal resemblance of young Warbeck to Edward IV., his graceful exterior and really remarkable accomplishments, added to the air of entire sincerity which Charles—with the politic design of embarrassing Henry—affected in his treatment of the impostor as the genuine duke of York, rendered the imposition so far successful, that upwards of a hundred gentlemen, some of them (as Sir George Nevil and Sir John Taylor), of considerable eminence, actually travelled from England to Paris to offer their swords and purses to the duke of York.

In the midst of a tide of good success, which must have astonished himself more than any one else, Warbeck met with an unexpected check in consequence of the peace that was so suddenly concluded between France and England. Henry, indeed, on this occasion tried to induce the king of France to give Warbeck up to him; but Charles, with a degree of spirit which did him great honour, replied, that no matter what was the

real character of the young man, he ought to go free from France, to which Charles had himself invited him. Warbeck accordingly, to the great vexation of his friends, was dismissed from the court and kingdom of Charles; and he now made his first public appearance before the duchess of Burgundy, whose instructions he had hitherto so well obeyed. With a gravity which did infinite credit to her talents as an actress, the duchess, affecting to have been but too well instructed by Simnel's affair ever to give credit again to mere plausible stories, received Warbeck with a coolness which would speedily have terminated his suit had he been other than an impostor, and not quite as well aware as the duchess herself was of its motive. Well knowing that her ultimate countenance of his pretensions would be valuable precisely in proportion to her seeming unwillingness, at the outset, to grant it, the duchess publicly and with much seeming severity questioned Warbeck upon his pretensions to the title of York. As question after question was answered with a correctness far beyond the power of any mere impostor—of any impostor unless assisted, as Warbeck was, by the duchess or some other member of the royal family—the duchess, by admirably regulated gradations, passed from scornful doubt and indignation to wonder, and from wonder to conviction and a rapture of delight, as, all her doubts removed, she embraced him as the marvellously preserved son of Edward, the true scion of the Plantagenets, the only rightful heir to the throne of England, her own long lost and miraculously restored nephew! The scene, in short, was excellently performed, and was as pathetic to those who were not in the secret, as it assuredly must have been wearisome to those who were.

The duchess of Burgundy, having thus with difficulty and reluctance satisfied herself of the truth of her *soi-disant* nephew's pretensions, assigned him a guard of honour, and not only intimated her desire that he should be treated with the utmost respect by all her court, but herself set the example, never mentioning him but with the honourable and endearing title of *the white rose of England.*

A. D. 1493.—The English of high rank were not behind the Flemish populace in giving credence to Warbeck's pretensions. Men easily believe that which they have learned to desire; and the firm rule of Henry, and the great and obvious pains he took to depress the nobility, and to elevate, at their expense, the middle and trading classes, disposed very many men of power and consequence to assist Warbeck in the struggle he meditated for the English throne. Even Sir William Stanley who had done so much to secure Henry's elevation, now began to look with complacency upon his possible dethronement by the pseudo duke of York; and Sir Robert Clifford actually went to Flanders to join the pretender, and wrote thence that he could personally vouch that the youth in question was really that Richard, duke of York, who had so long been supposed to have been murdered by his uncle, the late king. The high rank and respectable character of Clifford made this assurance of his extensively and mischievously influential; causing many, who would have disdained to assail Henry's throne for the sake of an impostor, to join in the wide-spreading conspiracy in favour of the supposed duke of York.

In these circumstances the king's best safeguard was his own politic and vigilant temper. Well served by his numerous spies, both in England and on the continent, he was thoroughly informed of every important step that was taken by his enemies. Being morally certain that the duke of York *had* been murdered by the late king, he took the necessary steps for making that fact appear from the statement of those who were still living who had personal cognizance of it. These persons were two in number; Sir James Tyrrel, who had superintended the murder and seen the dead bodies of the murdered youths, and Dighton, who had been one of the actual murderers; both of whom stated the murder to have been com-

mitted on both the princes; and their separate statements agreed with the utmost accuracy in every particular.

The next point that Henry was anxious to clear up, was the identity of the pretended duke of York. That he was an impostor was beyond all doubt; but it was very important that Henry should be able to say, not only who he was not, but who he was and whence he had sprung, to aim, by a daring imposture, at the English throne. With this view he sent spies into Flanders, and instructed some of them to pretend the utmost zeal against him, and to join the opposite party. By this plan he became aware of the number and rank of Warbeck's adherents; and upon these new spies were set, until Henry, by slow degrees, and through the instrumentality of men against whom he feigned the most ungovernable indignation, possessed himself of every passage in the history of young Warbeck from his very childhood. The tidings thus obtained Henry took great pains to circulate throughout England; and the clearness with which every step in the impostor's career was traced greatly tended to diminish the popularity of his cause, and to weaken the zeal of his partizans, upon whom Henry determined to take ample vengeance at his own leisure and convenience.

A. D. 1494.—Having taken all prudent measures for disabusing the minds of his own subjects as to the real history of the pretended duke of York, Henry made a formal complaint to the archduke Philip of the encouragement and shelter which so notorious an impostor as Warbeck had met with in Flanders; and as Philip, at the instigation of the duchess dowager of Burgundy, coldly replied that he had no authority over the demesne of that princess, Henry banished all Flemings from England, and recalled all his own subjects from the Low Countries; feeling satisfied that the injury thus done to the trade of so commercial a people as the Flemings, would soon urge them into such revolt as would abundantly revenge him upon their sovereign.

In the meantime Henry suddenly and simultaneously seized upon those of his own subjects who had been the most zealous in conspiring against him, and some were speedily tried and executed. Others, among whom was William Worsely, the dean of St. Paul's, escaped with short imprisonment. But a more important victim was yet to be sacrificed. Stanley the lord chamberlain, was accused by Clifford, who was directed to come to England, kneel to the king for pardon, and accuse Stanley. The immense wealth of the latter, who had forty thousand marks in ready money and valuables, and a yearly revenue of three thousand pounds, by no means tended to diminish the king's desire to convict him. But Henry feigned the utmost astonishment and incredulity, expatiated upon the very great improbability that Stanley, connected with Henry and holding the important office of chamberlain, should be guilty of treason, and even solemnly exhorted Clifford to beware that he did not wrongfully accuse an innocent man. Clifford, in spite of all this pretended anxiety on the part of the king, persisted in his statements of Stanley's guilt, and the accused was confronted with him. Either from a high sense of honour which deemed every suffering and danger preferable to the baseness of falsehood, or from a weak notion that his great services to the king in former days would prove his safeguard now, Stanley did not affect to deny his guilt.

A. D. 1495.—Even now, though Henry could not have a doubt of Stanley's guilt, and was fully resolved not to spare him, six weeks were suffered to elapse before the prisoner was brought to trial; a delay by which it probably was intended to give the public a notion, that the king was unwilling to proceed to extremities against a man who had formerly been so serviceable to him. At length he was tried, and the part of his conduct which gave the most offence was his having said to Clifford, that if he were quite sure that the young man who claimed to be the duke of York

really was so, he never would bear arms against him. This speech, as showing a preference to the house of York, was far more unpardonable, in the judgment of Henry, than the offence of siding with a mere nameless pretender, and probably was more conclusive against Stanley than the actual assistance which he gave to Warbeck in the way of money and advice. As he did not even attempt to show himself innocent, a verdict was of course returned against him; and the king, who previous to the trial had pretended so much reluctance to believe aught against him, did not allow much time to elapse between the sentence and execution, being chiefly influenced, it would seem, by the large forfeiture which accrued to the crown.

The execution of Stanley, high in rank, holding an important office, and having until so late a date enjoyed so large a share of the king's favour and confidence, naturally struck terror into the confederates of Warbeck, as Henry intended that it should. And not only did this expectation warn them that mercy was out of the question, should any be convicted, but the mere appearance of Clifford as the king's informer was well calculated to strike terror into the guilty, who must now be aware that they had no longer any secrets from the cold-blooded and resolved king, against whom they had plotted so much mischief. Each of the conspirators now learned to look with dread and suspicion upon his neighbour. Many were thus impelled into withdrawing from the support of the pretender while they still had an opportunity to do so; and though rumors and libels still continued to dismay the king, a very general and wholesome opinion was formed of the great extent of the king's secret information, and of his resolute determination to crush the guilty.

Even while punishing conspirators, the king seemed far more bent upon increasing his wealth, by whatever arts and schemes of extortion, than upon conciliating the affections of his people, and thus arraying them in defence of his throne against the arts and efforts of open pretenders or secret conspirators. His extortions were perpetual, shameless, and merciless; the very laws which ought to have been the safeguard of the people, were made the means of extorting money from the wealthy. Sir William Capel, a London alderman, had information laid against him which involved him in penalties to the enormous amount of two thousand seven hundred and forty-three pounds, and he actually had to pay near two thousand by way of compromise. The lawyers were encouraged to lay informations against wealthy men, and the guilt or innocence of the parties seems to have been far less considered than their willingness and ability to enrich the king, by compounding with him for their offences, real or imaginary. Aided by his financial agents, Empson and Dudley, to whose unscrupulous misconduct we shall by and by have to recur, Henry in this way fleeced the great and the wealthy of enormous sums, and thus forwarded his double design of depressing the somewhat dangerous power of the great, and of increasing his own vast treasure.

Though the king oppressed the wealthy beyond measure, the main body of the people had but little cause to complain of him, for it might most truly be said of him that he would allow no oppressor in his kingdom except himself. In spite, therefore, of numerous acts of particular oppression, the king's authority was daily more and more respected by the people at large; and Warbeck, fearing that a longer delay would but increase the difficulties of his design, at length determined to make a descent upon England. Having collected an army of somewhat less than a thousand men, consisting chiefly of men equally bankrupt in character and in means, Warbeck took advantage of the absence of the king, who was making a state progress through the north of England, and made his appearance off the coast of Kent. But the care with which the king had exposed the real character and connections of Warbeck, and the sad fate

of Sir William Stanley, caused the Kentish gentry to be on the alert, not to join the impostor, but to oppose him. Wishing, however, to make him prisoner, they told the messenger whom he sent ashore that they were actually in arms for him, and invited him to land and place himself at their head. Warbeck was too suspicious to fall into the snare; and the Kentish men finding that they could not induce him to trust himself ashore, fell upon those of his retainers who had landed, and took a hundred and fifty prisoners, besides putting a considerable number to death. This action drove Warbeck from the coast; and the king, who was thoroughly determined to put down the revolt with a strong and unsparing hand, ordered the hundred and fifty prisoners to be put to death, without an exception!

A singular and very important law was just now enacted, by which it was provided that no man should be attainted for aiding the king *de facto*, whether by arms or otherwise. Henry probably instituted this law for the purpose of giving increased confidence and zeal to his own partizans, by making it impossible that even his fall could involve them in ruin. As the first and most important end of all laws is to secure the peace of the community, and as the defenders of the *de facto* king are usually such by their attachment to public order, the law was a very proper one in spirit; but it was one which in the case of any violent revolution was but little likely to be respected in practice, especially as nothing could be easier than for the dominant party to cause it to be repealed.

Of the invasion of Italy by France, and the league formed to check the French king's ambitious schemes, we need only barely make mention here; for though Henry was a member of that league, he was a mere honorary member of it, neither the expenses nor the trouble of warfare on so distant a scene suiting with his peace-loving and rigidly economical temper

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CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE REIGN OF HENRY VII. (*concluded.*)

A. D. 1495.—Warbeck, on perceiving the treatment that was bestowed by the Kentish people upon those of his adherents who had been so unfortunate as to land, sincerely congratulated himself upon the suspicion which had arisen in his mind at the regular and disciplined appearance of the men who pretended to be newly levied, and with an especial view to his service. He had, however, gone too far to recede, and was, besides, without the funds necessary to support his numerous followers in idleness. Ireland had ever been ready to war against the king of England on any or on no pretext, and to Ireland he accordingly steered his course. But, as we have more particularly mentioned under the history of that country Poyning's law and other good measures had so far strengthened the royal authority, that even in the usually turbulent Ireland the adventurer could obtain no support. Certain hospitalities, indeed, he experienced at the hands of some of the chieftains, but their coarse fare and rude habits were but little to his taste, and he left them to try his fortune in Scotland. The king of France, in revenge for the junction of Henry with the other opponents of the ambitious schemes of France, and the king of the Romans, in revenge for Henry's prohibition of all commerce with the Low Countries, secretly furnished Warbeck with strong recommendations to the king of Scotland, James IV. That chivalric prince seems at first to have suspected the truth of Warbeck's story; for while he received him otherwise kindly, he somewhat pointedly told him that be whoever or whatever he might he should never repent having trusted to a king of Scotland, a remark which he would scarcely have made had he felt any confidence

that he was really the duke of York. But the king's suspicions did not long hold out against the fascinating manners and numerous accomplishments of the young adventurer. So completely did James become the dupe, and so far was that kind-hearted monarch interested in the welfare of the young impostor who practised upon his credulity, that he actually gave him in marriage the lady Catherine Gordon, daughter of the earl of Huntley, and not very distantly related to the king himself.

A. D. 1496.—That James of Scotland really did give credence to the elaborate falsehoods which were told him by young Warbeck seems certain, or he would scarcely have given him, in marriage, a young and beautiful lady of a noble family and even related to the crown. But policy had, probably, still more to do in producing James' kindness to the adventurer, than any considerations of a merely humane and personal nature. Injury to England, at any rate and under any circumstances, seems to have been the invariable maxim of the Scottish kings and of the Scottish people; and James, deeming it probable that the people of the northern counties of England would rise in favour of Warbeck, led him thither at the head of a strong and well appointed army. As soon as they had crossed the border, Warbeck issued a proclamation in which he formally stated himself to be that duke of York who had so long been supposed dead, claimed to be the rightful sovereign of England, and called upon all his good and loyal subjects to rise and aid him in expelling the usurper who laid heavy burdens upon them, and whose oppressions of men of all ranks, and especially his studied degradation of the nobility, had, said the proclamation, justly caused him to be odious to all men. But besides that the men of the north of England were but little likely to look upon a Scottish army as a recommendation of the new comer, there were two circumstances which prevented this proclamation from being much attended to; every day taught men to look with increased dread upon the calm, unsparing and unfaltering temper of the king; and Warbeck's Scottish friends, by their taste for plunder, made it somewhat more than difficult for the English borderers to look upon them in any other light than that of plundering foemen. Warbeck was conscious how greatly this practice of the Scots tended to injure his cause among the English, and he remonstrated with James upon the subject. But James, who now clearly saw the little chance there was of any rising in favour of Warbeck, plainly told him that all his sympathy was thrown away upon enemies, and all his anxiety for the preservation of the country equally wasted, inasmuch as it seemed but too certain that that country would never own his sway. In fact, but for their plundering, the Scots would literally have crossed the border to no earthly purpose, scarcely an Englishman being by their coming induced to join the standard of Warbeck. Henry was so confident that the marauding propensities of the Scots would make Warbeck's cause unpopular in the northern counties rather than the contrary, that he was by no means sorry for the Scottish irruption. Nevertheless, true to his constant maxim of making a profit of everything, he affected to be very indignant at this violation of his territory, and he summoned a parliament to listen to his complaints on this head, and to aid him in obtaining redress for so great and affronting an injury. The pathetic style in which Henry so well knew how to couch his complaints, so far prevailed with the parliament as to induce them to vote him a subsidy of a hundred and twenty thousand pounds, and they were then dismissed.

A. D. 1497.—The people, always shrewd judges of character, had by this time learned to understand that of Henry. Comparing the frequency and the largeness of the grants made to him by the parliament with his own regal economy and personal stinginess, they easily calculated that he had by him a treasure of sufficient extent to spare his subjects this new imposition. It followed that, though the parliament had so willingly granted

the subsidy in the mass, the people were by no means so willing to pay it to the tax collectors in detail. This was more especially the case in Cornwall. Far removed from any inroads of the Scots, the people of that part could not or would not understand why they should be taxed to repel an enemy whom they had never seen. The popular discontent in Cornwall was still farther increased by two demagogues, Joseph and Flammock. The latter especially, who was a lawyer, was much trusted by the populace, whom he assured that the tax laid upon them on this occasion was wholly illegal, inasmuch as the nobility of the northern counties held their lands on the express condition of defending them against all inroads of the Scots; and that it behoved the people promptly and firmly, but peaceably, to petition against the system under which their burdens bade fair to become quite intolerable. It is scarcely worth while to inquire how far the demagogues were sincere in their exhortations to peaceable agitation; the event showed how much easier it is to set a multitude in motion than to control it afterwards. The country people having their own opinions of the illegality and injustice of the tax confirmed by men of whose talents and information they had a very high opinion, gathered together in great numbers, most of them being armed with the implements of their rural labour. This numerous and tumultuous gathering chose Flammock and Joseph for their leaders, and passing from Cornwall through Devonshire, they reached Taunton, in Somersetshire, where they killed one of the collectors of the subsidy, whose activity and, perhaps, severity had given them much offence. From Taunton they marched to Wells, in the same county, where they got a distinguished leader in the person of the lord Audley, a nobleman of ancient family, but very prone to popularity-hunting. Headed by this silly nobleman, the rebels marched towards London, breathing vengeance against the principal ministers of the king, though upon the whole tolerably innocent of actual wrong or violence during the latter part of their march. Though the Kentish-men had so lately shown by the course they had adopted towards Warbeck how little they were inclined to involve themselves in a quarrel with the king, Flammock had persuaded the rebels that they were sure to be joined by the Kentish people, *because* these latter had ever maintained their liberty even against the Norman invaders. The *non sequitur* was either not perceived by the multitude or not considered of much importance, for into Kent they marched in pursuance of Flammock's advice, and took up their position on a hill at Eltham, a very few miles from London. So far was the advice of Flammock from being well founded, that there probably was not at that moment a single spot in the whole kingdom where the rebels were less likely to meet with support than in Kent. Everywhere throughout the kingdom there was considerable discontent arising out of the extortionate measures of the king, but everywhere there was also a great respect for the king's power, to which was added in Kent considerable kindly feeling springing out of the favour and consideration with which he had acknowledged the service done to him when Warbeck appeared off the coast. Of this feeling the earl of Kent, Lord Abergavenny, and Lord Cobham so well availed themselves, that, though the rebels made every peaceful endeavour to recruit their ranks, none of the Kentish men would join them.

On this, as indeed on all other emergencies, Henry showed himself equal to the occasion. He detached the earl of Surrey to hold in check or beat back the Scots; and having posted himself in St. George's fields at the head of one body of troops, he despatched the earls of Oxford, Suffolk, and Essex, at the head of another, to take the rebels in the rear; while a third under Lord Daubeny charged them in front. The more completely to take the rebels by surprise, Henry had carefully spread a report that he should not attack them for several days; nor did he give the word to Dau-

bery's division to advance until so late an hour in the day that the rebels could have no idea of being attacked. They had a small advance at Deptford bridge, which Daubeny easily put to flight, and pursued them so closely that he charged upon their main body at the same time that they rejoined it. Daubeny charged the rebels gallantly, but allowed his contempt of their want of discipline to cause him to undervalue their number, in which respect they were far from despicable, being above sixteen thousand. The rash gallantry of Daubeny actually caused him to be for a few moments taken prisoner, but he was speedily rescued by his troops, whose discipline soon prevailed over the raw numbers of the rebels, and the latter were put to flight with the loss of two thousand killed, and many thousands prisoners; the first division of the king's troops having aided Daubeny so that the rebels were completely surrounded, but a comparatively small number of them succeeded in cutting their way through.

Among the numerous prisoners, were the lord Audley, Flammock, and Joseph, all of whom the king sent to immediate execution. Joseph actually exulted in his fate, which, he said, would insure him a place in the history of his country. To the other prisoners the king gave their liberty; partly, perhaps, because he deemed them to have been mere dupes in the hands of their leaders, and partly because, however much they had exclaimed against the oppressions of his ministers, they had in nowise throughout the whole revolt called in question his title, or showed any disposition to mix up with their own causes of complaint the pretensions of the pseudo duke of York. Lord Surrey and the king of Scotland, meanwhile, had made some few and inefficient demonstrations which led to no important result, and Henry took an early opportunity to get Hialas, the Spanish ambassador, to propose himself—as if without the knowledge of Henry—to mediate between the two kings. When Hialas was agreed to as mediator, the first and most important demand of Henry was that Warbeck should be delivered up to him, a demand to which, to his eternal honour, James IV. replied that he could not pretend to decide upon the young man's pretensions; but that having received him and promised him his protection, no imaginable consideration should ever induce him to betray him. Subsequently a truce of a few months having been agreed to between England and Scotland, James privately begged Warbeck to seek some safe asylum, as it was very evident that while he remained in Scotland Henry would never allow that country to have any permanent peace. The measures of Henry, meantime, as regarded the Flemings had produced exactly the result which he expected from them; the Flemish merchants and artificers had suffered so much from his system of non-intercourse, that they had in a manner forced their archduke to make a treaty by which all English rebels were excluded from the Low Countries, and the demesnes of the dowager duchess of Burgundy were especially and pointedly included in this treaty. Warbeck, therefore, on being requested to leave Scotland, found himself by this treaty completely shut out of the Low Countries, too, and he was fain once more to take refuge among the bogs and mountains of Ireland.

Even here, such were the known vigilance, art, and power of Henry, the unfortunate impostor did not feel himself secure. His fear on that head, and his dislike of the rude ways and scanty fare of his entertainers, induced him to follow the advice of three needy and desperate adherents, Astley, Herne, and Skelton; and he landed in Cornwall, where he endeavoured to profit by the still prevalent disposition to discontent and riot in that neighbourhood of hardy, turbulent, and ignorant men. On his landing at Bodmin, Warbeck was joined by upwards of three thousand men; and so much was he encouraged by even this equivocal appearance of popularity, that he now, for the first time, assumed the title of king of England by the name of Richard IV. He next marched his courageous

but wholly undisciplined men to Exeter, where the inhabitants wisely, as well as loyally, shut their gates against him, dispatched messengers to the king, and made all preparations for sustaining such a siege as Warbeck, destitute of artillery and even of ammunition, might be expected to carry on against them.

Henry rejoiced to hear that the pretender who had so long eluded and amazed him, had, at length, resolved to take the field. The lords Daubeny and Broke, with the earl of Devonshire, the duke of Buckingham, and many other considerable nobles, hastily raised troops and marched against the rebels; the king, at the same time, actively preparing to follow with a numerous army.

Warbeck had shown himself unfit for rule, by the mere elation of spirit into which he was betrayed by the adhesion of three thousand ill-armed and undisciplined men; he now showed himself still further unfit by utter want of that desperate courage which, if it often betrays its possessor into situations of peril, no less frequently enables him, as if by miracle, to extricate himself with advantage even where his ruin appears inevitable. The zeal of the king's friends was so far from destroying the hopes of Warbeck's supporters, that in a very few days their number increased from three to about seven thousand. But the encouragement afforded by this enthusiasm of his friends could not counterbalance in the mind of this unworthy pretender to empire, the terror excited by the number and rapid approach of his foes. He hastily raised the siege of Exeter and retired to Taunton; and thence, while numbers were joining him from the surrounding neighbourhood, he made a stealthy and solitary flight to the sanctuary of Beaulieu, in Hampshire. Deserted by their leader the Cornish men submitted to the king, who used his triumph nobly. A few leading and particularly obnoxious offenders were executed, but the majority were dismissed uninjured. In the case of Warbeck's wife, Catherine Gordon, Henry behaved admirably. That lady being among his prisoners, he not only received and pardoned her, as being far more worthy of pity than of blame, but even gave her a highly reputable post at court.

A. D. 1498.—The long annoyance caused by Warbeck induced Henry's advisers to urge him to seize that impostor even in defiance of the church. But Henry, who ever loved the tortuous and the subtle better than the openly violent, caused his emissaries to persuade Warbeck voluntarily to leave his shelter and throw himself upon the king's mercy. This he accordingly did, and after having been led in a mockery of regal state to London, he was compelled to make a formal and detailed confession of the whole of his strange and hypocritical life, and was then committed to close custody.

A. D. 1499.—He might now have lived securely, if irksomely; but he had so long been accustomed to intrigue and the activity of imposture, that he speedily took an opportunity to elude the vigilance of his keepers and escape to a sanctuary. Here the prior of the monastery mediated for him, and the king consented once more to spare his life; but set him in the stocks, at Westminster and at Cheapside; compelled him in that disgraceful situation, to read aloud his confession, and then committed him to close custody in the Tower of London. Even now, this restless person could not submit to his fate. He contrived to seduce some of the servants of the governor, and to associate with himself in the project of escape the unfortunate young earl of Warwick, whose long imprisonment had so weakened his mind, that no artifice was too gross to impose upon him. It would almost seem that this hopeless scheme must, indirectly, have been suggested to the adventurers by the king himself, that he might have a sufficiently plausible reason for putting Warbeck to death. Nor is it any answer to this opinion to say, that two of the conniving servants of the governor were put to death for their share in the project; for Henry

was not of a character to allow his scheme to fail for want of even such a sacrifice as that. Both Warbeck and Warwick were executed; the latter on the ground of his intention, which he did not deny, to disturb the king's government.

The fate of the unfortunate Warwick excited universal indignation against Henry, who certainly sinned no less against policy than against humanity in this gratuitous violence upon so inoffensive a character.

A. D. 1501.—Henry had always been anxious for a friendly and close connection with Ferdinand of Arragon, whose profound and successful polity, in many respects, resembled his own. He now, accordingly, exerted himself, and with success, to unite Ferdinand's daughter, the princess Catherine, to his own eldest son, Arthur, prince of Wales, the former being eighteen, the latter sixteen years of age.

A. D. 1502.—Scarcely, however, had the king and people ceased their rejoicings at this marriage, when it was fatally dissolved by the death of the young prince. The sordid monarch was much affected by the loss of his son, for it seemed to place him under the necessity of returning the large sum of two hundred thousand ducats which had been received as the dowry of the princess. Henry exerted himself to bring about a marriage between the princess and his second son, Henry, who was only twelve years of age, and whom he now created prince of Wales. The young prince was as averse to this match as so young a prince could be; but his father was resolute in the cause of his beloved ducats, and that marriage was celebrated which was afterwards the cause of so much crime and suffering; the prime cause, probably, why Henry VIII. is not by far the most admired of all the monarchs of England.

The latter years of the king were chiefly spent in the indulgence of that detestable vice, avarice, which seems not only to increase by enjoyment, but also to grow more and more craving in exact proportion to the approach of that hour in which the wealth of the world is vain. His excellent but far from well treated queen having died in child-bed in 1503, Henry, from that time, seems to have been haunted with a notion that no treasure could be too immense to guard him against the rivalship of his son, the prince of Wales. Conscious that the late queen's title was better than his own, Henry probably thought that if the prince were to aim at the crown in right of his mother he would not be without support, and that, in such case, the successful side would be that which had the best supply of money. Upon no other principle can we account for the shameless and eager rapacity with which, by means of benevolences extorted from parliament, and oppressive fines wrung from individuals through the arts of the infamous Dudley and Empson, the now enormously wealthy monarch continued to add to his stores, which, in ready money alone, are said to have approached the large sum of two millions. Even when he was rapidly sinking under a consumption, he still upheld and employed his merciless satellites in their vile attacks upon the property of innocent men. The heaping up of gold, however, could not stay the ravages of his fearful disease, and he expired at his palace at Richmond at the comparatively early age of fifty-two years, and after a prosperous reign of twenty-three years and eight months, on the twenty-second of April, 1509.

Cold, cautious, resolute and stern, Henry was an arbitrary and unjust monarch; yet for the mass of the people his reign was a good one. To the wealthy his avarice was a scourge; to the haughty and to the high-born his firm and vigilant rule must have been terrible. But he allowed no one to plunder but for him; no one to tyrannize but in obedience to his orders. The barbarous tyranny of the feudal nobles was forever stricken down; the middle classes were raised to an importance and influence previously unheard of in England; and, apart from his arbitrary and really impolitic, because needless, extortions of money, the general strain of his

laws tended not only to the making of a despotic monarch, but also of a well regulated nobility and an enterprising, prosperous people, whose enterprise and whose prosperity, having no check except the despotic power of the monarch, could not fail sooner or later to curb that one despotism which had so far been useful that it had freed them from the many-headed despotism of the nobility.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII.

A. D. 1509.—It is a sad but a certain truth that the mass of mankind have but a loose and deceptive morality; they look rather to the manner than to the extent of crime when forming their judgments. The splendid tyrannies of an Edward were rather admired than deplored; even the gifted ferocity of the usurping third Richard was thought to be in some sort redeemed by the very excess of subtlety in the plan, and of mere animal daring in the execution, by that nation which now scarcely endeavoured to conceal its joy at the decease of the cold, avaricious Henry. Yet, bad as much of Henry's conduct was, and very contemptible as well as hateful as excessive avarice unquestionably is, Richard, nay even Edward, would not for an instant bear comparison with Henry if the public judgment were not warped. It was not so much the vices of Henry VII. that the people hated him for, as his cold and wearisome firmness of rule; could he sometimes have been with impunity sinned against, he might have sinned ten times as much as he did, without being nearly so much hated as he was.

The cautious policy of Henry VII., the severity of his punishments, and his incurable cupidity, gave no small advantage to the commencement of the reign of his successor, who ascended the throne with probably as many prepossessions in the hearts and minds of his people as any monarch in our history.

Young, handsome, gay, skilled in all manly exercises, and far better educated, scholastically speaking, than was usual even among princes at that time, Henry VIII. had the still farther and inestimable advantages of having never been in any degree associated in men's minds with the cruelties or the extortions of his father, whose jealousy had always kept the young prince unconnected with the management of public affairs. With all these advantages, and uniting in his own person the claims of both York and Lancaster, Henry VIII. may most truly be said to have commenced his reign with the universal love and admiration of his people. His grandmother, the dowager countess of Richmond and Derby, was still alive, and Henry had the good sense and fortune to be guided by her shrewdness and experience in the important matter of forming his first ministry. The ability of the ministers of the late king was beyond all cavil, and it was Henry's obvious policy to retain as much of the talent which had aided his father, with as little as possible of either the wickedness or the unpopularity. The numberless and severe sufferings which had been inflicted upon men of wealth during the last reign, caused a proportionately loud and general cry to be now raised against the informers, particularly against the noted Dudley and Empson, who had so successfully and unscrupulously served the late king; and though the justice of Henry VIII. did not induce him to part with any portion of the treasure which his father had so iniquitously obtained, so neither did it prompt him to defend his father's tools. Both Dudley and Empson were seized and committed to the Tower, amid the joy and execrations of the people; although, as we shall in a few words be able to show, the very criminality of

which these men were accused, was not more flagrant or hateful than that which was now committed against them. When they were summoned before the council, and called upon to show why they should not be punished for their conduct during the late reign, Empson, who was a fluent speaker and a really able lawyer, made a defence of his own and his colleague's conduct, which, had the king been just and the people reasonable, would have led to such alterations in the laws as would forever after have rendered it impossible for unprincipled informers to ruin the wealthy subject, while pandering to the greediness of a grasping and unjust king. He very truly argued that he and his colleague had acted in obedience to the king, and in accordance with laws which, however ancient, were unrepealed and therefore as authoritative as ever; that it was not at all to be marvelled at if those who were punished by law should rail at those who put the law in force; that all well-regulated states always made the impartial and strict enforcement of the laws their chief boast, and that that state would, inevitably, fall into utter ruin, where a contrary practice should be allowed to obtain.

This defence, which clearly threw the blame upon the state of the laws and upon the evil inclinations of the late king, did not prevent Dudley and Empson from being sent to the Tower. They were soon afterwards convicted by a jury, and this conviction was followed up by an act of attainder, which was passed by parliament, and Empson and Dudley were executed amid the savage rejoicings of the people, whose demeanour on this occasion showed them to be truly unworthy the liberty they so highly valued. We do not palliate the moral feelings of Empson and Dudley, but, *legally* speaking, they were *murdered*; they were put to death for doing that which the law directly authorised, and indirectly commanded them to do.

In compliance with the advice of his council, and of the countess of Richmond and Derby, Henry completed his marriage with the princess Catherine, the widow of his brother Arthur; though it seems certain, not only that Henry had himself no preference for that princess, who was plain in person and his senior by six years, but no less certain that his father on his death-bed conjured him to take the earliest possible opportunity to break the engagement.

Though Henry VIII. had received a good education, and might deserve the praise of learning and ability, even without reference to his high rank, he was far too impetuous, and too much the creature of impulse, to deserve the title of a great politician. At his coming to the throne, the state of Europe was such that *laissez aller* would have been the best maxim for all the sovereigns; and England, blest with domestic peace, and little concerned in the affairs of the continent, ought especially to have kept aloof from interference. Italy was the theatre of strife between the powers of Spain and France; Henry's best policy clearly would have been to let these great powers waste their time and strength against each other; yet, at the very commencement of his reign, he allowed Pope Julius II. to seduce him into the grossly impolitic step of allying himself with that pontiff, the emperor Maximilian, and Henry's father-in law, Ferdinand, to crush and trample upon the commonwealth of Venice.

A. D. 1510.—Having succeeded in engaging Henry in this league, to which neither his own honour nor the interests of his people obliged the young monarch, Julius was encouraged to engage him in the more ambitious project of freeing Italy from foreigners. The pontiff accordingly sent a flattering message to Henry, with a perfumed and anointed rose, and he held out to Henry's ambassador at Rome, Bainbridge, archbishop of York, a cardinal's hat as the reward of his exertions in his interest. This done, he persuaded Ferdinand and the Swiss cantons to join him, and declared war against the duke of Ferrara, the ally and friend of the French

A. D 1511.—The emperor Maximilian still held to his alliance with Louis, and they, with some malcontent cardinals, now endeavoured to check the ambition of Julius, by calling a general council for the purpose of reforming the church. With the exception of some French bishops, the cardinals had scarcely any supporters, and they were so ill received at Pisa, where they first met, that they were obliged to adjourn to Milan. Even here, though under the dominion and protection of France, they were so much insulted, that they again adjourned to Lyons; and it was evident that they had but little chance of success against the pope, who, besides being extremely popular, did not fail to exercise his power of excommunicating the clerical attendants of the council, and absolving from their allegiance the subjects of the monarchs who protected them.

A. D. 1512.—Henry, who at this period of his life was far too impetuous to be otherwise than sincere, was really anxious to protect the sovereign pontiff from insult and oppression, and he was strengthened in this inclination by the interested counsel of his father-in-law, and by his own hope of being honoured with the title of *Most Christian King*, which heretofore had belonged to the king of France. He consequently allied himself with Spain, Venice, and the pope, against the king of France, and not merely sent an embassy to dehort Louis from warring against the pope, but also demanded the restoration to England of Anjou, Maine, Guienne, and Normandy. This demand was considered tantamount to a declaration of war, and was supported by parliament, which granted Henry a very liberal supply.

Ferdinand, who had his own ends to serve, affected to be extremely anxious to serve Henry, and sent a fleet to convey the English troops, to the number of ten thousand, to Fontarabia. The marquis of Dorset, accompanied by the lords Broke and Howard, and many other young noblemen ambitious of warlike fame, commanded this force, which was extremely well appointed, though it chiefly consisted of infantry. But Dorset very soon found that Henry's interests were not consulted by Ferdinand and his generals; and, after much idle disputation, the English troops broke out into mutiny, and the expedition returned without achieving anything. Henry was much annoyed by this egregious failure, and Dorset had great difficulty in convincing him of the exclusively selfish nature of Ferdinand's designs.

By sea the English were not much more prosperous than by land. A fleet of forty-five sail was encountered off Brest by thirty-nine sail of the French; the French admiral's ship caught fire, and Primauget, the commander, resolutely grappled with the English admiral, and both vessels blew up together, the enraged crews combating to the last. The French, notwithstanding the loss of their admiral, made good their escape with all the rest of their ships.

But though Henry acquired no glory or advantage by these operations against France, he did Louis serious mischief by compelling him to retain in France troops whose presence was absolutely necessary to his interests in Italy. But for this circumstance Louis would probably have prospered there. His young and heroic nephew, Gaston de Foix, even with the slender forces that could be spared to him, during a few months of a career which a great modern poet most truly calls "brief, brave, and glorious," obtained signal advantages; but he fell in the very moment of victory over the army of the pope and Ferdinand, at Ravenna. His genius had, in a great degree, compensated for the numerical inferiority of the French; but directly after his death Genoa and Milan revolted, and Louis was speedily deprived of every foot of his newly-acquired Italian conquests, except some isolated and comparatively unimportant fortresses.

A. D. 1513.—Pope Julius II. had scarcely time to exult over his successes against the arms of Louis when that pontiff died, and was suc-

ceeded by John de Medicis, who, under the title of Leo X., is famed in history no less for his patronage of the arts and sciences, than for his profound political talents. Leo X. had no sooner ascended the papal throne than he dexterously withdrew the emperor Maximilian from the French interests; and, by cheap but flattering compliments to Henry and his leading courtiers, greatly increased the popularity of the papal cause in England, where the parliament imposed a poll-tax to assist the king in his designs against France. While Henry was eagerly making his preparations, he did not neglect his dangerous enemy, James of Scotland. That prince was much attached to the French cause, and sent a squadron of vessels to aid it; and, though to Henry's envoy he now professed the most peaceable inclinations, the earl of Surrey was ordered to watch the borders with a strong force, lest England should be assailed in that direction during the king's absence in France.

While Henry was busied in preparing a large land force for the invasion of France, his fleet, under Sir Edward Howard, cruised in the channel, and at length drew up in order of battle off Brest and challenged the French force which lay there; but the French commander being in daily expectation of a reinforcement of galleys under the command of Prejeant de Bidoux, would not allow any taunts to draw him from his security. The galleys at length arrived at Conquet, near Brest, and Bidoux placed himself beneath a battery. There he was attacked by Sir Edward, who, with a Spanish cavalier and seventeen English, boldly boarded Bidoux's own vessel, but was killed and thrust into the sea. The loss of their admiral so discouraged the English that they raised their blockade of Brest harbour, and the French fleet soon after made a descent upon the coast of Sussex, but was beaten off.

Eight thousand men under the command of the earl of Shrewsbury, and six thousand under that of Lord Herbert of Cherbury, having embarked for France, the king now prepared to follow with the main army. He had already made the queen regent during his absence; and that she might be in the less danger of being disturbed by any revolt, he now caused Edmund de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, who had been attainted during the last reign, to be beheaded in the Tower of London.

On arriving at Calais Henry found that the aid afforded him fell very far short of what he had been promised. Maximilian, who was to have brought a reinforcement of eight thousand men in return for a hundred and twenty thousand crowns which Henry had advanced him, was unable to fulfil his engagement. He however made the best amends in his power by joining with such scanty force as he could command; and he enlisted himself under Henry as his officer, with a salary of one hundred crowns per day.

The earl of Shrewsbury and the lord Herbert immediately on their arrival in France had laid siege to Terouane, a town on the borders of Picardy, which was gallantly defended by two thousand men under the command of Crequi and Teligni. The strength of the place and the gallantry of the garrison bade defiance to the besiegers; but a dreadful want of both provisions and ammunition was soon felt in the place. Fontrailles was detached by Louis from the army at Amiens to carry some relief to this place. He took eight hundred horsemen, each of whom carried behind him a sack of gunpowder and two quarters of bacon, and, though thus encumbered, this gallant cavalry cut their way though the English, deposited their burdens in the fosse of the town, and returned to their quarters with scarcely any loss.

The same gallant Fontrailles was shortly afterwards again about to throw some relief into Terouane; and as it was judged that the English would now be on the alert, a strong body of French cavalry was ordered up to protect him. Henry sent out a body of cavalry to hold hem in

check, and, strange to relate, though the French were picked troops, consisting chiefly of gentlemen who had fought gallantly and often, they were seized with a sudden panic at the approach of the English, and fled in spite of the attempts to rally them which were made by such men as the chevalier Bayard, the duke of Longueville, and other distinguished officers who were among the number taken prisoners. This battle, from the panic flight of the French, is known as the *Battle of Spurs*. Had Henry immediately after this pushed his advantages, he might easily have marched to Paris, where both friends and foes fully expected to see him; but he allowed Maximilian to persuade him into the besieging of Tournay, which, after much delay, was taken. Henry then returned to England, having gained some reputation as a chivalrous soldier, but certainly with no increase of his reputation as a politician or a general.

During Henry's absence the Scots acted precisely as had been anticipated. James, with an army of fifty thousand men, had crossed the border and taken several castles, ravaging and plundering the country in every direction around them. Having taken the lady Forde prisoner in her castle, James was so much charmed with her society that he lost much precious time, and his disorderly troops took advantage of his negligence and retreated to their homes in great numbers with the plunder they had obtained from the Southrons. The earl of Surrey, after much difficulty, came up with the Scots, who by these desertions were reduced to somewhat nearer his own force of twenty-six thousand men. James in person commanded the centre division of the Scots, the earl of Huntley and Lord Hume the right, the earls of Lennox and Argyle the left, while the earl of Bothwell had charge of the reserve. The English centre was commanded by Lord Howard in the first line, and by the gallant earl of Surrey himself in the second; the wings by Sir Edmund Howard, Sir Marmaduke Constable, Lord Dacre, and Sir Edward Stanley. The right wing of the Scots commenced the action, and fairly drove the English left wing off the field; but the Scottish left, in the meantime, broke from all discipline, and attacked so impetuously, but in such disorder, that Sir Edward Howard and the lord Dacre, who profited by their confusion and received them coolly, cut them to pieces ere they could be rescued by James's own division and the reserve under Bothwell. Though the Scots sustained this great loss, the presence of the sovereign so much animated their courage, that they kept up the engagement until night put an end to it. Even then it was uncertain which side had, in reality, sustained the greater loss. But, on the following day, it was discovered that the English, as well as the Scots, had lost about five thousand men; the former had suffered almost exclusively in the ranks, while the latter had lost many of their bravest nobles. The king of Scotland was himself among the missing from this fatal "Flodden Field." A body, indeed, was found among the slain, which from the royal attire was supposed to be the king's, and it was even royally interred, Henry generously pretending that James, while dying, expressed his contrition for that misconduct towards the pope which had placed him under the terrible sentence of excommunication. But though Henry was evidently convinced that he was thus doing honour to the body of his brother-in-law, the Scots were equally convinced that he was not, and that James did not fall in the battle. By some it was asserted that the monarch, escaping from the field, was put to death by order of Lord Hume; while others no less believed that he escaped to the Holy Land, whence they long subsequently continued to expect him to return.

The event of the battle of Flodden having released Henry from all fear of his northern border, at least for that time, he made no difficulty about granting peace to his sister Margaret, who was now made regent of Scotland during the minority of her son.

A. D. 1514.—Henry rewarded the chief instruments in obtaining him this

splendid victory, by conferring on the earl of Surrey the title of duke of Norfolk, which had been forfeited by that nobleman's father, who sided with Richard III. at Bosworth Field; upon Lord Howard the title of the earl of Surrey; on Lord Herbert that of earl of Worcester; upon Sir Edward Stanley that of lord Monteagle; and upon Charles Brandon, earl of Lisle, that of duke of Suffolk.

At the same time the bishopric of Lincoln was bestowed upon the king's chief favourite and prime minister, Thomas Wolsey, whose part in this reign was so important as to demand that we should presently speak of him at some length.

The war with Scotland being fortunately terminated, Henry again turned his whole attention to France. There, however, he found little cause of gratulation. His father-in-law, Ferdinand of Arragon, having obtained possession of the petty frontier kingdom of Navarre, had eagerly made peace with France, and induced the emperor Maximilian to do the same; and the pope, in whose cause Henry had sacrificed so much, had also accepted of the submission of Louis.

The truth was now more than ever apparent, that, however great Henry's other qualities, he was by no means skilled in the wiles of politics; and his present experience of that truth was the more embittered, because he found that Maximilian had been induced to abandon him by an offer of the daughter of France to the son of that prince; though that son Charles had already been affianced to Henry's own younger sister, the princess Mary, who was now fast approaching the age for the completion of the contract.

Thus doubly duped and injured, Henry would, most likely, have re-invaded France, no matter at what sacrifice, but that the duke of Longueville, who had remained a prisoner ever since the memorable "battle of spurs," suggested a match between the deserted princess Mary and Louis of France himself. It is true that monarch was upwards of fifty years of age, and the princess not quite sixteen; but so many advantages were offered to Henry, that the marriage was concluded at Abbeville, whither Louis proceeded to meet his young bride. Their happiness and the rejoicings of the French people were of but short duration, the king surviving the marriage only about three months.

The young queen dowager of France had, before her marriage, shown some partiality for the duke of Suffolk, the most accomplished cavalier of the age, and an especial favourite of Henry; and he now easily persuaded her to shorten the period of her widowhood. Henry was, or feigned to be, angry at their precipitate union; but his anger, if real, was only of short duration, and the accomplished duke and his lovely bride were soon invited to return to the English court.

CHAPTER XL.

THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII. (*continued*).

As Henry VIII. was, in many respects, the most extraordinary of our monarchs, his favourite and minister, the cardinal Wolsey, was at the very head of the extraordinary men, even in that age of strange men and strange deeds. He was the son of a butcher in the town of Ipswich, and displaying, while young, great quickness and intelligence, he had a learned education, with a view to his entering the church. Having, at the conclusion of his own education, been employed in teaching the children of the marquis of Dorset, he gave so much satisfaction that that nobleman recommended him to Henry VIII., as his chaplain. As the private and public servant of that monarch, Wolsey gave equal satisfaction; and when

Henry VIII., a gay, young, and extravagant monarch, showed a very evident preference of the earl of Surrey to the somewhat severe and economic Fox, bishop of Winchester, this prelate introduced Wolsey to the king, hoping that, while his accomplishments and pliability would enable him to eclipse the earl of Surrey, he would, from his own love of pleasure if not from the motives of gratitude, be subordinate in all matters of politics to the prelate to whom he owed his introduction. The difference between the actual conduct of Wolsey, and the expectations of the prelate, furnishes a striking illustration of the aptitude of otherwise able men to fall into error when they substitute their own wishes for the principles inherent to human nature. Wolsey fully warranted Fox's expectations in making himself even more agreeable to the gay humour of the king than the earl of Surrey. But Wolsey took advantage of his position to persuade the king that both the earl and the prelate, tried counsellors of the late king, felt themselves appointed by him rather than by their present royal master, to whom they considered themselves less servants than authoritative guardians and tutors. He so well, at the same time, showed his own capacity equally for pleasure and for business, and his own readiness to relieve the king from the weight of all irksome details, and yet to be his very and docile creature, that Henry soon found it impossible to do without him, in either his gaieties or in his more serious pursuits; and Wolsey equally supplanted alike the courtier and the graver man of business, who, in endeavouring to make him his tool, enabled him to become his superior. Confident in his own talents, and in the favour of Henry, this son of a very humble tradesman carried himself with an all but regal pomp and haughtiness; and left men in some difficulty to pronounce whether he were more grasping in obtaining wealth, or more magnificent in expending it. Supercilious to those who affected equality with him, he was liberal to the utmost towards those beneath him; and, with a singular inconsistency, though he could be ungrateful, as we have seen in the case of the unsuspecting bishop of Winchester, no man was more prone to an exceeding generosity towards those who were not his patrons but his tools.

A. D. 1515.—A favourite and minister of this temper could not fail to make many enemies; but Wolsey relaxed neither in haughtiness nor in ambition. Well knowing the temper of Henry, the politic minister ever affected to be the mere tool of his master, though the exact contrary really was the case; and by thus making all *his* acts seem to emanate from Henry's will, he piqued his vanity and wilfulness into supporting them and him against all shadow of opposition or complaint. Made bishop of Lincoln, and then archbishop of York, Wolsey held *in commendam* the bishopric of Winchester, the abbey of St. Alban's, and had the revenues at very easy leases of the bishoprics of Bath, Worcester, and Hereford. His influence over the king made the pope anxious to acquire a hold upon him; Wolsey, accordingly, was made a cardinal, and thenceforth his whole energies and ambition were devoted to the endeavour to win the papal throne itself. Contrary to the custom of priests, the precious metals ornamented not only his own attire, but even the saddles and furniture of his horses; his cardinal's hat was carried before him by a man of rank and laid upon the altar when he entered chapel; one priest, of noble stature and handsome countenance, carried before him a massive silver cross, and another the cross of York. Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, also held the office of chancellor, and was but ill fitted to contend with so resolute a person as Wolsey, who speedily worried him into a resignation of the chancellorship, which dignity he himself grasped. His emoluments were vast, so was his expenditure magnificent; and, if he grasped at many offices, it is but fair to add that he fulfilled his various duties with rare energy, judgment, and justice. Wolsey might now be said to be

Henry's only minister; Fox, bishop of Winchester, the duke of Norfolk, and the duke of Suffolk being, like the archbishop of Canterbury, unable to make head against his arbitrary temper, and driven from the court by a desire to avoid a useless and irritating conflict. Fox, bishop of Winchester, who seems to have been greatly attached to Henry, warned him against Wolsey's ambition, and besought him to beware lest the servant should become the master. But Henry had no fear of the kind; he was far too despotic and passionate a person to fear that any minister could govern him.

The success which Francis of France met with in Italy tended to excite the jealousy and fears of England, as every new acquisition made by France encroached upon the balance of power, upon which the safety of English interests so greatly depended. Francis, moreover had given offence, not only to Henry, but also to Wolsey, who took care not to allow his master's anger to subside for want of a prompter. But though Henry spent a large sum of money in stirring up enmities against France, he did so to little practical effect, and was easily induced to peace.

A. D. 1516.—Ferdinand the Catholic, the father-in-law of Henry, died in the midst of a profound peace in Europe, and was succeeded by his grandson Charles. This event caused Francis to see the necessity of bestirring himself to insure the friendship of England, as a support against the extensive power of Spain. As the best means of doing so, he caused his ambassador to make his peace with Wolsey, and affected to ask that haughty minister's advice on the most confidential and important subjects. One of the advantages obtained by Francis from this servile flattery of the powerful minister, was the restoration of the important town of Tournay, a frontier fortress of France and the Netherlands; Francis agreeing to pay six hundred thousand crowns, at twelve equal annual instalments, to reimburse Henry for his expenditure on the citadel of Tournay. At the same time that Francis gave eight men of rank as hostages for the payment of the above large sum to Henry, he agreed to pay twelve thousand livres per annum to Wolsey as an equivalent for the bishopric of Tournay, to which he had a claim. Pleased with this success, Francis now became bolder in his flatteries, terming Wolsey *governor*, *tutor*, and even *father*, and so winning upon the mind of Wolsey by fulsome affectations of humility and admiration, that Polydore Virgil, who was Wolsey's contemporary, speaks of it as being quite certain that Wolsey was willing to have sold him Calais, and was only prevented from doing so by the general sense he found to be entertained of its value to England, and by his forming closer connections with Spain, which somewhat cooled his attachment to France. The pope's legate, Campeggio, being recalled on his failure to procure a tithe demanded by the pope from the English clergy, on the old and worn-out pretext of war with the Infidels, Henry procured the legatine power to be conferred on Wolsey. With this new dignity, Wolsey increased the loftiness of his pretensions, and the magnificence of his habits; like the pope, he had bishops and mitred abbots to serve him when he said mass, and he farther had nobles of the best families to hand him the water and towel.

So haughty had he now become that he even complained of Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, as being guilty of undue familiarity in signing himself "*Your loving brother*," which caused even the meek-spirited Warham to make the bitter remark, "this man is drunk with too much prosperity." But Wolsey did not treat his legatine appointment as being a mere matter of dignity and pomp, but forthwith opened what he called the legatine court; a court as oppressive and as expensive in its authority as the Inquisition itself. It was to inquire into all matters of morality and conscience, and, as it was supplementary to the law of the land, its authority was, in reality, only limited by the conscience of the judge The first

iudge appointed to this anomalous and dangerous court was John Allen, a man whose life was but ill spoken of, and who was even said to have been convicted by Wolsey himself of perjury. In the hands of such a man as this, the extensive powers of the legatine court were but too likely to be made mere instruments of extortion; and it was publicly reported that Allen was in the habit of convicting or acquitting as he was unbribed or bribed. Wolsey was thought to receive no small portion of the sums thus obtained by Allen from the wickedness or the fears of the suitors of his court. Much clamour was raised against Wolsey, too, by the almost papal extent of power he claimed for himself in all matters concerning wills and benefices, the latter of which he conferred upon his creatures without the slightest regard to the monks' right of election, or the lay gentry and nobility's right of patronage. This iniquity of Allen at length caused him to be prosecuted and convicted; and the king, on that occasion, expressed so much indignation, that Wolsey was ever after more cautious and guarded in the use of his authority.

A. D. 1519.—Immersed in pleasures, Henry contrived to expend all the huge treasures which accrued to him on the death of his father; and he was now poor, just when a circumstance occurred to render his possession of treasure more than usually important. Maximilian, the emperor, who had long been declining, died; and Henry and the kings of France and Spain were candidates for that chief place among the princes of Christendom. Money was profusely lavished upon the electors by both Charles and Francis; but Henry's minister, Pace, having scarcely any command of cash, found his efforts everywhere useless, and Charles gained the day.

A. D. 1520.—In reality Henry was formidable to either France or the emperor, and he could at a moment's warning, throw his weight into the one or the other scale. Aware of this fact, Francis was anxious for an opportunity of personally practising upon the generosity and want of cool judgment, which he quite correctly imputed to Henry. He, therefore, proposed that they should meet in a field within the English pale, near Calais; the proposal was warmly seconded by Wolsey, who was as eager as a court beauty of the other sex for every occasion of personal splendour and costliness. Each of the monarchs was young, gay, tasteful, and magnificent: and so well did their courtiers enter into their feeling of gorgeous rivalry, that some nobles of both nations expended on the ceremony and show of a few brief days, sums which involved their families in straitened circumstances for the rest of their lives.

The emperor Charles no sooner heard of the proposed interview between the kings, than he, being on his way from Spain to the Netherlands, paid Henry the compliment of landing at Dover, whither Henry at once proceeded to meet him. Charles not only endeavoured in every possible way to please and flatter Henry, but he also paid assidious court to Wolsey, and bound that aspiring personage to his interests by promising to aid him in reaching the papacy; a promise which Charles felt the less difficulty about making, because the reigning pope Leo X. was junior to Wolsey by some years, and very likely to outlive him. Henry was perfectly well aware of the pains Charles took to conciliate Wolsey, but, strange to say, felt rather flattered than hurt, as though the compliment were ultimately paid to his own person and will.

When the emperor had taken his departure Henry proceeded to France, where the meeting took place between him and Francis. Wolsey, who had the regulation of the ceremonial, so well indulged his own and his master's love of magnificence, that the place of meeting was by the common consent of the delighted spectators hailed by the gorgeous title of *The field of the cloth of gold.* Gold and jewels abounded; and both the monarchs and their numerous courts were apparelled in the most gor-

geous and picturesque style. The duke of Buckingham, who, though very wealthy, was not fond of parting with his money, found the expenses to which he was put on this occasion so intolerable, that he expressed himself so angrily towards Wolsey as led to his execution some time after, though nominally for a different offence.

The meetings between the monarchs were for some time regulated with the most jealous and wearisome attention to strict etiquette. At length Francis, attended by only two of his gentlemen and a page, rode into Henry's quarters. Henry was delighted at this proof of his brother-monarch's confidence, and threw upon his neck a pearl collar worth five or six thousand pounds, which Francis repaid by the present of an armlet worth twice as much. So profuse and gorgeous were these young kings.

While Henry remained at Calais he received another visit from the emperor Charles. That artful monarch had now completed the good impression he had already made upon both Henry and Cardinal Wolsey, by offering to leave all dispute between himself and France to the arbitration of Henry, as well as by assuring Wolsey of the papacy at some future day, and putting him into instant possession of the revenues of the bishoprics of Badajos and Placencia. The result was, that the emperor made demands of the most extravagant nature, well knowing that France would not comply with them; and when the negotiations were thus broken off, a treaty was made between the emperor and Henry, by which the daughter of the latter, the princess Mary, was betrothed to the former, and England was bound to invade France with an army of forty thousand men. This treaty alone, by the very exorbitancy of its injuriousness to England, would sufficiently show at once the power of Wolsey over his king and the extent to which he was ready to exert that power.

The duke of Buckingham, who had imprudently given offence to the all-powerful cardinal, was a man of turbulent temper, and very imprudent in expressing himself, by which means he afforded abundant evidence for his own ruin. It was proved that he had provided arms with the intent to disturb the government, and that he had even threatened the life of the king, to whom he thought himself, as being descended in the female line from the youngest son of Edward the Third, to be the rightful successor should the king die without issue. Far less real guilt than this, aided by the enmity of such a man as Wolsey, would have sufficed to ruin Buckingham, who was condemned, and, to the great discontent of the people, executed.

A. D. 1521.—We have already mentioned that Henry in his youth had been jealously secluded from all share in public business. He derived from this circumstance the advantage of far more scholastic learning than commonly fell to the lot of princes, and circumstances now occurred to set his literary attainments and propensities in a striking light. Leo X. having published a general indulgence, circumstances of a merely personal interest caused Arcemboldi, a Genoese, then a bishop but originally a merchant, who farmed the collection of the money in Saxony and the countries on the Baltic, to cause the preaching for the indulgences to be given to the Dominicans, instead of to the Augustines who had usually enjoyed that privilege. Martin Luther, an Augustine friar, feeling himself and his whole order affronted by this change, preached against it, and inveighed against certain vices of life, of which, probably, the Dominicans really were guilty, though not more so than the Augustines. His spirited and coarse censures provoked the censured order to reply, and as they dwelt much upon the papal authority, as an all-sufficient answer to Luther, he was induced to question that authority; and as he extended his reading he found cause for more and more extended complaint; so that he who at first had merely complained of a wrong done to a particular order of churchmen, speedily declared himself against much of the doctrine

and discipline of the church itself, as being corrupt and of merely human invention for evil human purposes. From Germany the new doctrines of Luther quickly spread to the rest of Europe, and found many proselytes in England. Henry, however, was the last man in his dominions who was likely to assent to Luther's arguments; as a scholar, and as an extremely despotic monarch, he was alike shocked by them. He not only exerted himself to prevent the Lutheran heresies, as he termed and no doubt thought them, from taking root in England, but also wrote a book in Latin against them. This book, which would have been by no means discreditable to an older and more professional polemic, Henry sent to the pope, who, charmed by the ability displayed by so illustrious an advocate of the papal cause, conferred upon him the proud title of *Defender of the Faith*, which has ever since been borne by our monarchs. Luther, who was not of a temper to quail before rank, replied to Henry with great force and with but little decency, and Henry was thus made personally as well as scholastically an opponent of the new doctrines. But those doctrines involved so many consequences favourable to human liberty and flattering to human pride that neither scholastic nor kingly power could prevent their spread, which was much facilitated by the recent invention of printing. The progress of the new opinions was still farther favoured by the death of the vigorous and gifted Leo X., and by the succession to the papal throne of Adrian, who was so far from being inclined to go too far in the support of the establishment, that he candidly admitted the necessity for much reformation.

A. D. 1522.—The emperor, fearing lest Wolsey's disappointment of the papal throne should injure the imperial interests in England, again came hither, professedly only on a visit of compliment, but really to forward his political interests. He paid assiduous court, not only to Henry, but also to Wolsey, to whom he pointed out that the age and infirmities of Adrian rendered another vacancy likely soon to occur on the papal throne; and Wolsey saw it to be his interest to dissemble the indignant vexation his disappointment had really caused him. The emperor in consequence succeeded in his wishes of retaining Henry's alliance, and of causing him to declare war against France. Lord Surrey entered France with an army which, with reinforcements from the Low Countries, numbered eighteen thousand men. But the operations by no means corresponded in importance to the force assembled; and, after losing a great number of men by sickness, Surrey went into winter quarters in the month of October without having made himself master of a single place in France.

When France was at war with England, there was but little probability of Scotland remaining quiet. Albany, who had arrived from France especially with a view to vexing the northern frontier of England, summoned all the Scottish force that could be raised, marched into Annandale, and prepared to cross into England at Solway Frith. But the storm was averted from England by the discontents of the Scottish nobles, who complained that the interests of Scotland should be exposed to all the danger of a contest with so superior a power as England, merely for the advantage of a foreign power. So strongly, indeed, did the Gordons and other powerful clansmen express their discontents on this head, that Albany made a truce with the English warden, the lord Dacre, and returned to France, taking the precaution of sending thither before him the earl of Angus, husband of the queen dowager.

A. D. 1523.—With only an infant king, and with their regent absent from the kingdom, the Scots laboured under the additional disadvantage of being divided into almost as many factions as they numbered potent and noble families. Taking advantage of this melancholy state of things in Scotland, Henry sent to that country a powerful force under the earl of Surrey, who marched without opposition into the Merse and Teviotdale,

burned the town of Jedburgh, and ravaged the whole country round. Henry endeavoured to improve his present superiority over the Scots, by bringing about a marriage between his only daughter, the young princess Mary, and the infant king of Scotland; a measure which would at once have put an end to all contrariety of interests as to the two countries, by uniting them, as nature evidently intended them to be, into one state. But the friends of France opposed this measure so warmly, that the queen dowager, who had every possible motive for wishing to comply with it, both as favouring her brother, and promising an otherwise unattainable prosperity to the future reign of her son, was unable to bring it about. The partizans of England and France were nearly equal in power, if not in number; and while they still debated the question, it was decided against England by the arrival of Albany. He raised troops and made some show of battle, but there was little actual fighting. Disgusted with the factions into which the people were divided, Albany at length retired again to France; and Henry having enough to do in his war with that country, was well content to give up his notion of a Scottish alliance, and to rely upon the Scots being busy with their own feuds, as his best security against their henceforth attempting any serious diversion in favour of France.

In truth, Henry, as wealthy as he had been at the commencement of his reign, had been so profuse in his pursuit of pleasure, that he had now no means of prosecuting war with any considerable vigour even against France alone. Though, in many respects, possessed of actual despotic power, Henry had to suffer the usual inconvenience of poverty. At one time he issued privy seals demanding loans of certain sums from wealthy men; at another he demanded a loan of five shillings in the pound from the clergy, and of two shillings in the pound from the laity. Though nominally *loans*, these sums were really to be considered as *gifts*; impositions at once so large, so arbitrary, and so liable to be repeated at any period, necessarily caused much discontent. Soon after this last expedient for raising money without the consent of parliament, he summoned a convocation and a parliament. From the former, Wolsey, relying upon his high power and influence as cardinal and archbishop, demanded ten shillings in the pound on the ecclesiastical revenue, to be levied in five years. The clergy murmured, but, as Wolsey had anticipated, a few sharp words from him silenced all objections, and what he demanded was granted. Having thus far succeeded, Wolsey now, attended by several lords, spiritual and temporal, addressed the house of commons; dilating upon the wants of the king, and upon the disadvantageous position in which those wants placed him with respect to both France and Scotland, he demanded a grant of two hundred thousand pounds per annum for four years. After much hesitation and murmuring, the commons granted only one half the required sum; and here occurred a striking proof of the spirit of independence, which, though it was very long in growing to its present height, had already been produced in the house of commons by its possession of the power of the purse. Wolsey, on learning how little the commons had voted towards what he had demanded, required to be allowed to "reason" with the house, but was gravely, and with real dignity, informed, that the house of commons could reason only among its own members. But Henry sent for Edward Montague, an influential member, and coarsely threatened him that if the commons did not vote better on the following day, Montague should lose his head. This threat caused the commons to advance somewhat on their former offers, though they still fell far short of the sum originally asked.

It may be presumed that Henry was partly goaded to his violent and brutal threat to Montague by very urgent necessity; among the items of the amount granted, was a levy of three shillings in the pound on all who possessed fifty pounds per annum, and though this was to be levied in

four years, Henry levied the whole of it in the very year in which it was granted.

While Wolsey—for to him the people attributed every act of the king—was thus powerful in England, either very great treachery on the part of the emperor, or a most invincible misfortune, rendered him constantly unsuccessful as to the great object of his ambition, the papal throne. It now again became vacant by the death of Adrian, but this new awakening of his hope was merely the prelude to a new and bitter disappointment. He was again passed over, and one of the De Medicis ascended the papal throne under the title of Clement VII. Wolsey was well aware that this election took place with the concurrence of the imperial party, and he, therefore, determined to turn Henry from the alliance of the emperor to that of France. When we consider how much more preferable the French alliance was, as regarded the interests and happiness of millions of human beings, it is at once a subject of indignation and of self-distrust to reflect, that the really profound and far-seeing cardinal was determined to it, only by the same paltry personal feeling that might animate a couple of small squires in a hunting field, or their wives at an assize ball. *But he never really comprehends the teachings of history, who is not well informed upon the personal feelings, and very capable of making allowance for the personal errors of the great actors in the drama of nations.*

Disappointed in the great object of his ambition, Wolsey affected the utmost approval of the election which had so much mortified him, and he applied to Clement for a continuation of that legatine power which had now been entrusted to him by two popes, and Clement granted it to him for life, a great and most unusual compliment.

A. D. 1525.—Though Henry's war with France was productive of much expense of both blood and treasure, the English share in it was so little brilliant, that there is no necessity for our entering here into details, which must, of necessity, be given in another place. We need only remark that the defeat and captivity of Francis at the great battle of Pavia, in the previous year, would have been improved by Wolsey, to the probable conquest of France, but for the deep offence he had received from the emperor, which caused him to represent to Henry the importance to him of France as a counterbalancing power to the emperor. He successfully appealed to the powerful passions of Henry, by pointing out proofs of coldness and of increased assumption in the style of the emperor's letters subsequent to the battle of Pavia; and Henry was still more determined by this merely personal argument than he had been by even the cogent political one. The result was that Henry made a treaty with the mother of Francis, who had been left by him as regent, in which he undertook to procure the liberty of Francis on reasonable terms; while she acknowledged Henry creditor of France to the amount of nearly two millions of crowns, which she undertook to pay at the rate of fifty thousand in every six months. Wolsey, besides gratifying his spleen against the emperor in bringing about this treaty with France, procured the more solid gratification of a hundred thousand pounds, paid to him under the name of arrears of a pension granted to him on the giving up of Tournay, as mentioned in its proper place in this history.

As it was very probable that this treaty with France would lead to a war with the emperor, Henry issued a commission for levying a tax of four shillings in the pound upon the clergy, and three-and-fourpence upon the laity. As this heavy demand caused great murmuring, he took care to have it made known that he desired this money only in the way of *benevolence*. But people, by this time, understood that *loan*, *benevolence*, and *tax* were only different names for the one solid matter of ready *money*, and the murmuring did not cease. In some parts of the country, the people, indeed, broke out into open revolt; but as they had no wealthy or influ-

ential leader, the king's officers and friends put them down, and Henry pardoned the ringleaders on the politic pretence that poverty, and not wilful disloyalty, had led them astray.

A. D. 1527.—Though Henry had now so many years lived with his queen in all apparent cordiality and contentment, several circumstances had occurred to give him doubts as to the legality of their marriage. When the emperor Charles had proposed to espouse Henry's daughter, the young princess Mary, the states of Castile objected to her as being illegitimate; and the same objection was subsequently made by France, when it was proposed to ally her to the prince of that country.

It is, we think, usual too readily to take it for granted that Henry was, from the first, prompted to seek the dissolution of this marriage, merely by a libertine and sensual disposition. It is quite true that the queen was considerably older than he, and that her beauty was not remarkable; and it may be quite true that those circumstances were among his motives. But it should not be forgotten that he had studied deeply, and that his favourite author, Thomas Aquinas, spoke in utter reprobation of the marrying by a man of his brother's widow, as denounced in the book of Leviticus. The energetic reprobation of an author of whom he was accustomed to think so reverently was, of course, not weakened by the rejection of his daughter by both Spain and France, on the ground of the incestuous marriage of her parents, and Henry at length became so desirous to have some authoritative settlement of his doubts, that he caused the question to be mooted before the prelates of England, who, with the single exception of Fisher, bishop of Rochester, subscribed to the opinion that the marriage was *ab incepto* illegal and null. While Henry's conscientious scruple was thus strongly confirmed, his desire to get his marriage formally and effectually annulled was greatly increased by his falling in love with Anne Boleyn, a young lady of great beauty and accomplishments. Her parents were connected with some of the best families in the nation, her father had several times been honourably employed abroad by the king, and the young lady herself, to her very great misfortune, was, at this time, one of the maids of honour to the queen. That we are correct in believing Henry to be less the mere and willing slave of passion than he has generally been represented, seems to be clear from the single fact, that there is no instance of his showing that contempt for the virtue of the court females so common in the case of monarchs. He no sooner saw Anne Boleyn than he desired her, not as a mistress, but as a wife, and that desire made him more than ever anxious to dissolve his marriage with Catherine. He now, therefore, applied to the pope for a divorce, upon the ground, not merely of the incestuous nature of the marriage—as that might have seemed to question or to limit the dispensing power of Rome—but on the ground that the bull which had authorised it had been obtained under false pretences, which were clearly proven; a ground which had always been held by Rome to be sufficient to authorise the nullifying of a bull. Clement, the pope, was, at this time, a prisoner in the hands of the emperor, and his chief hope of obtaining his release on such terms as would render it desirable or honourable rested on the exertions of Henry, Francis, and the states with which they were in alliance. The pope, therefore, was desirous to conciliate Henry's favour; but he was timid, vacillating, an Italian, and an adept in that dissimulation which is so characteristic of men who add constitutional timidity to intellectual power. Anxious to conciliate Henry by granting the divorce, he was fearful lest he should enrage the emperor—Queen Catherine's nephew—by doing so; the consequence was, a long series of expedients, delays, promises, and disappointments, tedious to read of in even the most elaborate histories, and which, to relate here, would be an injurious waste of space and time.

The cardinal Campeggio was at length joined with Wolsey in a com-

mission to try the affair in England. The two legates opened their court in London; both the queen and Henry were summoned to appear, and a most painful scene took place. When their majesties were called by name in the court, Catherine left her seat and threw herself at the feet of the king, recalled to his memory how she had entered his dominions, leaving all friends and support to depend upon him alone; how for twenty years she had been a faithful, loving, and obedient wife. She impressed upon him the fact that the marriage between her and his elder brother had, in truth, been but such a mere formal betrothal as in innumerable other cases had been held no bar to subsequent marriage; that both their fathers, esteemed the wisest princes in Christendom, had consented to their marriage, which they would not have done unless well advised of its propriety; and she concluded by saying, that being well assured that she had no reason to expect justice from a court at the disposal of her enemies, so never more would she appear before it.

After the departure of the queen the trial proceeded. It was prolonged from week to week, and from month to month, by the arts of Campeggio, acting by the instructions of Clement, who employed the time in making his arrangements with the emperor for his own benefit, and that of the De Medicis in general. Having succeeded in doing this, he, to Henry's great astonishment, evoked the cause to Rome on the queen's appeal, just as every one expected the legates to pronounce for the divorce. Henry was greatly enraged at Wolsey on account of this result. He had so long been accustomed to see the cardinal successful in whatever he attempted, that he attributed his present failure rather to treachery than to want of judgment. The great seal was shortly taken from him and given to Sir Thomas More, and he was ordered to give up to the king his stately and gorgeously furnished palace called York-House, which was converted into a royal residence, under the name of Whitehall. The wealth seized in this one residence of the cardinal was immense; his plate was of regal splendour, and included what indeed not every king could boast, one perfect cupboard of massive gold. His furniture and other effects were numerous and costly in proportion, as may be judged from the single item of one thousand pieces of fine Holland cloth! The possessor of all this wealth, however, was a ruined man now; in the privacy of his comparatively mean country house at Esher, in Surrey, he was unvisited and unnoticed by those courtiers who had so eagerly crowded around him while he was yet distinguished by the king's favour. But if the ingratitude of his friends left him undisturbed in his solitude, the activity of his foes did not let him rest even there. The king had not as yet deprived him of his sees, and had, moreover, sent him a ring and a kind message. His enemies, therefore, fearful lest he should even yet recover his lost favour, and so acquire the power to repay their ill services, took every method to prejudice him in the eyes of the king, who at length abandoned him to the power of parliament. The lords passed forty-four articles against him, of which it is not too much to say that there was not one which might not have been explained away, had anything like legal form or proof been called for or considered. Amid the general and shameful abandonments of Wolsey by those who had so lately fawned upon him, it is delightful to have to record, that when these articles were sent down to the house of commons, the oppressed and abandoned cardinal was warmly and ably defended by Thomas Cromwell, whom his patronage had raised from a very low origin. All defence, however, was vain; the parliament pronounced "That he was out of the king's protection; that his lands and goods were forfeited; and that his person might be committed to custody."

From Esher, Wolsey removed to Richmond, but his enemies had him ordered to Yorkshire, where he lived in great modesty at Cawood. But

TRIAL OF QUEEN CATHERINE.

the king's differences with Rome were now every day growing greater, and he easily listened to those who assured him that in finally shaking off all connection with the holy see, he would encounter powerful opposition from the cardinal. An order was issued for his arrest on a charge of high treason, and it is very probable that his death on the scaffold would have been added to the stains upon Henry's memory, but that the harrassed frame of the cardinal sunk under the alarm and fatigue of his arrest and forced journey. He was conveyed by Sir William Kingston, constable of the Tower, as far as Leicester abbey. Here his illness became so extreme that he could be got no farther, and here he yielded up his breath soon after he had spoken to Sir William Kingston this memorable and touching caution against an undue worldly ambition:

"I pray you have me heartily recommended unto his royal majesty, and beseech him, on my behalf, to call to his remembrance all matters that have passed between us from the beginning, especially with regard to his business with the queen, and then he will know in his conscience whether I have offended him. He is a prince of a most royal carriage, and hath a princely heart; and rather than he will miss or want any part of his will, he will endanger the one half of his kingdom. I do assure you that I have often kneeled before him, sometimes three hours together, to persuade him from his will and appetite, but could not prevail. Had I but served God as diligently as I have served the king, he would not have given me over in my grey hairs. But this is the just reward that I must receive for my indulgent pains and study, not regarding my duty to God, but only to my prince. Therefore, let me advise you, if you be one of the privy council, as by your wisdom you are fit, take care what you put into the king's head, for you can never put it out again." Touching and pregnant testimony of a dying man, of no ordinary wisdom, to the hollowness with which all the unrighteous ends of ambition appear clad, when the votary of this world receives the final and irrevocable summons to the brighter and purer world beyond!

CHAPTER XLI.

THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII. (CONTINUED.)

Naturally too fond of authority to feel without impatience the heavy yoke of Rome, the opposition he had so signally experienced in the matter of his divorce had enraged Henry so much, that he gave every encouragement to the parliament to abridge the exorbitant privileges of the clergy; in doing which, he equally pleased himself in mortifying Rome, and in paving the way for that entire independence of the papal power, of which every day made him more desirous. The parliament was equally ready to depress the clergy, and several bills were passed which tended to make the laity more independent of them. The parliament, about this time, passed another bill to acquit the king of all claims on account of those exactions which he had speciously called loans.

While Henry was agitated between the wish to break with Rome, and the opposing unwillingness to give so plain a contradiction to all that he had advanced in the book which had procured him the flattering title of *Defender of the Faith*, he was informed that Dr. Cranmer, a fellow of Jesus' College, Cambridge, and a man of good repute, both as to life and learning, had suggested that all the universities of Europe should be consulted as to the legality of Henry's marriage; if the decision were in favour of it, the king's qualms of conscience must needs disappear before such a host of learning and judgment; if the opinion were against it, equally must the hesitation of Rome as to granting the divorce be shamed away. On

hearing this opinion Henry, in his bluff way, exclaimed that Cranmer had taken the right sow by the ear, sent for him to court, and was so well pleased with him as to employ him to write in favour of the divorce, and to superintend the course he had himself suggested.

A. D. 1532.—The measures taken by parliament, with the evident goodwill of the king, were so obviously tending towards a total separation from Rome, that Sir Thomas More, the chancellor, resigned the great seal; that able man being devotedly attached to the papal authority, and clearly seeing that he could no longer retain office but at the risk of being called upon to act against the pope.

At Rome the measures of Henry were not witnessed without anxiety; and while the emperor's agents did all in their power to determine the pope against Henry, the more cautious members of the conclave advised that a favour often granted to meaner princes, should not be denied to him who had heretofore been so good a son of the church, and who, if driven to desperation, might wholly alienate from the papacy the most precious of all the states over which it held sway.

But the time for conciliating Henry was now gone by. He had an interview with the king of France, in which they renewed their personal friendship, and agreed upon the measures of mutual defence, and Henry privately married Anne Boleyn, whom he had previously created countess of Pembroke.

A. D. 1533.—The new wife of Henry proving pregnant, Cranmer, now archbishop of Canterbury, was directed to hold a court at Dunstable to decide on the invalidity of the marriage of Catherine, who lived at Ampthill in that neighbourhood. If this court were anything but a mere mockery, reasonable men argued, its decision should surely have preceded and not followed the second marriage. But the king's will was absolute, and the opinions of the universities and the judgment of the convocations having been formally read, and both opinions and judgment being against Catherine's marriage, it was now solemnly annulled. Soon after, the new queen was delivered of a daughter, the afterwards wise and powerful Queen Elizabeth.

Notwithstanding all the formalities that had been brought to bear against her rights, Queen Catherine, who was as resolute as she was otherwise amiable, refused to be styled aught but queen of England, and to the day of her death, compelled her servants, and all who had the privilege of approaching her, to address and treat her as their queen.

The enemies of Henry at Rome urged the pope anew to pronounce sentence of excommunication against him. But Clement's niece was now married to the second son of the king of France, who spoke to the pope in Henry's favour. Clement, therefore, for the present, confined his severity to issuing a sentence nullifying Cranmer's sentence, and the marriage of Henry to Anne Boleyn, and threatening to excommunicate him should he not restore his affairs to their former footing by a certain day.

A. D. 1535.—As Henry had still some strong leanings to the church, and as it was obviously much to the interest of Rome not wholly to lose its influence over so wealthy a nation as England, there even yet seemed to be some chance of an amicable termination of this quarrel. By the good offices of the king of France, the pope was induced to promise to pronounce in favour of the divorce, on the receipt of a certain promise of the king to submit his cause to Rome. The king agreed to make this promise and actually dispatched a courier with it. Some delays of the road prevented the arrival of the important document at Rome until two days after the proper time. In the interim it was reported at Rome, probably by some of the imperial agents, that the pope and cardinals had been ridiculed in a farce that had been performed before Henry and his court. Enraged at this intelligence, the pope and cardinals viewed it as sure proof that Hen

ry s promise was not intended to be kept, and a sentence was immediately pronounced in favour of Catherine's marriage, while Henry was threatened with excommunication in the event of that sentence not being submitted to.

It is customary to speak of the final breach of Henry with Rome as having been solely caused by this dispute with Rome about the divorce; all fact, however, is against that view of the case. The opinions of Luther had spread far and wide, and had sunk deep into men's hearts; and the bitterest things said against Rome by the reformers were gentle when compared to the testimony borne against Rome by her own venality and her general corruption. In this very case how could the validity of Catherine's marriage be affected by the real or only alledged performance of a ribald farce before the English court above a score of years after it? The very readiness with which the nation joined the king in seceding from Rome, shows very clearly that under any possible circumstances that secession must have shortly taken place. We merely glance at this fact, because it will be put beyond all doubt when we come to speak of the accession of Queen Elizabeth; for notwithstanding all that Mary had done, by the zealous support she gave to the church of Rome and by her furious persecution of the Reformers, to render the subserviency of England to Rome both permanent and perfect, the people of this country were rejoiced at the opportunity it afforded them of throwing off the papal authority.

The houses of convocation—with only four opposing votes and one doubtful voter—declared that "the bishop of Rome had by the law of God no more jurisdiction in England than any other foreign bishop; and the authority which he and his predecessors have here exercised was only by usurpation and by the sufferance of the English princes.' The convocation also ordered that the act now passed by the parliament against all appeals to Rome, and the appeal of the king from the pope to a general council should be affixed to all church doors throughout the kingdom. That nothing might be left undone to convince Rome of Henry's resolve upon an entire separation from the church of which he had been so extolled a defender, the parliament passed an act confirming the invalidity of Henry's marriage with Catherine, and the validity of that with Anne Boleyn. All persons were required to take the oath to support the succession thus fixed, and the only persons of consequence who refused were Sir Thomas More and bishop Fisher, who were both indicted and committed to the Tower. The parliament having thus completely, and we may add servilely, complied with all the wishes of the king, was for a short time prorogued.

The parliament had already given to Henry the reality, and it now proceeded to give him the title of *supreme head* of the church; and that Rome might have no doubt that the very exorbitancy with which she had pressed her pretensions to authority in England had wholly transferred that authority to the crown, the parliament accompanied this new and significant title with a grant of all the annates and tithes of benefices which had hitherto been paid to Rome. A forcible and practical illustration of the sort of supremacy which Henry intended that himself and his successors should exercise, and one which showed Rome that not merely in superstitious observances but also in solid matters of pecuniary tribute, it was Henry's determination that his people should be free from papal dom nation

Both in Ireland and Scotland the king's affairs were just at this moment, when he was carrying matters with so high a hand with Rome, such as to cause him some anxiety, but his main care was wisely bestowed upon his own kingdom. The mere secession of that kingdom from an authority so time-honoured and hitherto so dreaded and so arbitrary as Rome, was, even to so powerful and resolute a monarch as Henry, an experiment of

some nicety and danger. Might not they who had been taught to rebel against the church of Rome be induced to rebel against the crown itself? The conduct of the anabaptists of Germany added an affirmative of experience to the answer which reason could not fail to suggest to this question. But besides that there were many circumstances which rendered it unlikely that the frantic republican principles which a few reforming zealots had preached in Germany, would take a hold upon the hardy and practical intellect of Englishmen long and deeply attached to monarchy, there was little fear of the public mind, while Henry reigned, having too much speculative liberty of any sort. He had shaken off the pope, indeed, but he had, as far as the nation was concerned, only done so to substitute himself; and though the right of private judgment was one of the most important principles of the Reformation, it very soon became evident that the private judgment of the English subject would be an extremely dangerous thing except when it very accurately tallied with that of his prince. Opposed to the discipline of Rome, as a king, he was no less opposed to the leading doctrines of Luther, as a theologian. His conduct and language perpetually betrayed the struggle between these antagonistic feelings, and among the ministers and frequenters of the court, as a natural consequence, "motley was the only wear." Thus the queen, Cromwell, now secretary of state, and Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, were attached to the reformation, and availed themselves of every opportunity to forward it, but they ever found it safer to impugn the *papacy* than to criticise any of the doctrines of catholicism. On the other side the duke of Norfolk, and Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, both of whom were high in authority and favour, were strongly attached to the ancient faith. The king, flattered by each of the parties upon a portion of his principles, was able to play the pope over both his catholic and his protestant subjects, and his stern and headstrong style of both speech and action greatly added to the advantage given him by the anxiety of each party to have him for its ally against the other.

In the meantime it was no longer in the power of either king or minister to prevent the purer principles of the Reformation from making their way to the hearts and minds of the people. Tindal, Joyce, and other learned men who had sought in the Low Countries for safety from the king's arbitrary temper, found means to smuggle over vast numbers of tracts and a translation of the scriptures. These got extensively circulated and were greedily perused, although the catholic portion of the ministry aided —however singular the phrase may sound—by the catholic portion of the king's will, made great endeavours to keep them, but especially the bible, from the eyes of the people.

A singular anecdote is related of one of the attempts made to suppress the bible. Tonstal, bishop of London, a zealous catholic, but humane man, was very anxious to prevent the circulation of Tindal's bible, and Tindal was himself but little less anxious for a new and more accurate edition. Tonstal, preferring the prevention of what he deemed crime to the punishment of offenders, devoted a large sum of money to purchasing all the copies that could be met with of Tindal's bible, and all the copies thus obtained were solemnly burned at the Cross of Cheap. Both the bishop and Tindal were gratified on this occasion; the former, it is true, destroyed the first and incorrect edition of the bible by Tindal, but he at the same time supplied that zealous scholar with the pecuniary means, of which he was otherwise destitute, of bringing out a second and more perfect as well as more extensive edition.

Others were less humane in their desire to repress what they deemed heresy, and few were more severe than Sir Thomas More, who succeeded Wolsey as chancellor, and of whose own imprisonment we have already spoken, as presently we shall have to speak of his death. Though a

man of elegant learning and great wit, and though in speculative opinions he advanced much which the least rigid protestant might justly condemn as impious, yet, so true a type was he of the motley age in which he lived, his enmity to all opposition to papacy in practice could lead him to the most dastardly and hateful cruelty. To speak, in detail, of the errors of a great man is at all times unpleasant; we merely mention, therefore, his treatment of James Bainham. This gentleman, a student of the Temple, was during More's chancellorship accused of being concerned with others in aiding in the propagation of the reformed doctrines It appears that the unfortunate gentleman did not deny his own part in the acts attributed to him, but honourably refused to give any testimony against others. His first examination took place in the chancellor's own house, and there, to his great disgrace, he actually had the high-minded gentleman stripped and brutally whipped, the chancellor in person witnessing and superintending the disgusting exhibition. But the mistaken and maddening zeal of More did not stop even here. Enraged at the constancy of his victim, he had him conveyed to the tower, and there saw him put to the torture. Under this new and most terrible trial the firmness of the unhappy gentleman for a time gave way and he abjured his principles; but in a very short time afterwards he openly returned to them, and was burned to death in Smithfield as a relapsed and confirmed heretic.

It will easily be supposed that while so intellectual a catholic as More was thus furious on behalf of Rome, the mean herd of persecutors were not idle. To teach children the Lord's prayer in English, to read the scriptures, or at least the New Testament in that language, to speak against pilgrimages, to neglect the fasts of the church, to attribute vice to the old clergy, or to give shelter or encouragement to the new, all these were offences punishable in the bishop's courts, some of them even capitally. Thus, Thomas Bilney, a priest, who had embraced and, under threats, renounced the new doctrines, embraced them once again, and went through Norfolk zealously preaching against the absurdity of relying for salvation upon pilgrimages and images. He was seized, tried, and burned. Thus far the royal severity had chiefly fallen upon the reformed; but the monks and friars of the old faith, intimately dependant upon Rome, detested Henry's separation and assumption of supremacy far too much than to be otherwise than inimical to him. In their public preachings they more than once gave way to libellous scurrillity, which Henry bore with a moderation by no means usual with him, but at length the tiger of his temper was thoroughly aroused by an extensive and impudent conspiracy.

At Aldington, in Kent, there was a woman named Elizabeth Barton, commonly known as the *holy maid of Kent*, who was subject to fits, under the influence of which she unconsciously said odd and incoherent things, which her ignorant neighbours imagined to be the result not of epilepsy but of inspiration. The vicar of the parish, Richard Masters, instead of reproving and enlightening his ignorant flock, took their ignorant fancy as a hint for a deep scheme. He lent his authority to the report that the maid of Kent spoke by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and he had not any great difficulty in acquiring the most entire authority over the maid herself, who thenceforth spoke whatever he deemed fit to dictate. Having a chapel in which stood an image of the Virgin, to which, for his own profit's sake, he was anxious to withdraw as many pilgrims as possible from other shrines, he entered into a confederacy with Dr. Bocking, one of the canons of Canterbury cathedral, and under their direction Elizabeth Barton pretended to receive a supernatural direction to proceed to the image in question and pray there for her cure.

At first, it seems quite clear, the unfortunate woman was truly and merely an epileptic; but ignorance, poverty, and perhaps some natural

cunning, made her a ready and unscrupulous tool in the hands of the plotting ecclesiastics, and after a series of affected distortions, which would have been merely ludicrous had their purpose not added something of the impious, she pretended that her prostrations before the image had entirely freed her from her disease.

Thus far the priests and their unfortunate tool had proceeded without any interference, the severity with which the king and the powerful catholics treated all enmity to pilgrimages and disrespect to shrines, being of itself sufficient to insure their impunity thus far. But impunity as usual produced want of caution, and the priests, seeing that the wondering multitude urged no objection to the new miracle which they alledged to have been wrought, were now, most lucklessly for themselves, encouraged to extend their views and to make the unfortunate Elizabeth Barton of use in opposing the progress of the reformed doctrine, and against Henry's divorce from Catherine. Hence the ravings of the maid of Kent were directed against heresy, with an occasional prophesy of evil to the king on account of the divorce; and the nonsense thus uttered was not only repeated in various parts of the kingdom by monks and friars who, most probably, were in concert with Masters and Bocking, but were even collected into a book by a friar named Deering. The very industry with which the original inventors of this grossly impudent imposture caused it to be noised abroad compelled the king to notice it. The maid of Kent with her priestly abettors and several others were arrested, and without being subjected to torture made full confession of their imposture, and were executed. From circumstances which were discovered during the investigation of this most impudent cheat, it but too clearly appeared that the so called holy maid of Kent was a woman of most lewd life, and that imposture was by no means the only sin in which Masters and Bocking had been her accomplices.

A. D. 1535.—The discoveries of gross immorality and elaborate cheating which were made during the investigation of the affair of the maid of Kent seems to us to have been, if not the very first, at all events the most influential of the king's motives to his subsequent sweeping and cruel suppression of the monasteries. Having on this occasion suppressed three belonging to the Observantine friars, the very little sensation their loss seemed to cause among the common people very naturally led him to extend his views still farther in a course so productive of pecuniary profit.

But at present he required some farther satisfaction of a more terrible nature for the wrong and insult that had lately been done to him. Fisher, bishop of Rochester, in common with Sir Thomas More, had been, as we already mentioned, committed to prison for objecting to take the oath of succession as settled by the arbitrary king and the no less obsequious parliament. Unhappily for the prelate, though a good and even a learned man, he was very credulous, and he had been among the believers and, to a certain extent, among the supporters of the impudent Elizabeth Barton. Still more unhappily for the aged prelate, while he already lay so deeply in the king's displeasure, and after he had for a whole year been confined with such severity that he was often in want of common necessaries, the pope created him a cardinal. This decided the fate of the unfortunate prelate, who was at once indicted under the act of supremacy and beheaded.

The death of Fisher was almost instantly followed by that of the learned, though, as we have seen, bigoted and sometimes cruel Sir Thomas More. His objections to taking the new oath of succession seem to have been perfectly sincere and were perfectly insuperable. We learn from himself that it was intimated to him by Cromwell, now in high favour, that unless he could show him reasons for his determined refusal, it would

most probably be set down to the account of obstinacy. His own version of the dialogue between himself and Cromwell is so curious that we extract the following from it.

More said (in reply to the above argument of Cromwell) "it is no obstinacy, but only the fear of giving offence. Let me have sufficient warrant from the king that he will not be offended and I will give my reasons."

Cromwell.—"The king's warrant would not save you from the penalties enacted by the statute."

More.—"In this case I will trust to his majesty's honour; but yet it thinketh me, that if I cannot declare the causes without peril, then to leave them undeclared is no obstinacy."

Cromwell.—"You say that you do not blame any man for taking the oath, it is then evident that you are not convinced that it is blameable to take it; but you must be convinced that it is your duty to obey the king. In refusing, therefore, to take it, you prefer that which is uncertain to that which is certain."

More.—"I do not blame men for taking the oath, because I know not their reasons and motives; but I should blame myself because I know that I should act against my conscience. And truly such reasoning would ease us of all perplexity. Whenever doctors disagree we have only to obtain the king's commandment for either side of the question and we must be right."

Abbot of Westminster.—"But you ought to think your own conscience erroneous when you have the whole council of the nation against you."

More.—"And so I should, had I not for me a still greater council, the whole council of Christendom."

More's talents and character made him too potent an opponent of the king's arbitrary will to allow of his being spared. To condemn him was not difficult; the king willed his condemnation, and he was condemned accordingly. If in his day of power More, unfortunately, showed that he knew how to inflict evil, so now in his fall he showed the far nobler power of bearing it. In his happier days he had been noted for a certain jocular phraseology, and this did not desert him even in the last dreadful scene of all. Being somewhat infirm, he craved the assistance of a bystander as he mounted the scaffold; saying, "Friend, help me up, when I come down again you may e'en let me shift for myself." When the ceremonies were at an end the executioner in the customary terms begged his forgiveness; "I forgive you," he replied, "but you will surely get no credit by the job of beheading me, my neck is so short." Even as he laid his head upon the block he said, putting aside the long beard he wore, "Do not hurt my beard, that at least has committed no treason." These words uttered, the executioner proceeded with his revolting task, and Sir Thomas More, learned, though a bigot, and a good man, though at times a persecutor, perished in the fifty-third year of his age.

A. D. 1536.—While the court of Rome was exerting itself to the utmost to show its deep sense of the indignation it felt at the execution of two such men as Fisher and More, an event took place in England which, in Christian charity, we are bound to believe gave a severe shock even to the hard heart of Henry. Though the divorced Catherine had resolutely persisted in being treated as a queen by all who approached her, she had suffered with so dignified a patience that she was the more deeply sympathized with. But the stern effort with which she bore her wrongs was too much for her already broken constitution. Perceiving that her days on earth were numbered, she besought Henry that she might once more look upon her child, the princess Mary; to the disgrace of our common nature, even this request was sternly denied. She then wrote him a letter, so affecting, that even he shed tears over it, in which she,

gentle and submissive to the last in all save the one great point of her wrongs, called him her "dear lord, king, and husband," besought his affection for their child, and recommended her servants to his goodness. Her letter so moved him that he sent her a kind message, but ere the bearer of it could arrive she was released from her suffering and wronged life. Henry caused his servants to go into deep mourning on the day of her funeral, which was celebrated with great pomp at Peterborough cathedral.

Whatever pity we may feel for the subsequent sufferings of Queen Anne Boleyn, it is impossible to withhold our disgust from her conduct on this occasion. Though the very menials of her husband wore at least the outward show of sorrow for the departed Catherine, Anne Boleyn on that day dressed herself more showily than usual, and expressed a perfectly savage exultation that now she might consider herself a queen indeed, as her rival was dead.

Her exultation was as short lived as it was unwomanly. In the very midst of her joy she saw Henry paying very unequivocal court to one of her ladies, by name Jane Seymour, and she was so much enraged and astonished that, being far advanced in pregnancy, she was prematurely delivered of a still-born prince. Henry, notoriously anxious for legitimate male issue, was cruel enough to reproach her with this occurrence, when she spiritedly replied, that he had only himself to blame, the mischief being entirely caused by his conduct with her maid.

This answer completed the king's anger, and that feeling, with his new passion for Jane Seymour, caused ruin to Anne Boleyn even ere she had ceased to exult over the departed Catherine.

Her levity of manner had already enabled her foes to poison the ready ear of the king, and his open anger necessarily caused those foes to be still more busy and precise in their whisperings. Being present at a tilting match, she, whether by accident or design, let fall her handkerchief exactly at the feet of Sir Henry Norris and her brother, Lord Rochford, who at that moment were the combatants. At any other time it is likely that Henry would have let so trivial an accident pass unnoticed. But his jealousy was already aroused, his love, such as it was, had already burnt out, and, above all, he had already cast his eyes on Jane Seymour, and was glad of any excuse, good or bad, upon which to rid himself of Anne. Sir Henry Norris, who was a reputed favourite of the queen, not only raised the handkerchief from the ground, but used it to wipe his face, being heated with the sport. The king's dark looks lowered upon all present, and he instantly withdrew in one of those moods in which few cared to meet him and none dared to oppose his will. On the next morning Lord Rochford and Sir Henry Norris were arrested and thrown into the Tower, and Anne herself, while on her way from Greenwich to London, was met by Cromwell and the duke of Norfolk, and by them informed that she was accused of infidelity to the king; and she, too, was taken to the Tower, as, charged with being her accomplices, were Brereton, Weston, and Smeaton, three gentlemen of the court.

Well knowing the danger she was in when once charged with such an offence against such a husband, she instantly became hysterical; now declaring her innocence with the bitterest tears, and anon relying upon the impossibility of any one proving her guilty. "If any man accuse me," said she to the lieutenant of the Tower, "I can but say nay, and they can bring no witnesses."

Anne now had to experience some of that heartless indifference which she had so needlessly and disgracefully exhibited in the case of the unfortunate and blameless Catherine. At the head of the commission of twenty-six peers who were appointed to try her, on the revolting charge of gross infidelity with no fewer than five men, including her own half brother, this unfortunate lady had the misery to see her own uncle, the

duke of Norfolk, and to see, too, that in him she had a judge who was far enough from being prejudiced in her favour. She was, as a matter of course, found guilty and sentenced to death, the mode by fire or by the axe being left to the king's pleasure.

We have seen that Anne had in her prosperity been favourable to the reformed; and as Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, was well known to have great influence over Henry, the unhappy Anne probably hoped that he would exert it, at the least, to save her life. If she entertained such hope, she was bitterly disappointed. Henry, who seems to have feared some such humanity on the part of Cranmer, sent to him to pronounce sentence *against*—as formerly he had pronounced it *for*—the original validity of Anne's marriage with Henry. Cranmer, learned and pious, wanted only moral courage to have been a thoroughly great and good man; but of moral courage he seems, save in the closing act of his life, to have been thoroughly destitute. Upon whatever proofs the king chose to furnish for his guidance, he, after a mere mockery of trial, and with an affectation of solemnity and sincerity which was actually impious, pronounced the desired sentence; and thus declared against the legitimacy of the princess Elizabeth, as he had already done in the case of the princess Mary.

Anne was not allowed to suffer long suspense after her iniquitous condemnation; iniquitous, even if she really was guilty, inasmuch as her trial was a mere mockery. She was kept for a few days in the Tower, where, with a better spirit than she had formerly shown, she besought the forgiveness of the princess Mary for the numerous injuries she had done her through her deceased mother; and was then publicly beheaded on the Tower green, the executioner severing her head at one stroke.

Of Henry's feelings on the occasion it is unnecessary to say more than that he put on no mourning for the deceased Anne, but on the very morning after her execution was married to Jane Seymour.

As to Anne's guilt, we think it most likely that both friends and foes judged amiss. Her general levity and many circumstances which would be out of place here, forbid us to believe her wholly innocent; and we are the more likely to err in doing so, because our chief argument in her favour must be drawn from the character of her husband, of whom it must not be forgotten that *once* at least he certainly *was* wronged by a wife. On the other hand, to believe her as guilty as she has been represented, is to throw aside all considerations of the utter impossibility of her having thus long been so, without being detected by the numerous enemies with whom her supplanting Catherine and her patronage of the reformed faith must needs have caused to surround her during the whole of her ill-fated elevation.

A new parliament was now called to pass a new act of succession, by which the crown was settled on such children as he might have by his present queen, Jane Seymour; and failing such, the disposal of the crown was left to Henry's last will signed by his own hand. It was thought from this last named clause that Henry, fearing to leave no legitimate male successor, wished in that case to have the power of leaving the crown to his illegitimate son, young Fitzroy, who, however, to Henry's great sorrow, died shortly afterward.

Henry seems to have been much grieved by the death of Fitzroy, but he was prevented from long indulging in that grief by a very formidable insurrection which broke out in the October of this year. The apathy with which the people had witnessed the dissolution and forfeiture of three monasteries on occasion of the detection of the fraud of Elizabeth Barton, had naturally encouraged Henry to look forward to that sort of summary justice as a sure and abundant source of revenue. So extended was his influence that he had even found members of convocation to propose the

surrender of the *lesser* monasteries into his hands. It was probably one of the chief causes of his determined enmity to his old tutor and council lor, Fisher, bishop of Rochester, that that excellent prelate made a very pithy, though quaint opposition to this proposal, on the ground that it would infallibly throw the greater monasteries also into the king's hands Subsequently to the affair of *the maid of Kent*, the king and his minister Cromwell had proceeded to great lengths in dissolving the lesser monasteries, and confiscating their property. The residents, the poor who had been accustomed to receive doles of food at the gates of these houses, and the nobility and gentry by whom the monasteries had been founded and endowed, were all greatly offended by the sweeping and arbitrary measures of the blacksmith's son, as they termed Cromwell, and the retrenchment of several holidays, and the abolition of several superstitious practices which had been very gainful to the clergy, at length caused an open manifestation of discontent in Lincolnshire. Twenty thousand men, headed by Prior Mackrel, of Barlings, rose in arms to demand the putting down of "persons meanly born and raised to dignity," evidently aiming at Cromwell, and the redress of divers grievances under which they stated the church to be labouring. Henry sent the duke of Suffolk against this tumultuous multitude, and by a judicious mixture of force and fair words the leaders were taken, and forthwith executed, and the multitude, of course, dispersed.

But in the counties further north than Lincolnshire the discontents were equally great, and were the more dangerous because more distance from the chief seat of the king's power rendered the revolted bolder. Under a gentleman named Aske, aided by some of the better sort of those who had been fortunate enough to escape the breaking up of the Lincolnshire confederacy, upwards of forty thousand men assembled from the counties of York, Durham, and Lancaster, for what they called *the pilgrimage of grace*. For their banner they had an embroidery of a crucifix, a chalice, and the five wounds of the Saviour, and each man who ranged himself under this banner was required to swear that he had "entered into the pilgrimage of grace from no other motive than his love of God, care of the king's person and issue, desire of purifying the nobility, of driving base persons from about the king, of restoring the church, and of suppressing heresy."

But the absence of all other motive may, in the case of not a few of these revolters be very reasonably doubted, when with the oath taken by each recruit who joined the disorderly ranks we take into comparison the style of circular by which recruits were invited, which ran thus:—"We command you and every of you to be at (here the particular place was named) on Saturday next by eleven of the clock, in your best array, *as you will answer before the high judge at the great day of doom*, and in the pain of pulling down your houses and the losing of your goods, and your bodies to be at the captain's will."

Confident in their numbers, the concealed, but real leaders of the enterprise caused Aske to send delegates to the king to lay their demands before him. The king's written answer bears several marks of the annoyance he felt that a body of low peasants should venture to trench upon subjects upon which he flattered himself that he was not unequal to the most learned clerks. He told them that he greatly marvelled how such *ignorant churls should speak of theological subjects to him who something had been noted to be learned*, or oppose the suppression of monasteries, as if it were not better to relieve the head of the church in his necessity, than to support the sloth and wickedness of monks." As it was very requisite, however, to break up as peaceably as possible, an assemblage which its mere numbers would render it somewhat difficult as well as dangerous to disperse by main force, Henry at the same time promised that he would

remedy such of their grievances as might seem to need remedy. This promise being unfulfilled, the same counties in the following year (1537) again assembled their armed masses. The duke of Norfolk, as commander-in-chief of the king's forces, posted himself so advantageously that when the insurgents endeavoured to surprise Hull, and, subsequently, Carlisle, he was able to beat them easily. Nearly all the leading men were taken prisoners and sent to London, where they were shortly afterwards executed as traitors. With the common sort, of whom vast numbers were taken prisoners, there was less ceremony used; they were hanged up "by scores," says Lingard, in all the principal towns of the chief scene of revolt. When by this wholesale shedding of human blood the king had at length appeased his wrath and that appetite for cruelty which every year grew more and more fierce, the proclamation of a general pardon restored peace to the nation.

The chief plea for the late insurrection had been the suppression of the lesser monasteries. That Henry had from the very first, according to the shrewd prophecy of Fisher, bishop of Rochester, intended to go from the lesser up to the greater, there is no doubt; and the part which the monasteries had taken in encouraging the pilgrimage of grace, only made him the more determined in that course. The ever obsequious parliament showed the same willingness to pass an act for the suppression of the remaining and greater monasteries that had so often been shown in far less creditable affairs; and of twenty-eight mitred abbots—exclusive of the priors of St. John of Jerusalem and Coventry—who had seats in the house of lords, not one dared to raise his voice against a measure which must have been so distasteful to them all.

Commissioners were appointed to visit the monasteries. That there were great disorders in many of them, that the burden they inflicted upon the capital and the industry of the country far outweighed the good done to the poor of the country—a class, be it remembered, which the monastic doles had a most evil tendency to increase—and that they ought to have been suppressed, no reasonable man in the present state of political science will venture to deny. It may be, nay it is but too certain, that the innocent and the guilty in some cases were confounded; that numbers of people were thrown out of employment, and that with a vast amount of good some evil was done; that Henry even in doing good could not refrain from a tyrannous strain of conduct; and that much of the property thus wrested from superstition was lavished upon needy or upon profligate courtiers, instead of being, as it ought to have been, made a permanent national property in aid of the religious and civil expenses of the nation. But after admitting all this, it is quite certain that, however prompted or however enacted, this suppression of the monasteries by Henry VIII. was the most important measure since the Norman conquest, and was the measure which gave the first impulse to England in that march of resolute industry which has long since left her with scarcely a rival upon the earth, whether in wealth or in power.

While, however, we for the sake of argument admit that Henry was arbitrary in his conduct towards the monasteries, and that his commissioners were infinitely less anxious for truth than for finding out or inventing causes of confiscation, we are not the less bound to assert that, even for the single sin of imposture, the monasteries required the full weight of the iron hand of Henry. Of the gross frauds which were committed for the purpose of attracting the attention and the money of the credulous to particular monasteries, our space will only allow of our mentioning two, which, indeed, will sufficiently speak for the rest.

At the monastery of Hales, in Gloucestershire, the *relic* upon which the monks relied for profit—every monastery having *relics*, some of which must have had the power of ubiquity, it being a fact that *many* monasteries

at home and abroad have pretended to possess the same especial toe or finger of this, that, or the other saint!—was said to be some of the blood of our Saviour which had been preserved at the time of the crucifixion. In proportion to the enthusiasm which such a pretence was calculated to awaken among people who were as warmly and sincerely pious as they were ignorant, was the abominable guilt of this imposture. But the mere and naked lie, bad as it was, formed only a part of the awful guilt of these monks. They pretended that this blood, though held before the eyes of a man in mortal sin, would be invisible to him, and would continue to be so until he should have performed good works sufficient for his absolution. Such a tale was abundantly sufficient to enrich the monastery, but when the "visitors" were sent thither by the king, the whole secret of the impudent fraud at once became apparent. The phial in which the blood was exhibited to the credulous was transparent on one side, but completely opaque on the other. Into this phial the senior monks, who alone were in the secret, every week put some fresh blood of a duck. When the pilgrim desired to be shown the blood of the Saviour the *opaque* side of the phial was turned towards him; he was thus convinced that he was in mortal sin, and induced to "perform good works," i. e., to be fooled out of his money, until the monks, finding that he could or would give no more at that time turned the *transparent* side of the phial to him, and sent him on his way rejoicing and eager to send other dupes to the monks of Hales.

At Boxley, near Maidstone, in Kent, there was kept a crucifix called the *rood of grace*, the lips, eyes, and head of which were seen to move when the pilgrim approached it with such gifts as were satisfactory; at the desire of Hilsey, bishop of Rochester, this miraculous crucifix was taken to London and publicly pulled to pieces at Paul's cross, when it was made clear that the image was filled with wheels and springs by which the so-called *miraculous* motions were regulated by the officiating priests, literally as the temper of their *customers* required.

How serious a tax the pretended miraculous images and genuine relics levied upon the people of the whole kingdom, we may judge from the fact, that of upwards of six hundred monasteries and two thousand chantries and chapels which Henry at various times demolished, comparatively few were wholly free from this worst of impostures, while the sums received by some of them individually may be called enormous. For instance, the pilgrims to the tomb of St. Thomas à Becket paid upwards of nine hundred pounds in one year—or something very like three thousand pounds of our present money! The knowledge of such a disgraceful fact as this would of itself have justified Henry in adopting moderately strong measures to put an end to the "Pilgrimage to Canterbury." But moderation was not Henry's characteristic, and Becket was a saint especially hateful to him as having fought the battle of the triple crown of Rome against the king of England. Not content, therefore, with taking the proper measures of mere policy that were required to put an end to a sort of plunder so disgraceful, Henry ordered the saint who had reposed for centuries in the tomb to be formally cited to appear in court to answer to an information laid against him by the king's attorney! "It had been suggested," says Dr. Lingard, "that as long as the name of St. Thomas of Canterbury should remain in the calendar men would be stimulated by his example to brave the ecclesiastical authority of their sovereign. The king's attorney was therefore instructed to exhibit an information against him, and Thomas à Becket, sometime archbishop of Canterbury, was formally cited to appear in court and answer to the charge. The interval of thirty days allowed by the canon law was suffered to elapse, and still the saint neglected to quit the tomb in which he had reposed for two centuries and a half, and judgment would have been given against him by default, had

not the king of his special grace assigned him counsel. The court sat at Westminster, the attorney-general and the advocate of the accused were heard, and sentence was finally pronounced that Thomas, sometime archbishop of Canterbury, had been guilty of rebellion, contumacy, and treason, that his bones should be publicly burned to admonish the living of their duty by the punishment of the dead, and that the offerings which had been made at his shrine, the personal property of the reputed saint should be forfeited to the crown. A commission was accordingly issued, the sentence was executed in due form, and the gold, silver and jewels, the spoils obtained by the demolition of the shrine were conveyed in *two ponderous coffers*, to the royal treasury. The people were soon afterwards informed by a royal proclamation that Thomas à Becket was no saint, but rather a rebel and a traitor, and it was ordered to erase his name out of all books, under pain of his majesty's indignation, and imprisonment at his grace's pleasure."

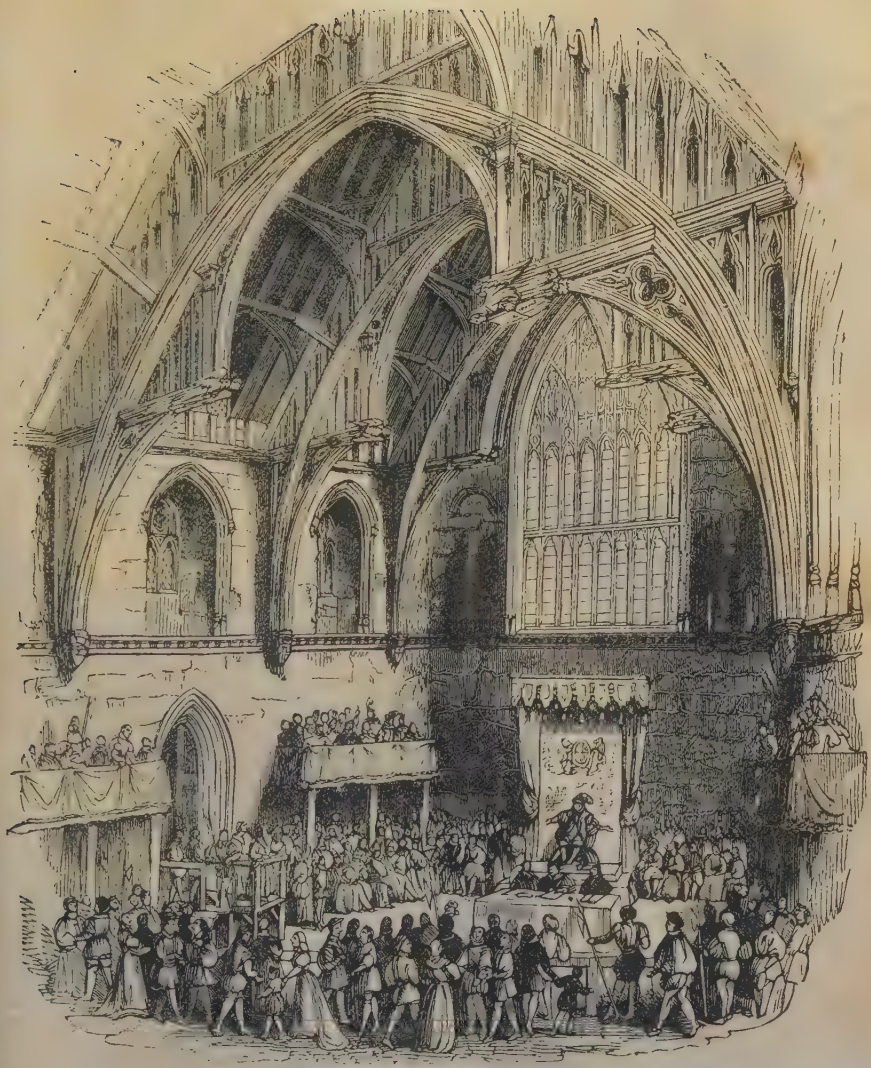
We have selected Lingard's account of this matter because that historian has a very evident leaning to the catholic side of every question of English history, and yet he, unconsciously, perhaps, in the words of the above passage which we have printed in italics, goes far towards justifying Henry's measures against the monkish superstitions and impostures, no matter what his motives may have been. What! gold, silver, and jewels thus abstracted from the wealth of the nation and made perpetually inconvertible and unproductive, and yet the keepers of the shrine of the pretended saint and miracle-worker still so insatiate that they drew nearly a thousand pounds of the money of that time in a single year! The paltriest smattering of true political economy would tell us that such a state of things, existing as it did all over the kingdom, if unchecked for but a few years by the sovereign, would have been terminated by a most sanguinary revolt of the ruined people, whose hunger would have been too strong for both their own ignorance and the villainy and ingenuity of their deluders. And it is to be remembered that although Henry was unwisely, nay, wickedly profuse of the property which he recovered from a set of vile corporations which had obtained possession of it by false pretences, it was of only a part of this property that he thus improperly disposed. Every monk who was dispossessed of an idle ease which he ought never to have had, received a yearly allowance of eight marks, and every abbot and prior had a yearly allowance proportioned to his character and the income of his abbacy or priory. Making these provisions must have consumed a large portion of the money realized by the seizures of monastic property; but, besides these, the king made and endowed, from the same source, six new bishopricks, Westminister, Oxford, Peterborough, Bristol, Chester, and Gloucester. When these facts are taken into the account, the "profit" derived by the king, that the vulgar and more violently papistical writers are fond of talking about, will be found to amount to little indeed.

Cardinal Pole, a near kinsman of Henry, and eminent alike for talents and virtue, had long resided on the continent, and to his powerful and elegant pen Henry attributed many of the forcible, eloquent—and sometimes we may add, scurrilous—declamations which the papists of Italy continually sent forth against him whom the popedom had once hailed and flattered as the defender of the faith, but whom it now denounced as another Julian alike in talents and in apostacy. Henry, unable to decoy the astute cardinal into his power, arrested and put to death first the brother and then the mother of that eminent person, the venerable countess of Salisbury. Real charge against this lady, then upwards of seventy years of age, there was none; but the ever obsequious parliament passed an act attainting her in the absence of any trial or confession. After two years of rigorous confinement in the Tower of London the countess was brought

out for execution; and as she refused to lay her head upon the block, the executioner's assistant had to place her and keep her there by main force, and even as the axe descended on her neck she cried out "Blessed are they who suffer persecution for righteousness sake."

At the dictation of Henry the parliament now passed a bill which declared "That in the eucharist is really presented the natural body of Christ under the forms and without the substance of bread and wine; that communion in both kinds is not necessary to the soul's health; that priests may not marry by the laws of God; that vows of chastity are to be observed; that private masses ought to be retained; and that the use of auricular confession is expedient and necessary." Heavy penalties were denounced on any who should act contrary to the above articles; and Cranmer, who had for many years been married, could only save himself from the effects of this act—to the passing of which he had made a stout but ineffectual opposition—by sending his wife, with their numerous children, to Germany, of which country she was a native.

The frequent changes which had, during a quarter of a century, taken place in the theological opinions of the king himself, did not by any means inspire him with any merciful feeling towards those who chanced to differ from his temporary opinion; he had thrown off the clerical pope of Rome only to set up quite as "infallible" a pope in the person of the king of England. A London schoolmaster, named Lambert, was unfortunate enough to contradict a sermon of Dr. Taylor, afterward bishop of Lincoln, in which sermon the doctor had defended the prevalent Catholic doctrine of the "real presence." Lambert had already been imprisoned for his unsound opinions, but having learned nothing by the peril he had so narrowly escaped, he now drew up formal objections, under ten heads. These objections he made known to Dr. Barnes, who was a Lutheran and who consequently was as obnoxious to the existing law as Lambert, whom he caused to be cited before Cranmer and Latimer. They, however much they might agree with him in their hearts, did not dare publicly to oppose themselves to the standard of opinion which the arbitrary Henry had set up under the protection of shocking penalties, but they took a middle course, and endeavoured to prevail upon Lambert to save his life by a timely recantation; but he appealed from their judgment to that of the king himself. Henry, ever well pleased to exercise his controversial powers, caused it to be made as public as possible that he would in person try the soundness of Master Lambert's opinions. Westminster Hall was fitted up for the occasion with scaffoldings and seats for such as chose to be present, and the king took his seat upon the throne, clad in white silk robes, and surrounded by the bishops, the judges, and the chief officers of state. Lambert's articles being read, the king in a set speech replied to the first; Cranmer, Gardiner, and others following in refutation of other articles, and at the conclusion of arguments which lasted five hours, and in which the king was as grossly flattered as the poor vain schoolmaster was unfairly brow-beaten, Henry asked the poor man whether the arguments had cleared his mind of doubts, to which question he added the no less interesting one, "Will you live or die?" Lambert, unconvinced by all that he had heard, noticed only the last part of the king's speech, and replied, that for his life he would hold it at his majesty's gracious mercy; to which Henry ungraciously, not to say cruelly, assured him, that he was not minded to show himself the patron of heretics, and Cromwell was ordered to pass sentence on the prisoner, whose chief offence seems to have been his folly in craving the notice of the king by a most gratuitous and useless display of opinions which no earthly power could have prevented him from enjoying in safety, had he consented to do so in secrecy. The unfortunate man was burned to death, and as he was supposed to be personally obnoxious to Henry from having ventured publicly to dispute



TRIAL OF LAMBERT BEFORE HENRY VIII. IN WESTMINSTER HALL.

with him, the cruel executioners purposely made the fire so slow that his legs and thighs were gradually consumed before the flames even approached any vital part. The long tortures to which this poor man was subjected at length so greatly disgusted some of the guards, that with their halberts they threw him farther into the flames, and he there perished, exclaiming with his last breath, "None but Christ, none but Christ!" Many other cruel executions took place about this time.

In August, 1537, Henry's third queen, the lady Jane Seymour, gave birth to a prince, to the great delight of the king, whose joy, however, was much diminished, when, in a few days, this best beloved and most amiable of all his wives died. He soon after commenced negotiations for a new marriage, but being disappointed in his views on the duchess dowager of Longueville, and being then refused by Francis permission to choose between the two sisters of that lady precisely as he would have chosen sheep or oxen, he was persuaded by Cromwell to demand the hand of Anne of Cleves, sister of the reigning duke. Her portrait, of course a flattering one, from the pencil of the celebrated Hans Holbein, caused Henry to fancy himself very much enamoured of her, and when he learned that she had landed at Dover, he actually rode as far as Rochester in disguise, that he might unseen, or at least unknown, have a glance at her to, in his own phrase, "nourish his love." This glance, however, "nursed" a very different feeling. The difference between the delicate limning of Hans Holbein, and the especially vast person and coarse complexion of the lady, so disgusted and surprised Henry, that he passionately swore that they had chosen him not a woman and a princess, but a Flanders mare; and he would have fain sent her back without a word said to her, but that he was afraid of offending the German princes connected with her brother, and thus raising against himself a too powerful coalition. Detesting the very sight of Anne, and yet feeling obliged to marry her, the king was not long ere he made the full weight of his indignation fall upon the head of Cromwell. That too servilely obedient minister now had to feel in person the very same injustice which, at his instigation, the detestably sycophantic parliament had so recently inflicted upon the venerable countess of Salisbury. He was accused of high treason, denied a public trial, and a bill of attainder passed both houses, without even one of the many whom he had befriended having the generous courage to show that gratitude to him which he, under similar circumstances, had shown to Cardinal Wolsey. Having got judgment passed against Cromwell, Henry now turned his attention to obtaining a divorce from Anne of Cleves. Even he could scarcely make it a capital offence to have coarse features and an awkward figure; moreover, the influence of Anne's brother was such as to make it unsafe for Henry to proceed to any thing like violent steps against her. Fortunately, however, for the comfort of both parties, if he viewed her with disgust, she viewed him with the most entire indifference; and she readily consented to be divorced on Henry giving her three thousand pounds per annum, the royal palace of Richmond for a residence, and such precedence at court as she would have enjoyed had she been his sister instead of being his divorced wife.

Six days after the passing of the bill of attainder against Cromwell, that minister was executed, no one seeming to feel sorrow for him; the poor hating him for the share he had taken in the suppression of the monasteries, and the rich detesting him for having risen from a mere peasant birth to rank so high and power so great.

As if to show that he really cared less for either protestantism or popery than he did for his own will and pleasure, the king ordered just now the execution of Powel, Abel, and Featherstone, catholics who ventured to deny the king's supremacy, and of Barnes, Garret, and Jerome, for the opposite offence of being more protestant than it pleased the king that

they should be! And to render this impartiality in despotism the more awfully impressive, the protestant and catholic offenders were drawn to the stake in Smithfield on the same hurdle!

A. D. 1541.—Though the king had now been married four times, and, certainly, with no such happiness as would have made marriage seem so very desirable, the divorce from Anne of Cleves was scarcely accomplished ere his council memoralised him to take another wife, and he complied by espousing the niece of the duke of Norfolk. This lady, by name Catherine Howard, was said to have won the heart of the king "by her notable appearance of honour, cleanliness, and maidenly behaviour," and so well was the king at first satisfied with this his fifth wife, that he not only behaved to her with remarkable tenderness and respect, but even caused the bishop of London to compose a form of thanksgiving for the felicity his majesty enjoyed. But the new queen, being a catholic, had many enemies among the reformers; and intelligence was soon brought to Cranmer of such conduct on the part of Catherine before marriage as he dared not conceal from the king, though it was by no means a safe thing to speak upon so delicate a matter. In fact, so much did Cranmer dread the violent temper of the king, that he committed the painful intelligence to writing. Henry was at first perfectly incredulous as to the guilt of a woman whose manners and appearance had so greatly imposed upon him. He ordered her arrest, and while in durance, she was visited by a deputation from Henry and exhorted to speak the truth, in the assurance that her husband would rejoice at her innocence, and that the laws were both just and strong enough to protect her. As she hesitated to answer, a bill of attainder was passed against her, and then she confessed that her past life had been debauched, to an extent that cannot with decency be particularised. It must suffice to say, that the revolting and gross shamelessness of her conduct before marriage, as deposed by others, and in general terms confessed by herself, render it scarcely possible for any one acquainted with human nature, and the laws of evidence, to place the slightest reliance upon her assertions of the innocence of her post-nuptial conduct; though, as she belonged to the catholic party, the historians of that party have taken some pains to justify her. The most abandoned of her sex might blush for the shameless guilt of which she had, by her own confession been guilty; and the historian of any party must have a strange notion of the tenets of his party, and of the true nature of his own vocation, who seeks for party-sake to prop up a character so loathsome.

A. D. 1542.—Having put the shameless wanton to death, by the tyrannous mode of attainder, together with her paramours and her confidante, that unprincipled lady Rochfort, who had taken so principal a part in the death of Anne Boleyn, Henry caused a law to be passed, that any woman who should marry him, or any of his successors, should, if incontinent before marriage, reveal that disgrace on pain of death; on the passing of which law the people jocosely remarked that the king's best plan would be to take a widow for his next wife.

Henry now employed some time in mitigating the severe six articles so far as regarded the marriage of priests; but he made, at the same time, considerable inroads upon the property of both the regular and secular clergy. Still bent upon upholding and exerting his supremacy, he also encouraged appeals from the spiritual to the civil courts, of which Hume as pithily as justly says that it was "a happy innovation, though at first invented for arbitrary purposes." He now also issued a small volume entitled "The Institution of a Christian Man," in which in his usual arbitrary style, and without the least apparent consciousness of the inconsistent veering he had displayed on theological subjects, he prescribed to his people how they should believe and think upon the delicate matters of

justification, free-will, good-works, and grace, with as much coolness as though his ordinances had concerned merely the fashion of a jerkin, or the length of a cross-bow bolt. Having made some very inefficient alterations in the mass-book, Henry presently sent forth another little volume, called the "Erudition of a Christian Man." in this he flatly contradicted the "Institution of a Christian Man," and that, too, upon matters of by no means secondary importance; but he just as peremptorily and self-complacently called upon his subjects to follow him now as he had when just before he pointed a directly opposite path!

The successful rivalship of his nephew, James of Scotland, in the affections of Marie, dowager duchess of Longueville, gave deep offence to Henry, which was still farther irritated into hatred by James' adhesion to the ancient faith, and his close correspondence with the pope, the emperor Charles, and Francis, of which Henry was perfectly well informed by the assiduity of his ambassador, Sir Ralph Sadler. These personal feelings, fully as much as any political considerations, caused Henry to commence a war which almost at the outset caused James to die of over-excited anxiety; but of this war we shall hereafter have to speak.

The king in his sixth marriage made good the jesting prophecy of the people by taking to wife Catherine Parr, widow of Nevil, Lord Latimer. She was a friend to the reformed, but a woman of too much prudence to peril herself injudiciously. He treated her with great respect, and in 1544, when he led a large and expensive expedition, with considerably more *eclat* than advantage, he left her regent during his absence from England. Subsequently, however, the queen, in spite of her prudence, was more than once in imminent danger. Anne Askew, a lady whom she had openly and greatly favoured, imprudently provoked the king by opposition upon the capital point of the real presence, and chancellor Wriottesley, who had to interrogate the unhappy lady, being a bigoted catholic, it was greatly feared that his extreme severity might induce her to confess how far Catherine and the chief court ladies were implicated in her obnoxious opinions. Young, lovely, and delicate, the poor girl was laid upon the rack and questioned, but torture itself failed to extort an answer to the questions by which the chancellor endeavoured to come at the queen. So enraged was that most brutal officer, that he ordered the lieutenant of the Tower to stretch the rack still farther, and on his refusing to do so, "*laid his own hand to the rack and drew it so violently that he almost tore her body asunder.*" This diabolical cruelty served no other purpose than to make his own name infamous while the annals of England shall remain. The heroic girl bore her horrible torture with unflinching fortitude, and was carried to the stake in a chair, her body being so maimed and dislocated that she could not walk. She suffered at the same time with John Lascelles, of the king's household, John Adams, tailor, and Nicholas Blenun, a priest.

Subsequently the queen was again much endangered. Though she had never pretended to interfere with his conduct, she would occasionally argue with him in private. He had by this time become fearfully bloated, and an ulcer in his leg caused him so much agony that "he was as furious as a chained tiger." His natural vehemence and intolerance of opposition were consequently much increased under such circumstances; and Catherine's arguments at length so offended him, that he complained of her conduct to Gardiner and Wriottesley. They, bigoted friends to the catholic party, were proportionally inimical to Catherine as a friend of the reformed; and they encouraged his ill temper, and so dexterously argued upon the peculiar necessity of putting down heresy in the high places, that he actually gave orders for her being sent to the Tower on the following day. She was fortunate enough to get information of what was in store for her, and her cool temper and shrewd woman's wit sufficed to

save her from her enemies. She well knew that as lust had been the crime of Henry's manhood, so vanity—that vanity which cannot endure even the pettiest opposition—was the great spring of his actions now that his eye was growing dim and his natural force abated. She paid him her usual visit that day, and when he tried to draw her into their common course of argument, she said that arguments in divinity were not proper for women; that women should follow the principles of their husbands, as she made a point of following his; and that though, in the belief that it something alleviated his physical sufferings, she sometimes pretended to oppose him, she never did so until she had exhausted all her poor means of otherwise amusing him." The bait to his inordinate vanity was easily taken. "Is it so, sweetheart?" he exclaimed, "then we are perfect friends again," and he embraced her affectionately. On the following day the chancellor and his far more respectable myrmidons the pursuivants went to apprehend the queen, when the sanguinary man was sent away with a volley of downright abuse, such as Henry could bestow as well as the meanest of his subjects when once his temper was fully aroused.

A. D. 1547.—In almost all Henry's persecutions of persons of any eminence, careful observation will generally serve to discover something of that personal ill-feeling which in a man of lower rank would be called personal spite. Thus the duke of Norfolk and his son, the earl of Surrey, were now arrested and charged with various overt acts which caused them—as the charges ran—to be *suspected* of high treason. Their real, and their *only* real crime was their relationship to Catherine Howard, his fifth queen. The very frivolous nature of the charges proves that this was the case, but the despicably servile parliament, as usual, attended only to the king's wishes, and both Norfolk and his son were condemned. The proceedings in the case of the latter, from his being a commoner, were more speedy than that of his father, and the gallant young Surrey was executed. Orders were also given for the execution of Norfolk on the morning of the 29th of January, 1547; but on the night of the 28th the furious king himself died, in the thirty-seventh year of his arbitrary reign and in the fifty-sixth of his age; and the council of the infant prince Edward VI. wisely respited the duke's sentence, from which he was released at the accession of Queen Mary.

That the character of Henry was *per se* bad, few can doubt that have read his reign attentively; but neither will any just man deny, that he, so gay and generous, so frank and so great a lover of literature in youth, owed not a little of his subsequent wickedness to the grossly servile adulation of the great, and to the dastardly submission of the parliament. What could be expected from a man, naturally vain, to whom the able Cromwell could say, that "he was unable, and he believed all men were unable, to describe the unutterable qualities of the royal mind, the sublime virtues of the royal heart;" to whom Rich could say, that "in wisdom he was equal to Solomon, in strength and courage to Sampson, in beauty and address to Absalom;" and what could be expected from a man, naturally violent and contemptuous of human life, who found both houses of parliament vile enough to slay whoever he pleased to denounce? An arbitrary reign was that of Henry, but it wrought as much for the permanent, religious, and moral good of the nation, as the storms and tempests, beneath which we cower while they last, work for the physical atmosphere.

CHAPTER XLII.

THE REIGN OF EDWARD VI.

A. D. 1547.—Henry's will fixed the majority of his son and successor Edward VI., at the age of eighteen. The young prince at the time of his

father's death was but a few month's more than nine, and the government was during his minority vested in sixteen executors, viz., Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury; Lord Wriottesley, chancellor; Lord St. John, great master; Lord Russell, privy seal; the earl of Hertford, chamberlain; Viscount Lisle, admiral; Tonstall, bishop of Durham; Sir Anthony Browne, master of the horse; Sir William Paget, secretary of state; Sir Edward Forth, chancellor of the court of augmentations; Sir Edward Montague, chief justice of the common pleas; Judge Bromley, Sir Anthony Denny, and Sir William Herbert, chief gentlemen of the privy chamber; Sir Edward Wotton, treasurer of Calais; and Dr. Wotton, dean of Canterbury.

Not only did Henry VIII. name these councillors, some of whom were, in station at least, far below so important a trust, but he laid down a course of conduct for them with a degree of minuteness, which shows that to the very close of his career his unbounded vanity maintained its old ascendancy over his naturally shrewd judgment, and that he expected that his political and religious supremacy would be respected even when the earth-worms and the damps of the charnel-house should be busy with his inanimate body. The very first meeting of the councillors showed the fallacy of the late king's anticipations. He evidently intended that the co-ordinate distribution of the state authority should render it impracticable for the ambition of any one great subject to trouble or endanger the succession of the young Edward; and this very precaution was done away with by the first act of the councillors, who agreed that it was necessary that some one minister should have prominent and separate authority, under the title of protector, to sign all orders and proclamations, and to communicate with foreign powers. In a word, they determined to place one of their number in precisely that tempting propinquity to the throne, to guard against which had been a main object of Henry's care and study. The earl of Hertford, maternal uncle to the king, seemed best entitled to this high office, and he was accordingly chosen, in spite of the opposition of Chancellor Wriottesley, who from his talents and experience had anticipated that he himself, in reality though not formally, would occupy this very position.

Having made this most important and plainly unauthorised alteration in Henry's arrangement, the council now gave orders for the interment of the deceased monarch. The body lay in state in the chapel of Whitehall, which was hung with fine black cloth. Eighty large black tapers were kept constantly burning; twelve lords sat round within a rail as mourners; and every day masses and dirges were performed. At the commencement of each service Norroy, king-at-arms, cried in a loud voice, "Of your charity pray for the soul of the high and mighty prince, our late sovereign lord, Henry the Eighth." On the 14th of February the body was removed to Sion house, and thence to Windsor on the following day, and on the 16th it was interred near that of Lady Jane Seymour in a vault near the centre of the choir. Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, performed the service and preached a sermon. As he scattered earth upon the coffin and pronounced, in Latin, the solemn words, "Ashes to ashes and dust to dust," certain of the principal attendants broke their wands of office into three parts, above their heads, and threw the pieces upon the coffin. The solemn psalm *de profundis* was then recited, and garter king at arms, attended by the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of Durham, proclaimed the style and titles of Edward VI.

The coronation next followed, but was much abridged of the usual ceremony and splendour, chiefly on account of the delicate state of the king's health. The executors of the late king, though they had so importantly departed from the express directions of the will upon some points, were very exact in following it upon others. Thus, Henry had charged them to make certain creations or promotions in the peerage; and Hertford

was now made duke of Somerset, marshal and lord treasurer; his opponent, the chancellor Wriottesley, earl of Southampton; the earl of Essex, marquis of Northampton; Viscount Lisle, earl of Warwick; Sir Thomas Seymour, Lord Seymour of Sudley and admiral of England; and Sirs Richard Rich, William Willoughby, and Edmund Sheffield, barons. Somerset and some of the other peers were at the same time, to enable them to support their dignity, gratified with deaneries, prebends, and other spiritual benefices; a most pernicious precedent, and one which has caused and enabled so much church property and influence to be placed in the hands of laymen, many of whom are avowedly and flagrantly dissenters from the doctrine of the church, and foes to her establishment.

Wriottesley, earl of Southampton, was greatly disappointed that he, instead of Somerset, had not been chosen protector; and this feeling tended greatly to exasperate the political opposition which had ever existed between them. Wriottesley, with a want of judgment strangely in contrast with his usual conduct, gave to Somerset an opportunity to distress and mortify him, of which that proud noble was not slow to avail himself. Desiring to give the utmost possible amount of time to public business, and as far as possible to share and check the authority of the protector, Southampton, merely upon his own authority, put the great seal into commission, empowering four lawyers to execute the office of chancellor for him; and two of the four lawyers thus named were canonists, which gave some appearance to his conduct of a desire to show disrespect to the common law. Somerset and his party eagerly caught at this indiscretion of their noble and resolute opponent, and easily obtained from the judges an opinion to the effect that Southampton's course was illegal and unjustifiable, and that he had forfeited his office and even laid himself open to still farther punishment. Southampton was accordingly summoned before the council; and, though he defended himself acutely, he was condemned to lose the great seal, to pay a pecuniary fine, and to be confined to his own house during pleasure.

Having thus opportunely removed his most powerful and persevering opponent, Somerset immediately set about enlarging his own power and altering its foundation. Professing to feel a delicacy in exercising the extensive powers of protector while holding that office only under the authority of the executors of the late king's will, he obtained from the young king Edward a patent which gave him the protectorate with full regal powers, and which, though it re-appointed all the councillors and executors named in Henry's will, with the sole exception of Southampton, exempted the protector from his former obligations to consult them or to be bound by their opinion.

Aided by Cranmer, the protector, in spite of the strong and able opposition of Gardiner, made considerable advances in religious reformation; yet made them with a most prudent and praiseworthy tenderness to the existing prejudices of the mass of that generation. Thus, he appointed visitors, lay and clerical, to repress, as far as might be obvious, impostures and flagrant immoralities on the part of the catholic clergy; but he at the same time instructed those visitors to deal respectfully with such ceremonials as were yet unabolished, and with such images and shrines as were unabused to the purpose of idolatry. While thus prudent, in tenderness to the inveterate and ineradicable prejudices of the ignorant, he with a very sound policy took measures for weakening the mischievous effects of the preaching of the monks. Many of these men were placed in vacant churches, that so the exchequer might be relieved, *pro tanto*, of the payment of the annuities settled upon them at the suppression of religious houses. As it was found that they took advantage of their position to instil into the minds of the ignorant the worst of the old superstitions and a fierce hatred of the reformation Somerset now compelled them to avoid

that conduct, by enjoining upon them the reading of certain homilies having precisely the opposite tendency and by strictly forbidding them to preach, unless by special indulgence, anywhere save in their own parish churches. The monks being thus strictly confined in their own parish churches, and limited in their liberty of preaching even there, while the protestant clergymen could always insure a special license for peripatetic preaching, was a system too obviously favourable to the reformation to pass uncensured by the principal catholic champions. Bonner at the outset gave the protector's measures open and strong opposition, but subsequently agreed to them. Gardiner, a less violent but far firmer and more consistent man, because, probably, a far more sincere man, was staunch in his opposition. He was of opinion that the reformation could not be carried any farther but with real and great danger. "It is," said he, "a dangerous thing to use too much freedom in researches of this kind. If you cut the old canal, the water is apt to run farther than you have a mind to; if you indulge the humour of novelty, you cannot put a stop to people's demands, nor govern their indiscretions at pleasure. For my part my sole concern is to manage the third and last act of my life with decency, and to make a handsome exit off the stage. Provided this point is secured I am not solicitous about the rest. I am already by nature condemned to death: no man can give me a pardon from this sentence, nor so much as procure me a reprieve. To speak my mind, and to act as my conscience directs, are two branches of liberty which I can never part with. Sincerity in speech and integrity in action are enduring qualities; they will stick by a man when everything else takes its leave, and I must not resign them upon any consideration. The best of it is, if I do not throw these away myself, no man can force them from me; but if I give them up, then am I ruined by myself, and deserve to lose all my preferments." Besides the obvious danger of going too far and making the people mischievously familiar with change, Gardiner charged his opponents with an unnecessary and presumptuous assumption of metaphysical exactitude upon the doctrines of grace and justification by faith, points not vitally necessary to any man, and beyond the real comprehension of the multitude. The ability and the firmness with which he pressed these and other grounds of opposition so highly enraged the protector, that Gardiner was committed to the Fleet, and there treated with a severity which, his age and his talents being considered, reflected no little discredit upon the protestant party. Tonstal, bishop of Durham, who sided with Gardiner, was expelled the council, but allowed to live without farther molestation.

The active measures of Somerset for promoting the reformation in England gave force and liveliness to the antagonist parties in Scotland also. The cardinal Beaton, or Bethune, was resolute to put down the preaching, even, of the reformers; while these latter, on the other hand, were daily becoming more and more inflamed with a zeal to which martyrdom itself had no terrors. Among the most zealous and active of the reformed preachers was a well-born gentleman named Wishart, a man of great learning, high moral character, and a rich store of that passionate and forcible, though rude, eloquence which is so powerful over the minds of enthusiastic but uneducated men. The principal scene of his preaching was Dundee, where his eloquence had so visible and stirring an effect upon the multitude, that the magistrates, as a simple matter of civil police, felt bound to forbid him to preach within their jurisdiction. Unable to avoid retiring, Wishart, however, in doing so, solemnly invoked and prophesied a heavy and speedy calamity upon the town in which his preaching had thus been stopped. Singularly enough, he had not long been banished from Dundee when the plague burst out with great violence. *Post hoc, ergo propter hoc* is ever the popular maxim; men loudly declared that the plague was evidently the consequence of Wishart's banishment,

and that the hand of the destroying angel would never be stayed until the preacher should be recalled. Wishart was recalled accordingly; and taking advantage of the popular feelings of dismay, he so boldly and passionately advocated innovations, that Cardinal Beaton caused him to be arrested and condemned to the stake as a heretic.

Arran, the governor, showing some fear and unwillingness to proceed to the extremity of burning, the cardinal carried the sentence into execution on his own authority, and even stationed himself at a window from which he could behold the dismal spectacle. This indecent and cruel triumph was noted by the sufferer, who solemnly warned Beaton that ere many days he should be laid upon that very spot where then he triumphed. Agitated as the multitude were by the exhortations of their numerous preachers of the reformed doctrine, such a prophecy was not likely to fall unheeded from such a man under such circumstances. His followers in great numbers associated to revenge his death. Sixteen of the most courageous of them went well armed to the cardinal's palace at an early hour in the morning, and having thrust all his servants and tradesmen out, proceeded to the cardinal's apartment. For a short time the fastenings defied their power, but a cry arising to bring fire to their aid, the unfortunate old man opened the door to them, entreating to spare his life and reminding them of his priesthood. The foremost of his assailants, James Melville, called to the others to execute with becoming gravity and deliberation a work which was only to be looked upon as the judgment of God.

"Repent thee," said this sanguinary but conscientious enthusiast, "repent thee, thou wicked cardinal, of all thy sins and iniquities, especially of the murder of Wishart, that instrument of God for the conversion of these lands. It is his death which now cries vengeance upon thee: we are sent by God to inflict the deserved punishment. For here, before the Almighty, I protest that it is neither hatred of thy person, nor love of thy riches, nor fear of thy power, which moves me to seek thy death, but only because thou hast been and still remainest an obstinate enemy to Christ Jesus and his holy gospel."

With these words Melville stabbed the cardinal, who fell dead at his feet. This murder took place the year before the death of Henry VIII., to whom the assassins, who fortified themselves and friends, to the number of a hundred and forty, in the castle, dispatched a messenger for aid. Henry, always jealous of Scotland and glad to cripple its turbulent nobility, promised his support, and Somerset now, in obedience to the dying injunction of the king, prepared to march an army into Scotland, for the purpose of compelling a union of the two countries, by marrying the minor queen of Scotland to the minor king of England. With a fleet of sixty sail and a force of eighteen thousand men, he set out with the avowed purpose of not listening to any negotiation, unless based upon the condition of the marriage of the young queen of Scotland to Edward of England; a measure which he urged and justified at great length in a pamphlet published by him before opening the campaign.

Except as a means of justifying his own conduct in commencing the war, it would seem that so well informed a statesman as Somerset could surely have expected little effect from this manifesto. The queen dowager of Scotland was wholly influenced by France, which could not but be to the utmost degree opposed to the union of Scotland and England; and she was also far too much attached to the catholic religion to look with any complacent feeling upon a transfer of Scotland into the hands of the known and persevering enemy of that religion. From Berwick to Edinburgh Somerset experienced but little resistance. Arran, however, had taken up his position on the banks of the Eske at about four miles from Edinburgh, with an army double in number to that of the English. In a

cavalry affair of outposts the Scots were worsted, and Lord Hume severely wounded, but Somerset and the earl of Warwick having reconnoitred the Scottish camp, found that it was too well posted to be assailed with any reasonable chance of success. Somerset now tried negotiation, offering to evacuate the country and even to make compensation for such mischief as had already been done, on condition that the Scots should engage to keep their young queen at home and uncontracted in marriage until she should reach an age to choose for herself. This offer, so much in contrast with the determination with which the protector had set out, caused the Scots to suppose that, intimidated by their numbers or moved by some secret and distressing information, he was anxious to get away upon any terms, and the very moderation of the terms offered by him was the cause of their being rejected. Whoever will carefully and in detail study the great campaigns and battles, whether of ancient or of modern times, will find that at once the rarest and the most precious gift of a general-in-chief is *to know how to refrain from action*. The Fabian policy is suitable only to the very loftiest and most admirable military genius; not because of the physical difficulty of remaining tranquil, but simply because to do so in spite alike of the entreaties of friends and the taunts of foes, requires that self-conquest which is to be achieved only by a Fabius or a Wellington. On the present occasion the Scot's leaders had to contend not only against their own mistake as to Somerset's circumstances and motives, but also against the frantic eagerness of their men, who were wound up to the most intense rage by the preaching of certain priests in their camp, who assured them that the detestable heresy of the English made victory to their arms altogether out of the question.

Finding his moderate and peaceable proposal rejected, Somerset saw that it was necessary to draw the enemy from their sheltered and strong position, to a more open one in which he could advantageously avail himself of his superiority in cavalry. He accordingly moved towards the sea; and as his ships at the same moment stood in shore, as if to receive him, the Scots fell into the snare and moved from their strong position to intercept him. They entered the plain in three bodies, the vanguard commanded by Angus, the main body commanded by Arran, and some light horse and Irish archers on the left flank under Argyle.

As the Scots advanced into the plain, they were severely galled by the artillery of the English ships, and among the killed was the eldest son of Lord Graham. The Irish auxiliaries were thrown into the utmost disorder, and the whole main body began to fall back upon the rear-guard, which was under the command of Huntley. Lord Grey, who had the command of the English cavalry, had orders not to attack the Scottish van till it should be closely engaged with the English van, when he was to take it in flank. Tempted by the disorder of the enemy, he neglected this order, and led the English cavalry on at full gallop. A heavy slough and broad ditch threw them into confusion, and they were easily repulsed by the long spears of the Scotch; Lord Grey himself was severely wounded, the protector's son, Lord Edward Seymour, had his horse killed under him, and the cavalry was only rallied by the utmost exertion and presence of mind on the part of Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Ralph Vane, and the protector in person. The English archers and the English ships galled the van of the Scots so severely that it at length gave way, and the English van being, at that critical moment, led on in good order, the Scots and their Irish auxiliaries took to flight. How short and unequal the flight was, and how persevering and murderous the pursuit, may be judged from the fact, that the English loss was short of two hundred, and that of the Scots above ten thousand! Full fifteen hundred were also made prisoners at this disastrous battle of Pinkey.

Somerset now took several castles, received the submission of the coun-

ties on the border, destroyed the shipping on the coast, and was in a situation to have imposed the most onerous terms on the Scots, could he have followed up his advantages; but information reached him of intrigues going on in England, which obliged him to return, after having appointed Berwick for the place of conference of the commissioners, whom the Scots, in order to gain time and procure aid from France, affected to wish to send to treat for peace.

On Somerset's return to England he assumed more state than ever, being elated with his success in Scotland. He caused his nephew to dispense with the statute of precedency passed in the late reign, and to grant to him, the protector, a patent allowing him to sit on the throne, upon a stool or bench on the right hand of the king, and to enjoy all honours and privileges usually enjoyed by any uncle of a king of England.

While thus intent upon his own aggrandizement, Somerset was, nevertheless, attentive also to the ameliorating of the law. The statute of the six articles was repealed, as were all laws against Lollardy and heresy—though the latter was still an undefined crime at common law—all laws extending the crime of treason beyond the twenty-fifth of Edward III., and all the laws of Henry VIII. extending the crime of felony; and no accusation founded upon words spoken was to be made after the expiration of a month from the alledged speaking.

A. D. 1548.—The extensive repeals of which we have made mention are well described by Hume as having been the cause of "some dawn of both civil and religious liberty" to the people. For them great praise was due to Somerset, who, however, was now guilty of a singular inconsistency; one which shows how difficult it is for unqualified respect to the rights of the multitude to co-exist with such extensive power as that of the protector. What Hume, with terse and significant emphasis, calls "that law, the destruction of all laws, by which the king's proclamation was made of equal force with a statute," was repealed; and yet the protector continued to use and uphold the proclamation whensoever the occasion seemed to demand it; as, for instance, forbidding the harmless and time-hallowed superstitions or absurdities of carrying about candles on Candlemas day, ashes on Ash Wednesday, and palm branches on Palm Sunday.

Aided by the French, the Scots made many attempts to recover the towns and castles which had been taken from them by Somerset, and with very general success. The English were reduced to so much distress, and so closely kept within Haddington by the number and vigilance of their enemies, that Somerset sent over a reinforcement of eighteen thousand English troops and three thousand German auxiliaries. This large force was commanded by the earl of Shrewsbury, who relieved Haddington, indeed, but could not get up with the enemy's troops until they were so advantageously posted near Edingburgh, that he thought it imprudent to attack them, and marched back into England.

We must now refer to those intrigues of the English court to which the Scots owed not a little of their comparative security. Between the protector and his brother, the lord Seymour, a man of great talent and still greater arrogance and ambition, there was a feeling of rivalry, which was greatly increased and imbittered by the feminine rivalry and spite of their wives. The queen dowager, the widow of Henry VIII., married Lord Seymour at a scarcely decent interval after her royal husband's death; the queen dowager, though married to a younger brother of the duke, took precedence of the duchess of Somerset, and the latter used all her great power and influence over her husband to irritate him against his brother. When Somerset led the English army into Scotland, Lord Seymour took the opportunity to endeavour to strengthen his own cabal, by distributing his liberalities among the king's councillors and servants, and by improper indulgence to the young king himself. Secretary Paget,

who well knew the bitter and restless rivalry of the two brothers, warned Lord Seymour to beware, that, by encouraging cabals, he did not bring down ruin upon that lofty state to which both himself and the protector had risen, and which had made them not a few powerful foes, who would but little hesitate to side with either for a time for the sake of crushing both in the end. Lord Seymour treated the remonstrances of Paget with neglect; and the secretary perceiving the evil and danger daily to grow more imminent, sent the protector such information as caused him to give up all probable advantage, and hasten to protect his authority and interests at home. The subsequent departure of the young queen of Scotland for France, where she arrived in safety and was betrothed to the dauphin, made Somerset's Scottish projects comparatively hopeless and of little consequence, and he subsequently gave his undivided attention to the maintenance of his authority in England.

Not contented with the degree of wealth and authority he possessed, as admiral of England and husband of the queen dowager, Lord Seymour, whose artful complaisance seems to have imposed upon his nephew, caused the young monarch to write a letter to parliament to request that Lord Seymour might be made governor of the king's person, which office his lordship argued ought to be kept distinct from that of protector of the realm. Before he could bring the affair before parliament, and while he was busily engaged in endeavouring to strengthen his party, Lord Seymour was warned by his brother to desist. The council, too, threatened that it would use the letter he had obtained from the affection or weakness of the young king, not as a justification of his factious opposition to the protector's legal authority, but as a proof of a criminal tampering with a minor and a mere child, with intent to disturb the legal and seated government of the realm. It was further pointed out to him, that the council now knew quite enough to justify it in sending him to the Tower; and the admiral, however unwillingly, abandoned his designs, at least for the time.

Somerset easily forgave his brother, but the ambition and aching envy of that turbulent and restless man was speedily called into evil activity again, by a circumstance which to an ordinary man would have seemed a sufficient reason for lowering its tone. His wife, the queen dowager, died in giving birth to a child, and Lord Seymour then paid his addresses to the lady Elizabeth, as yet only sixteen years of age. As Mary was the eldest daughter, and as Henry had very distinctly excluded both Mary and Elizabeth from the throne in the event of their marrying without the consent of his executors, which consent Lord Seymour could have no chance of getting, it was clear that Seymour could only hope to derive benefit from such an alliance by resorting to absolute usurpation and violence. That such was his intention is further rendered probable by the fact, that besides redoubling his efforts to obtain influence over all who had access to the king or power in the state, he had so distributed his favours even among persons of comparatively low rank, that he calculated on being able, if it were necessary, to muster an army of ten thousand men. For this number, it seems, he had actually provided arms; he had farther strengthened himself by protecting pirates, whom, as admiral of England, it was his especial duty to suppress; and he had corrupted Sir John Spurington, the master of the mint at Bristol, who was to supply him with money.

Well informed as to his brother's criminal projects, the protector, both by intreaties and by favours conferred, endeavoured to induce him to abandon his mad ambition. But the natural wrong-headedness of Lord Seymour, and the ill advice of Dudley, earl of Warwick, a man of great talent and courage, but of just such principles as might be expected from the son of that Dudley, the extortioner, who was colleague of Empson

in the reign of Henry VII., rendered the humane efforts of the protector vain. Hating both the brothers, Warwick dreaded the Lord Seymour the more for his aspiring temper and superior talents; and seeing him only too well inclined to seditious practices, the treacherous Warwick urged him on in his guilty and foolish career, and at the same time secretly advised the protector to take stern means of putting a stop to the practices of a brother upon whom kindness and good counsel were completely thrown away. By Warwick's advice the protector first deprived his brother of the office of admiral, and then committed him, with some of his alledged accomplices, to the Tower. Three privy councillors, who were sent to examine the prisoners, reported that there was important evidence against them; and even now the protector offered liberty and pardon to his brother, on condition of his retiring to his country houses, and confining himself strictly to private life. Undaunted by all the appearances against him, Lord Seymour replied only by threats and sarcasms; and, urged by his personal and political friends, real and pretended, the protector consented not only that his brother should be proceeded against, but also that he should be refused a free and open trial which he indignantly demanded, and be proceeded against before that ready instrument of sovereign vengeance, the parliament.

A. D. 1549.—On the meeting of parliament a bill of attainder was originated in the upper house. By way of evidence, several peers rose and stated what they knew or professed to know of the criminal designs and practices of the admiral; and upon this evidence given, be it observed, by *judges* in the case, that house of peers in which the deluded man had supposed himself to have so many fast friends, passed the bill with scarcely a dissenting voice, and, as Hume observes "without any one having either the courage or equity to move that he might be heard in his defence; that the testimony against him should be delivered in a legal manner, and that he should be confronted with the witnesses." Contrary to what might have been anticipated, a better spirit was exhibited in the lower house, where it was moved that the proceeding by bill of attainder was bad, and that every man should be present and formally tried previous to condemnation. A message, nominally from the king, but really from the council, however, terminated this show of spirit and equity, and the bill was passed by a majority of four hundred to some nine or ten. Shortly afterwards the admiral was beheaded on Tower-hill, the warrant of his execution being signed by his brother Somerset! or rather the condemnation. After the trial of Lord Seymour the most important business of this session was ecclesiastical; one act allowing priests to marry, but saying in the preamble that "it were better for priests and the ministers of the church to live chastely and without marriage, and it were much to be wished that they would of themselves abstain;" another prohibiting the use of flesh meat in Lent; and a third permitting and providing for a union of cures in the city of York. Many of these cures, it was stated in the preamble, were too much impoverished singly to support an incumbent; an impoverishment which no doubt arose from the transfer of the ecclesiastical revenues into the hands of laymen and absentees. There was now a very general outward conformity, at least, with the doctrine and liturgy of the reformation. But both Bonner and Gardiner were imprisoned for maintaining the catholic doctrine of the real presence, the princess Mary was threatened by the council for persisting to hear mass, and obtained an indulgence through the influence of the emperor. A still farther and worse proof was given that the duty of toleration was as yet but very imperfectly understood by the reformers, by the prosecution of a woman named Joan Bocher, or Joan of Kent, for heresy. The council condemned the poor creature to the flames. For some time the young king would not sign the warrant for her execution. Cranmer—alas! that Cranmer

should have less of Christian charity than his infant king!—argued him into compliance; but a compliance accompanied by tears and by the remark that upon Cranmer's head would the deed lie for good or evil. The execution of this woman was followed by that of a Dutch arian, named Von Paris, who suffered his horrible death with apparent delight—so ill adapted is persecution to make converts!

CHAPTER XLIII.

THE REIGN OF EDWARD VI. (*continued*)

To deny that a great reformation was much needed in the church at the time when it was commenced by Henry VIII. would be utterly and obstinately to close one's eyes to the most unquestionable evidence. Nevertheless it is no less certain that the wealth which was justly taken from the monks was quite as unjustly bestowed upon laymen. It was not because corrupt men had insinuated or forced themselves into the church, that therefore the church should be plundered; it was not because the monks had diverted a part of the large revenues of the church from the proper purpose, that therefore the king should wrongfully bestow a still larger part. The laymen upon whom Henry bestowed the spoils of the greater and lesser houses had in few cases, if any, a single claim upon those spoils save favouritism, not always too honourable to themselves or to the king; yet to them was given, *without* the charge of the poor, that property upon which the poor had been bountifully fed. The baron or the knight, the mere courtier or the still worse character upon whom this property was bestowed might live a hundred or even a thousand miles from the land producing his revenue—from that land upon which its former possessors, its *resident* landlords the monks, employed the toiling man, and fed the infirm, the helpless, and the suffering. Nor was it merely by the hind who laboured, or by the needy man who was fed in charity, that the monks were now missed; the monks were not only resident landlords, they were also liberal and indulgent landlords. They for a great portion of their low rents took produce; the lay landlords demanded higher rents and would be paid in money; the monks lived among their tenants and were their best customers; the lay landlord drew his money rents from Lincoln or Devon, to spend them in the court revels at London or in the wars of France or Scotland. Many other differences might be pointed out which were very injurious to the middle and lower class of men; but enough has been said to show that however necessary the change, it was not made with due precautions against the impoverishment and suffering of great bodies of men, and great consequent danger of state disturbances. Even the iron hand of Henry VIII. would not have been able to prevent both suffering and murmuring; and when under the milder rule of the protector Somerset the people were still farther distressed by the rage for grazing, which caused the peasantry to be driven in herds not only from the estates upon which they had laboured, but even from their cottages and from the commons upon which they had fed their cows or sheep, the cry of distress became loud, general, and appalling. The protector issued a commission to inquire into the state of the rural people, and to find out and remedy all evils connected with enclosures. But the poor in various parts of the country rose in arms before the commission had time even to make inquiries; Wiltshire, Oxford, Gloucester, Hants, Sussex, and Kent rose simultaneously, but were speedily put down, chiefly by Sir William Herbert and Lord Gray of Wilton. But the most formidable rioters made their appearance in Norfolk and Devonshire.

In Norfolk above twenty thousand assembled, and from their original

demand for doing away with the enclosures, they passed to demanding the restoration of the old religion, the placing of new councillors about the king, and the utter abolition of all gentry! A bold and ruffianly fellow, one Ket, a tanner, took the command of this assemblage, and exercised his authority over such of the gentry as were unlucky enough to be within his reach, in the arbitrary and insolent style that might be anticipated, holding his court beneath a great oak on Mousehold Hill, which overlooks the city of Norwich. Against this demagogue and his deluded followers the marquis of Northampton was at first sent, but he was completely repulsed, and Lord Sheffield, one of his officers, was killed. The earl of Warwick was then sent against Ket with an army of six thousand, which had been levied to go to Scotland. Warwick, with his usual courage and conduct, beat the rebels; killed two thousand of them, hanged up Ket at the castle of Norwich, and nine of the other ringleaders on the boughs of the oak tree on Mousehold hill.

In Devonshire as in Norfolk, though the complaints made by the people originated in the injustice of the enclosures and in very real and widely-spread misery, demagogues, among whom were some priests of Sampford Courtenay, artfully caused them to make a return to the old religion a chief article of their demand; and the insurrection here was the more formidable, because many of the gentry, on account of the religious demands, joined the rebels. Among the gentlemen who did so was Humphrey Arundel, governor of St. Michael's Mount, chiefly by whose means it was that the rebels, though ten thousand in number, were brought into something of the regular order of disciplined troops. Lord Russell, who had been sent against them with but a weak force, finding them so numerous and determined, and in such good order, endeavored to get them to disperse by affecting to negotiate with them. He forwarded their extravagant demands to the council, who returned for answer that they should be pardoned on their immediate submission. This answer so much enraged the rebels that they endeavoured to storm Exeter, but were repulsed by the citizens. They then sat down before Exeter and endeavored to mine it. By this time Lord Russell was reinforced by some German horse under Sir William Herbert and Lord Gray, and some Italian infantry under Ballista Spinola, and he now marched from his quarters at Honiton to the relief of Exeter. The rebels suffered dreadfully both in the battle and subsequent to the retreat. Humphrey Arundel and other leading men were seized, carried to London, and there executed; many of the rabble were executed on the spot by martial law, and the vicar of St. Thomas was hanged on the top of his own steeple in the garb of a popish priest.

The stern and successful severity with which the more formidable rebellions of Norfolk and Devonshire had been put down, caused weaker parties in Yorkshire and elsewhere to take the alarm and disperse; and the protector both wisely and humanely fostered this spirit of returning obedience by proclaiming a general indemnity. But besides the terrible loss of life which these insurrections cost on the spot, they caused great losses both in Scotland and in France. In the former country the want of the force of six thousand men, which Warwick led to put down the Norfolk men, enabled the French and Scotch to capture the fortress of Broughty and put the garrison to the sword, and so to waste the country for miles round Haddington, that it was found necessary to dismantle and abandon that important fortress and carry the stores to Berwick.

The king of France was at the same time tempted by the deplorable domestic disturbances in England to make an effort to recover Boulogne, which had been taken during the reign of Henry VIII. He took several fortresses in the neighbourhood, but while preparing to attack Boulogne itself, a pestilential distemper broke out in his camp. The autumnal rains

falling with great violence, Henry of France lost all instant hope of taking Boulogne, and returned to Paris, leaving Gaspar de Coligny, so well known as the admiral Coligny, to command the troops and to form the siege as early as possible in the following spring. Coligny even went beyond these orders by making some dashing attempts during the winter, but they were all unsuccessful. The protector having in vain attempted to procure the alliance of the emperor, he turned his thoughts to making peace with both France and Scotland. The young queen of Scotland, for whose hand he had chiefly gone to war, could not now be married to Edward of England, however much even the Scots might desire it; and as regards the French quarrel, Henry VIII. having agreed to give up Boulogne in 1554, it was little worth while to keep up an expensive warfare for retaining the place for so few years as had to elapse to that date.

But Somerset, though a man of unquestionable ability, seems to have been singularly ignorant or unobservant as to the real light in which he was regarded by the council, and still more so of the real character and views of Warwick. He gave his reasons, as we have given them above; and sound reasons they were, and as humane as sound; but he did not sufficiently take into calculation the pleasure which his enemies derived from the embarrassment caused to him, and the discontent likely to arise in the public mind on account of the state of our affairs, at once inglorious and expensive, in France and Scotland.

Besides having the personal enmity of Warwick, Southampton, whom the protector had restored to his place in the council, and other councillors, Somerset was detested by a great part of the nobility and gentry, who accused him, perhaps not altogether unjustly, of purchasing popularity at the expense of their safety, by showing such an excessive and unfair preference of the poor as encouraged them in riot and robbery. As an instance of this, it was objected that he had erected a court of requests in his own house for the professed relief of the poor, and even interfered with the judges on their behalf. The principles of constitutional liberty such as we now enjoy were at that time so little understood, that it was not the mere interference with the judges, which we should now very justly consider so indecent and detestable, that caused any disgust; but Somerset had interfered against the very persons, the nobles and gentry, upon whom alone he could rely for support, and he was now to endure the consequences of so impolitic a course. His execution of his own brother, however guilty that brother, his enormous acquisitions of church property, and above all, the magnificence of the palace he was building in the Strand, for which a parish church and the houses of three bishops were pulled down, and the materials of which he chiefly got by dismantling a chapel, with cloister and charnel-house, in St. Paul's churchyard, after his labourers had been by force of arms driven from an attempt to tear down St. Margaret's, Westminster, for that purpose!—these things, and the overweening pride which was generally attributed to him, were skilfully taken advantage of by his enemies, and he was everywhere described as the main cause of all the recent public calamities at home and abroad. Warwick, with Southampton, Arundel, and five of the councillors, headed by Lord St. John, president of the council, formed themselves into a sort of independent council. Taking upon themselves the style and authority of the whole council, they wrote letters to all the chief nobility and gentry, asking for their support and aid in remedying the public evils, which they affected to charge entirely upon Somerset's maladministration. Having determined on their own scheme of remedial measures, they sent for the mayor and aldermen of London and the lieutenant of the Tower, and informing them of the plans which they proposed to adopt, strictly enjoined them to aid and obey them, in despite of aught that Somerset might think fit to order to the contrary. Somer

set was now so unpopular, that obedience was readily promised to this command, in the face at once of the king's patent and of the fact that these very councillors, who now complained of the protector's acts as illegal, had aided and encouraged him in whatever had been illegally done—his original departure from the will of the late king! No farther argument can be requisite to show that personal and selfish feeling, and not loyalty to the young king or tenderness to his suffering people, actuated these factious councillors. But faction has an eagle eye wherewith to gaze unblinkingly upon the proudest and most brilliant light of truth; and the self-appointed junto was on the following day joined by the lord chancellor Rich, by the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Shrewsbury, Sir Thomas Cheney, Sir John Gage, Sir Ralph Sadler, and the chief justice Montague. And when the protector, seeing the imminent peril in which he was placed, sent Secretary Petre to treat with the councillors at Ely-house, that craven personage, instead of performing his duty, took his seat and sided with the junto.

Consulting with Cranmer and Paget, who were the only men of mark and power that still abided by his fortunes, the protector removed the young king to Windsor castle, and gathered his friends and retainers in arms around him. But the adhesion to the junto of the lieutenant of the Tower, and the unanimity with which the common council of London joined the mayor in promising support to the new measures, caused the speaker of the house of commons and the two or three other councillors who had hitherto remained neuter to join the ascendant party of Warwick; and Somerset so completely lost all hope and confidence, that he now began to apply to his foes for pardon. This manifestation of his despair, which would have been inexcusable had it not, unhappily, been unavoidable, was decisive. Warwick and his friends addressed the king, and with many protestations of their exceeding loyalty and the mischievousness of the protector's measures, solicited that they might be admitted to his majesty's presence and confidence, and that Somerset be dismissed from his high office. The fallen statesman was accordingly, with several of his friends, including Cecil, the afterwards renowned and admirable Lord Burleigh, sent to the Tower. But though the junto thus pronounced all that Somerset had done to be illegal, they appointed as council of regency, not the persons named in the late king's will, but, for the most part, the same men who had been appointed by Somerset, and whose acts under his appointment, supposing it to be illegal, ought clearly to have disqualified them now. Such is faction!

When the government had thus been, virtually, vested in the ambitious and unprincipled Warwick; when he had snatched the office of earl marshal, Lord St. John that of treasurer, the marquis of Northampton that of great chamberlain, Lord Wentworth that of chamberlain of the household, besides the manors of Stepney and Hackney which were plundered from the bishopric of London, and Lord Russell the earldom of Bedford, the hot patriotism of Warwick was satisfied. The humbled Somerset having thus made way for his enemies, and having stooped to the degradation of making to them apologies and submissions which his admirers must ever lament, he was restored to liberty and forgiven a fine of £2000 a year in land which had been inflicted upon him. As though even this humiliation were not enough, Warwick not only re-admitted him to the council, but gave his son, Lord Dudley, in marriage to Somerset's daughter, the lady Jane Seymour.

A. D. 1550.—The new governors of England, though they had insidiously refused to aid Somerset in his wise and reasonable proposals for making peace with France and Scotland when he was desirous to do so, now eagerly exerted themselves for the same end. Having, to colour over their factious opposition to Somerset, made proposals for the warlike aid

of the emperor, which aid they well knew would be refused, they agreed to restore Boulogne for four thousand crowns, to restore Lauder and Douglass to Scotland, and to demolish the fortresses of Roxburgh and Eymouth. This done, they contracted the king to Elizabeth, a daughter of the king of France, the most violent persecutor of the protestants; but though all the articles were settled, this most shameful marriage treaty came to nothing.

In the history of public affairs there is scarcely anything that is more startling, or that gives one a lower opinion of the morality of those public men who most loudly vaunt their own integrity and decry that of their opponents, than the coolness with which they will at the same instant of time propose two measures diametrically opposed to one and the same principle. We have seen that Warwick and his friends had agreed to marry the protestant Edward, their sovereign, to the daughter of Henry of France, the fiercest persecutor of the protestants. But even while they were thus proclaiming their friendship with the chief upholder of the right of catholicism to persecute, they visited several of the most eminent of their own catholics with severe punishment, not for persecuting protestants, but merely for a natural unwillingness to be more speedy than was unavoidable in forwarding the protestant measures. Gardiner, as the most eminent, was the first to be attacked. For two long years he was detained in prison, and then Somerset condescended to join himself with Secretary Petre, by whom he had himself formerly been so shamefully deserted, as a deputation to endeavour to persuade or cajole the high-minded and learned, however mistaken prelate, into a compliant mood. More than one attempt was made; but though Gardiner showed himself very ready to comply to a certain and becoming extent, he would not confess that his conduct had been wrong; a confession of which he clearly saw that his enemies would make use to ruin him in character as well as fortune; and a commission, consisting of Cranmer, the bishops of London, Ely, and Lincoln, Secretary Petre, and some lawyers, sentenced him to be deprived of his bishopric and committed to close custody; and to make this iniquitous sentence the more severe, he was deprived of all books and papers, and was not only denied the comfort of the visits of two friends, but even of their letters or messages.

A. D. 1551.—Several other prelates were now marked out for persecution; some because they were actually disobedient, others because they were suspected to be not cordial in their obedience. Large sums of money were thus wrung from them; and, under the pretence of purging the libraries of Westminster and Oxford of superstitious books, the dominant political party—for religion really had nothing to do with the motives of Warwick and his lay friends—destroyed inestimable literary treasures for the mere sake of the comparatively small sums to be obtained by the gold and silver with which, unfortunately, the books and manuscripts were adorned.

Much as we shall have occasion to blame the Queen Mary for her merciless abuse of power, it is not easy to help admiring the cold, stern, unblenching mien with which the princess Mary at this time of peril defied all attempts at making her bow to the dominant party. Deprived of her chaplains, and ordered to read protestant books, she calmly professed her readiness to endure martyrdom rather than prove false to her faith; and this conduct she steadfastly maintained, although it was only from fear of the warlike interference of the emperor that her persecutors were withheld from offering her personal violence.

Even in the midst of these *quasi* religious vexations, some very useful measures were taken for promoting industry, especially by revoking sundry most impolitic patents, by which the trade in cloth, wool, and many other commodities had been almost entirely thrown into the hands of foreigners. The merchants of the Hanse towns loudly exclaimed

against this "new measure;" but Warwick and his friends—this at least is to their credit—were firm, and a very sensible improvement in the English spirit of industry was the immediate consequence. Is it to look too curiously into public cause and effect to ask whether our present high commercial fortune may not be greatly owing to this very measure, though nearly three centuries have since elapsed?

But Warwick could not long confine his turbulent and eager spirit to the noble and peaceable triumphs of the patriot. Self was his earthly deity. The title and the vast estate of the earldom of Northumberland were at this time in abeyance, owing to the last earl dying without issue, and his brother, Sir Thomas Percy, having been attainted of treason. Of these vast estates, together with the title of *duke* of Northumberland, Warwick now possessed himself, and he procured for his friend, Lord St. John, the title of marquis of Winchester, and for Sir William Herbert that of earl of Pembroke.

Northumberland's complete triumph and vast acquisitions could not but be very distasteful to Somerset, who not only cherished the most violent intentions towards him, but was even stung into the imprudence of avowing them in the presence of some of his intimate attendants, among whom was Sir Thomas Palmer, who appeared to have been placed in his service as a mere spy of Northumberland's. Somerset, his duchess, and several of their friends and attendants, were suddenly arrested; and Somerset was accused of high treason and felony; the former crime as having prepared for insurrection, the latter as having intended to assassinate Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke.

The marquis of Winchester, the friend, almost the mere follower of Northumberland, was appointed high steward, and presided at the trial of Somerset; and of the twenty-seven peers who made the jury, three were Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke, the very men whom he had threatened! He was acquitted of treason, but found guilty of felony, to the great grief of the people, among whom Somerset was now popular.

A. D. 1552.—As it was not to be supposed that a mild and toward young prince like Edward VI. would easily, if at all, be brought to turn a deaf ear to his uncle's solicitation for mercy, great care was taken by Northumberland to prevent all access to the king of the friends of Somerset, and that unhappy nobleman after all his services as regent, and after his almost paternal goodness as guardian of the king's person, was executed on Tower-hill; the grieved people dipping their handkerchiefs in his blood as mementos of his martyrdom. His friends, Sirs Thomas Arundel, Michael Stanhope, Miles Partridge, and Ralph Vane were also executed; Paget, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, was deprived of his office and of the garter, and fined £6,000: and Lord Rich, the chancellor, was also deprived of office for the crime of being the friend of Somerset, whose chief faults seem to have been an overweening ambition, co-existing with rather less than more than the average sagacity and firmness of those who take the lead in troublous and unsettled times.

A. D. 1553.—A new session of parliament was held immediately after the execution of Somerset, in which several regulations were made that were calculated to advance the cause of the reformation. But the commons having refused to pass a bill of deprivation against the universally respected Tonstal, bishop of Durham, a new parliament was summoned; and to secure one favourable to his views Northumberland caused the king, certainly, and most probably the majority of the councillors and peers, to recommend particular gentlemen to be sent up for particular counties. The parliament, thus conveniently composed, readily confirmed the deprivation arbitrarily pronounced upon Tonstal, and two bishoprics were created out of that of Durham—the rich regalities of that see being conferred upon Northumberland himself. Insatiable, wholly insatiable, Northum-

berland induced the king to bestow the dukedom of Suffolk upon the marquis of Dorset; and having persuaded the new duke to give his daughter, the lady Jane Grey, in marriage to Northumberland's fourth son, the Lord Guildford Dudley, next proceeded to persuade Edward, who was in an infirm condition, to pass by his sisters Mary and Elizabeth, both of whom had been pronounced illegitimate, and the former of whom, as well as the young queen of Scots, was a papist, and to settle the crown on the marchioness of Dorset (duchess of Suffolk) whose heiress was the lady Jane Grey. By a variety of arguments, some of which were both specious and solid, but all of which, as proceeding from so ambitious a man, ought to have been looked upon with suspicion, Northumberland prevailed upon the young king. It was in vain that the judges and the most eminent law officers protested against being compelled to draw out a patent; it was in vain they urged that they would subject themselves to the pains and penalties of treason should they do so; Northumberland gave Montague, chief justice of common pleas, the lie; swore he would fight any man in his shirt who should deny the justice of lady Jane's succession; and was so successful that the crown was accordingly settled upon lady Jane; her mother, the duchess of Suffolk, very willingly allowing herself to be passed by.

This patent was by many looked upon as the death-warrant of Edward VI. signed by himself. His health daily grew worse, and his physicians being dismissed in favour of some ignorant woman, her quack medicines brought on symptoms at once fatal and very symptomatic of poison, and he died in the 16th year of his age and the seventh of his reign.

The whole life and reign of this prince was spent literally *in statu pupillari*; but so far as he could in such a state manifest his disposition, he seems fully to have deserved the affection with which even to this day he is spoken of.

CHAPTER XLIV.

THE REIGN OF MARY.

A. D. 1553.—The artful precautions taken by Northumberland to secure the throne to his young and accomplished daughter-in-law, by no means rendered the success of the project—for which he had certainly toiled much, and for which, we fear, he had sinned no little—so secure as at first sight it might seem. In the first place, young Edward's reign had been so short and completely a reign of tutelage, that his will had none of that force with the multitude which was possessed by the will of his bluff and iron-handed father. Henry VIII. had, it is true, bastardized both his daughters, but he had subsequently restored them to the succession; and the people were too much accustomed to regarding Mary as the rightful successor to Edward, in the event of his dying without issue, to allow of the almost dying act of the young king speedily changing their opinion and directing their loyalty to the lady Jane. Again, the catholics, far more numerous secretly than might be imagined, were to a man partizans of Mary; and if the protestants had some misgivings, founded on her known bigotry in favour of her own faith, they yet feared even the bigot far less than the lady Jane, who, as they well knew, could be and would be a mere puppet in the hands of Northumberland, who by this time had contrived to render himself at once the most powerful, the most dreaded, and the most detested man in the whole nation. And it is worthy of observation also, that so nearly balanced were the partizans of the respective religions, that each stood in dread of the other.

But Northumberland was far too wily a personage to be ignorant of

the weight which, with the majority of the people, detestation of himself and respect for the memory of Henry VIII. would have in deciding between the princess Mary and the lady Jane. When, therefore, he perceived that the speedy death of Edward was inevitable, Northumberland caused the princesses Mary and Elizabeth to be sent for, as though the young king had been desirous of seeing them. Mary had reached Hoddesden in Hertfordshire, only about seventeen miles from London, when the king died. Northumberland, anxious to get her into his power, gave orders that the melancholy event should be kept a secret; but the earl of Arundel sent her warning of Northumberland's deceit and probable designs, and she hastily retreated to the retired fishing town of Framlingham, in Suffolk, whence she sent letters to the council and to the principal nobility, informing them of her knowledge of her brother's death, promising indemnity to all who had thus far aided in concealing it, but calling upon them forthwith to proclaim her as queen. While thus active in asserting her right, she carefully provided, also, for her flight into Flanders, in the event of her efforts proving unsuccessful.

When Northumberland found that Edward's death was known to the rightful queen, he at once threw off all disguise. Lord and the lady Jane Dudley were at this time residing at Sion House; and Northumberland, with James' father, the earl of Pembroke, and other noblemen, approached her with all the form and respect due from subjects to their sovereign. Young, gifted with singular talents for literature, and with a scarcely less singular propension towards literary pursuits, Jane viewed the throne in its true light as a dangerous and uneasy eminence. Even now when her father, her still more powerful and dreaded father-in-law, and the very chiefest men in the kingdom, with all the emblems of state, pressed her to assume the authority of queen, she recoiled from it as an evil of the first magnitude. Her husband, though, like herself, but little more than sixteen years of age, had been but too skilfully tutored by his wily father, and he seconded that ambitious man's entreaties so well that, overcome though not convinced, the unfortunate Jane consented. She was immediately escorted to the Tower, the usual residence of the English sovereigns on their first accession; and Northumberland took care that she should be accompanied thither, not only by his known and fast friends, but also by the whole of the councillors, whom he thus, in effect, made prisoners and hostages for the adhesion of their absent friends. Orders were now issued to proclaim Queen Jane throughout the kingdom, but it was only in London, where Northumberland's authority was as yet too firm to be openly resisted, that the orders were obeyed. And even in London the majority listened to the proclamation in a sullen and ominous silence. Some openly scoffed at Jane's pretensions, and one unfortunate boy, who was a vintner's servant, was severely punished for even this verbal, and perhaps unreasoning opposition to the will of the haughty Northumberland.

While the people of London were thus cool towards their nominal queen, and even the protestants listened without conviction to the preachings of Ridley and other eminent protestant churchmen in her favour, Mary in her retreat in Suffolk was actively and ably exerting herself for the protection of her birthright. She was surrounded by eminent and influential men with their levies of tenants or hired adherents; and as she strongly and repeatedly professed her determination not to infringe the laws of her brother with respect to religion, even the protestants throughout Suffolk, equally with the catholics, were enthusiastic in her cause. Nor was the feeling in favour of Mary exhibited merely in her own neighbourhood, or among those who might be called her personal friends. Northumberland commissioned Sir Edward Hastings, brother of the earl of Huntingdon, to levy men in Buckinghamshire on behalf of Jane. Sir Edward executed the commission with great readiness and success as far as related to levy-

ing the men; but he no sooner found himself at the head of a force of nearly four thousand strong than he marched in to the aid of Mary. With the marine the duke was not more fortunate than with the land forces; a fleet was sent by him to cruise off the Suffolk coast, to cut Mary off from her retreat to Flanders, should she attempt it, and was driven by stress of weather into Yarmouth, where it immediately declared in favour of Mary.

Perplexed and alarmed, Northumberland yet determined not to give up the grand prize without a stout effort for its preservation. He determined to remain with Jane at the Tower, and to commit the command of the troops he had levied to her father. But the imprisoned councillors, clearly understanding both their own position and his, astutely persuaded him that he alone was fit to head the forces upon which so much depended, and they, at the same time, successfully worked upon the fears of Jane on behalf of her father. The councillors were the more successful in persuading Northumberland to the almost suicidal act of taking the command of the troops, because, while he naturally felt great confidence in his own well-tried valour and ability, he was well aware of the inferiority of Suffolk in the latter respect at least.

Northumberland accordingly set out to combat the forces of the enemy, and was taken leave of by the councillors with every expression of attachment and confidence of his success; and Arundel, his bitterest enemy, was by no means the least profuse of these expressions. Scarcely, however, had Northumberland marched out of London ere he perceived a boding and chilling sullenness among all ranks of men; and he remarked to Lord Grey, who accompanied him, "Many come out to look at our array, indeed, but I find not one who cries '*God speed your enterprise.*'"

Arrived at Bury St. Edmund's, the duke found that his army did not greatly exceed six thousand men, while the lowest reports of the opposite force gave double that number. Aware of the immense importance of the first encounter, Northumberland resolved to delay his proposed attack, and sent an express to the councillors to send him a large and instant reinforcement. But the councillors had no sooner received the duke's express than they left the Tower, on the pretext of obeying his order; and assembled at Baynard's castle, the house of Pembroke, to deliberate, not upon the means of aiding Northumberland, but upon the best means of throwing off his yoke, and of dethroning the puppet queen he had set over them. Arundel, whom Northumberland had with a most unaccountable weakness left behind, expatiated warmly and eloquently upon all Northumberland's vices and evil deeds, and exhorted the others, as the only just or even prudent course, to join him in at once throwing their weight into the scale of Mary, and thus insuring not merely her pardon for their past involuntary offences, but also her favour for their present and prompt loyalty. Pembroke loudly applauded the advice of Arundel, and, laying his hand upon his sword, expressed his readiness to fight on the instant any man who should pretend to oppose it. The mayor and aldermen of London being sent for to attend this conference, showed the utmost alacrity to proclaim Mary, and the proclamation was accordingly made amid the most rapturous applauses of the populace. The reign of Jane, if a lonely and anxious confinement in the Tower for ten days could be called a reign, was now at an end; and she retired to her private residence and private station, with a readiness as great as the reluctance she had shown to leave them.

The councillors having thus completely beaten Northumberland in his chief or only stronghold, sent messengers to demand that he should lay down his arms, disband his troops, and submit himself to the mercy of his rightful sovereign, Queen Mary. The message was needless; Northumberland, receiving no reinforcement from London, saw the impossibility of resisting the hourly increasing force of Mary, and finding

himself fast deserted by his handful of foreigners, had already proclaimed Queen Mary with as much apparent heartiness and zeal as though he had not aimed at her crown—and probably her life.

Mary, on receiving the submission and hypocritical adhesion of Northumberland, set out for London. Her progress was one continued and unbroken triumph. Everywhere she was met by multitudes of the people invoking blessings upon her; her sister, the lady Elizabeth, met her at the head of a thousand well-appointed horse, and when she reached the Tower she found that even Suffolk had thrown open its gates and declared himself in her favour. All circumstances considered, there is scarcely an instance in history to equal this in the facility with which a rightful princess of no amiable character, and opposed to a large portion of her subjects in religion, vanquished the opposition of so wily, so daring, and so accomplished a pre-usurper as Northumberland.

Mercy was assuredly not the characteristic of Mary, but the utmost infatuation of mercy could not have allowed offences so gross as those of Northumberland to pass unpunished. Mary gave orders for his arrest, and, whether from being broken-spirited by his ill success, or from sheer cowardice and a lingering hope of saving at least his life, he fell on his knees to his bitter enemy, Arundel, who arrested him, and implored his mercy. His sons, the earl of Warwick and lords Ambrose and Henry Dudley, and his brother Sir Andrew Dudley, were at the same time committed to custody; as were the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Huntingdon, Sir Thomas Palmer, and Sir John Gates. On farther inquiry and consideration, the queen's advisers found it necessary to confine the duke of Suffolk, Lord Guildford Dudley, and his innocent and unfortunate wife, the lady Jane. At this early period of her reign policy overcame Mary's natural propensity to cruelty and sternness. The councillors, pleading their constraint by Northumberland, were speedily liberated, and even Suffolk himself was not excluded from this act of mingled justice and mercy. Northumberland, Sir Thomas Palmer, and Sir John Gates were brought to trial. The duke's offence was too clear and flagrant to admit of any elaborate defence; but he asked the peers whether they could possibly pronounce a man guilty of treason who had obeyed orders under the great seal, and whether persons who had been involved in his alledged guilt could be allowed to sit in judgment upon him? The answer to each question was obvious. In reply to the first, he was told that the great seal of a usurper could have no authority; to the second, that persons not having any sentence of attaint against them were clearly qualified to sit on any jury. Northumberland then pleaded guilty, and he, with Sir Thomas Palmer and Sir John Gates were executed. At the scaffold Northumberland professed to die in the catholic faith, and assured the bystanders that they would never prosper until the catholic religion should be restored to all its authority among them. Considering the whole character of Northumberland and the indifference he had always shown to disputes of faith, it is but too probable that even in these his dying words he was insincere, and used them to engage the mercy of the queen, whose bigotry they might flatter, towards his unfortunate family. Upon the people his advice wrought no effect. Many looked upon the preparations for his death merely with a cold, unpitying sternness, still more shouted to him to remember Somerset, and some even held up to him handkerchiefs incrusted with the blood of that nobleman, and exulted, rather like fiends than men, that his hour of a like bloody doom was at length arrived.

Lord Guildford Dudley and the lady Jane were also condemned to death, but their youth and, perhaps, Mary's feeling of the impolicy of extreme severity to criminals who had so evidently offended under the constraint and tutelage of Northumberland, saved them for the present—alas! *only* for the present!

The reign of Mary contains so little upon which the historian can bestow even negative praise, that it is pleasing to be able to remark that the very earliest portion of her reign, if stained with the bloodshed of a necessary justice, was also marked by some acts of justice and gratitude. When she arrived at the Tower of London and made her triumphant entry into that fortress, the duke of Norfolk, who had been in prison from the close of the reign of Henry VIII., Courtney, son of the marquis of Exeter, who ever since his father's attainder had been in the same confinement, though when he entered it he was a mere child and there was no shadow of a charge against him, with bishops Gardiner, Bonner, and Tonstal, were allowed to meet her on the Tower green, where they fell upon their knees before her, and implored her grace and protection. They were restored to liberty immediately; Norfolk's attainder was removed as having been *ab origine* null and invalid, and Courtney was made earl of Devonshire. Gardiner, Bonner, and Tonstal were reappointed to their sees by a commission which was appointed to review their trial and condemnation; and Day, Heath, and Vesy recovered their sees by the same means.

The queen's zeal for the catholic religion now began to show itself. Holgate, archbishop of York, Coverdale, to whom the reformation owed so much, Ridley, Hooper, and Latimer, were speedily thrown into prison; and the bishops and priests were exhorted and encouraged to revive the mass, though the laws against it were still in unrepealed force. Judge Hales, who had so well and zealously defended the right of the princess Mary when her brother desired him to draw the patent which was to exclude her from the throne, opposed the illegal practices which Queen Mary now sanctioned. All his former merits were forgotten in this new proof of his genuine and uncompromising honesty; he was thrown into prison, and there treated with such merciless cruelty and insult, that he lost his senses and committed suicide.

It will be remembered that the zeal of the men of Suffolk, during Mary's retreat at Framlingham, was stimulated by her pointed and repeated assurances that she would in no wise alter the laws of her brother Edward, as to religion. These simple and honest men, seeing the gross partiality and tyranny by which the queen now sought to depress the protestants, ventured to remind her of her former promises. Their remonstrance was received as though it had been some monstrous and seditious matter, and one of them continuing his address with a somewhat uncourtly pertinacity was placed in the pillory for his pains.

Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, was by the change of sovereigns placed in a most perilous position. It is true that during the life of Henry VIII. Cranmer had often and zealously exerted himself to prevent that monarch's rage from being felt by the princess Mary. But Mary's gratitude as a woman was but little security against her bigotry as a religionist; and any services that Cranmer had rendered her were likely enough to be forgotten, in consideration of the discouragements he had dealt to her religion in his character of champion as well as child of the reformation. Nothing, probably, could have saved Cranmer but entire silence and resignation of his see, or immediate emigration. But Cranmer was too hearty and sincere in his love of the reformed religion, and, perhaps, was also too confident of its success, even now that Rome was backed by the queen, to be in anywise minded for craven silence or retreat. His enemies, perceiving that as yet he had met with no signal affront or injury from the queen, spread a report that he owed his safety and probable favour to his having promised to say mass before Mary. Situated as Cranmer was, it would have been his wisest plan to have listened to this insulting report with contemptuous silence, and to have relied upon his well-earned character to refute the calumny to all whose judgment was of any real

consequence. But the archbishop thought otherwise, and he hastened to publish a manifesto in which he gave the most unqualified contradiction to the report. Nay, he did not stop even here; not content with vindicating himself he entered more generally into the matter, and thus gave his enemies that very handle against him which they so eagerly wished for. He said, after contradicting the charge, that, "as the devil was a liar from the beginning, and the father of lies, he had at this time stirred up his servants to persecute Christ and his true religion; that this infernal spirit was now endeavouring to restore the Latin satisfactory masses, a thing of his own invention and device; and, in order to effect his purpose, had falsely made use of his, Cranmer's, name and authority;" and Cranmer added, that "the mass is not only without foundation in either the scriptures or the practice of the primitive church, but likewise discovers a plain contradiction to antiquity and the inspired writings, and is, besides, replete with many horrid blasphemies."

However much we may admire the general character of Cranmer—though it was by no means without its blemishes—it is impossible for the most zealous and sincere protestants to deny that, under the circumstances of the nation, many of the passages we have quoted were grossly offensive; and equally impossible is it to deny that under Cranmer's now personal circumstances they were as grossly and gratuitously impolitic. His enemies eagerly availed themselves of his want of temper or policy, and used this really coarse and inflammatory paper as a means by which to induce the queen to throw him into prison for the share he had had in the usurpation of the lady Jane, about which he otherwise would probably have remained unquestioned. Merely as the protestant archbishop, Cranmer had more than enough of enemies in the house of peers to insure his being found guilty, and he was sentenced to death on the charge of high treason. He was not, however, as might have been expected, immediately and upon this sentence put to death, but committed back to close custody, where he was kept, as will soon be seen, for a still more cruel doom.

Every day made it more and more evident that the protestants had nothing to expect but the utmost severity of persecution, and many even of the most eminent of their preachers began to look abroad and to exile for safety. Peter Martyr, who in the late prosperity of the reformers had been formally and with much pressing invited to England, now applied to the council for permission to return to his own country. At first the council seemed much inclined to refuse compliance with this reasonable request. But Gardiner, with a spirit which makes us the more regret that bigotry ever induced him to act less generously, represented that as Peter had been invited to England by the government, his departure could not be opposed without the utmost national disgrace. Nor did Gardiner's generosity end here; having obtained Peter permission to leave the realm, he supplied him with money to travel with. The bones of Peter Martyr's wife were shortly afterwards torn from the grave at Oxford, and buried in a dunghill; and the university of Cambridge about the same time disgraced itself by exhuming the bones of Bucer and Fagius, two eminent foreign reformers who had been buried there in the late reign. John à Lasco and his congregation were now ordered to depart the kingdom, and most of the foreign protestants took so significant a hint and followed them; by which the country was deprived of its most skilful and industrious artizans just as they were giving a useful and extensive impulse to its manufactures. The temper manifested by the court, and the sudden departure of the foreign protestants, greatly alarmed the protestants in general; and many of the English of that communion followed the example set them by their foreign brethren, and fled from a land which everything seemed to threaten with the most terrible and speedy troubles.

The meeting of parliament by no means improved the prospects of the protestants. It has already been remarked that, however completely the reformation might have seemed to be triumphant, there was something like a moiety, at least, of the nation that was still in heart attached to the old faith. To these the court could add as practical friends that large body which in all times and in all countries is ready to side with the dominant party; there was consequently no difficulty experienced in getting such men returned to parliament as would be pliant tools in the hands of Mary and her ministers. To the dismay of the protestants, though it would be to impeach their sagacity should we say that it was to their surprise also, parliament was opened not by prayer after the reformed ordinance, but by the celebration of mass in the Latin tongue. Taylor, bishop of Lincoln, more sincere, or at all events more courageous than some of his brethren, honestly refused to kneel at this mass, and was in consequence very rudely assailed by some of the catholic zealots, and at length actually thrust from the house.

After following the good example of the parliament of the last reign in passing an act by which all law of treason was limited to the statute of Edward III., and all law of felony to the law as it stood before (1 Henry VIII.) the parliament pronounced the queen legitimate, annulled the divorce pronounced by Cranmer between Catherine of Arragon and Henry VIII., and severely censured Cranmer on account of that divorce. It is a little singular that even the acute Hume has not noticed the inconsistency with which Mary had by the vote of her parliament, which in reality was *her* vote as the members were her mere creatures, denied the infallibility and upset the decision of that holy see, the infallibility of which she prescribed to her subjects on pain of the stake and the tar barrel!

Continuing in the same hopeful course, the parliament now at one fell swoop, and by a single vote, *repealed all those statutes of King Edward with respect to religion, which Mary had again and again, and sometimes even voluntarily, said that nothing should induce her to disturb!* Dicers' oaths and lovers' vows are not more frail than the promises of a bigot!

Mary, who even in her first youth had no feminine beauty to boast, was considerably above thirty years of age, indeed fast approaching to forty—that decline of life to even the most brilliant personal charms—when she ascended the throne; and when her parliament showed its anxiety as to her marriage she herself appeared to be fully as anxious. Courtney, son of the marquis of Exeter, whom she liberated from the Tower at her accession and created earl of Devon, was at that time a very young man, and possessed not only great perfection of manly beauty, but also, despite his long and dreary imprisonment, all those graces and accomplishments which are so rarely to be acquired elsewhere than at court. The queen was so favourably impressed by his manners and appearance, that she formed the idea of raising him to the dignity of her husband; and as her situation would have rendered any advances on his part presumptuous, she not only showed him all possible personal distinction, but even caused official hints to be given to him of the favour with which he might hope for his highest aspirations being received. But Courtney was young and romantic, and Mary was not only disagreeable in face and figure, and repulsive in manner, but was also very nearly old enough to be his mother, and he showed not the slightest intention of profiting by the amorous condescension of his sovereign. Enraged that he should neglect her, she was still more enraged when she discovered that he was a close attendant upon her sister Elizabeth, then in her first flush of youth. The parliament, by annulling the divorce of Mary's mother, had virtually pronounced Elizabeth's illegitimacy; and as Mary on discovering Courtney's partiality to that princess exhibited extreme annoyance and laid her under great restriction, Elizabeth's friends began to be seriously alarmed for even her

personal safety, especially as her attachment to the reformed religion could not fail to increase the hatred called down upon her by the attachment of Courtney to herself.

Despairing of making any impression upon the youthful fancy of the earl of Devon, Mary now bestowed a passing glance at the graver and more elderly attractions of the Cardinal Pole. It is true he was a cardinal, but he had never taken priest's orders. He was a man of high character for wisdom and humanity, and yet had suffered much for his attachment to the catholic church, of which, on the death of Pope Paul III., he had nearly obtained the highest honour; and his mother, that old countess of Salisbury who was so brutally beheaded by order of Henry VIII., had been a most kind and beloved governess to Mary in her girlhood. But the cardinal was somewhat too far advanced in life to please Mary, and it was, moreover, hinted to her by her friends, that he was now too long habituated to a quiet and studious life to be able to reconcile himself to the glitter and bustle of the court. But though she rejected Pole as a husband, she resolved to have the benefit of his abilities as a minister, and she accordingly sent assurances to Pope Julius III. of her anxious desire to reconcile her kingdom to the holy see, and requested that Cardinal Pole might be appointed legate to arrange that important business.

Charles V., the emperor, who but a few years before was master of all Germany, had recently met with severe reverses both in Germany and France, in which latter country he was so obstinately resisted by the duke of Guise, that he was at length obliged to retire with the remnant of his dispirited army into the low countries. Far-seeing and ambitious, Charles no sooner heard of the accession of Mary to the throne of England, than he formed the design of making the gain of that kingdom compensate for the losses he had sustained in Germany. His son Philip was a widower, and though he was only twenty-seven years of age, and eleven years Mary's junior, the emperor determined to demand her hand for his son, and sent over an agent for that purpose. If Mary had looked with favour upon Courtney's person, and had felt a passing attachment excited by the mental endowments of Cardinal Pole, Philip had the double recommendation of being a zealous catholic, and of her mother's family. Thus actuated by bigotry and by family feeling, and being, moreover, by no means disinclined to matrimony, Mary gladly entertained the proposal, and was seconded by the advice not only of Norfolk, Arundel, and Paget, but also of Gardiner, whose years, wisdom, and the persecution he had endured for catholicism had given him the greatest possible authority in her opinion. Gardiner, at the same time, strongly and wisely dissuaded the queen from further proceeding in her enterprise of making innovations in religion. He well observed that an alliance with Spain was already more than sufficiently unpopular; that the parliament, amidst all its complaisance and evident desire to make all reasonable concessions to the personal wishes and feelings of the sovereign, nevertheless had lately shown strong unwillingness to make any further concessions to Rome. He argued, too, that whereas any precipitate measures in religion just at that time would greatly, perhaps even fatally, increase the popular prejudice against the Spanish alliance, that alliance when once brought about would, contrariwise, enable the queen, unresisted, to work her own will in the other and far more important measure. To the emperor, Gardiner transmitted the same reasonings, with the additional hint that it was necessary that, ostensibly or temporarily at least, the terms and conditions of the marriage should be such as to secure the favour of the English populace, by appearing even more than fairly favourable to English interests. The emperor, who had a high opinion of Gardiner's sagacity and judgment, not only assented to all that he advised, but even enforced his advice as

to religious moderation, at least for that time, in his own private letters to Mary. He even went still further; for being informed that Pole, the sincerity and fervour of whose religious zeal not unfrequently triumphed over his great natural humanity, had sent Mary advice to proceed with rigour against open heresy, the emperor detained Pole at the town of Dillinghen, on the Danube, as he was on his way to England, lest his presence should prevent Mary from following his more pacific and politic counsels.

The parliament having openly expressed a dislike of Mary's proposed marriage with a son of Spain, was dismissed, and Mary's ministers had orders to press the match on to a conclusion. The convocation, which had been summoned at the same time as the parliament, was not contented with a general profession and exhibition of its attachment to the new order of things that Mary had so rapidly introduced, but the catholic part of it boldly volunteered to put the capital article between them and the catholics, transubstantiation, into dispute. The protestants argued, but could rarely be heard, through the clamour raised by their adversaries, who finally, being the majority, complacently voted that they had clearly and decidedly triumphed. This triumph—at least of voices and numbers, if not of fair argument—so elated the Romanists, that they soon after renewed the dispute at Oxford, and, as if to show how secure they held themselves to be of the victory, they caused Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley to be conveyed thither under a guard to take their parts in the debate, which ended, as may be anticipated, in the complete verbal triumph of the catholics.

A. D. 1554.—The complaisance of the parliament, and the formal debates on religion that had been initiated by Romanist members of convocation, were merely preclusive to still further and more sweeping alterations in religion, which were made in defiance of all that the emperor and the astute Gardiner could urge to the contrary. It is true—and the fact confirms what we have more than once said as to the wide difference between the apparent and the real number of protestants existing during the two previous reigns—the mere connivance of government had in most parts of England sufficed to encourage the people to set aside the reformation in the most important particulars. But after the dismissal of parliament, the new regulations of Mary, or rather her new enactments of old abuses, were everywhere, openly, and by formal authority, carried into execution. Mass was re-established, three-fourths of the clergymen, being attached to reformed principles, were turned out of their livings, and replaced by zealous or seemingly zealous Romanists, and marriage was once again declared to be incompatible with the holding of any sacred office. The oath of supremacy was enjoined by the unrepealed law of Henry VIII., but it was an instruction to a commission which the queen now authorised to see to the more perfect and speedy re-establishment of mass and the other ancient rites, that clergymen should strictly be prohibited from taking the oath of supremacy on entering benefices.

While Mary was thus busied in preparing the way for laying her kingdom once more at the feet of the haughty pontiffs of Rome, the discontents thus caused were still further increased by the fears, some well founded and some vague, but no less powerful on that account, excited in the public mind on account of the Spanish match. On the part of the court, in compliance with the sagacious advice of Gardiner, great care was taken to insert nothing in the marriage articles, which were published, that could at all fairly be deemed unfavourable to England.

Thus it was stipulated, that though the title of king should be accorded to Philip, the administration should be entirely in the queen; that no office whatever in the kingdom should be tenable by a foreigner; that English laws, customs and privileges should remain unaltered; that the

queen should not be taken abroad by Philip without her own consent, nor any of her children without that of the nobility; that a jointure of sixty thousand pounds should be securely settled upon the queen; that the male issue, if any, of the marriage should inherit not only England, but also Burgundy and the Low Countries in any case, and that in the case of the death of Don Carlos, son of Philip, such male issue of Philip and Mary should also inherit Spain, Sicily, Milan, and all the other dominions of Philip.

Every day's experience serves to show that it is quite possible to carry policy too far, and to cause the sincerity of concession to be suspected from its very excess. If we may suppose that men so sagacious as the emperor and Gardiner were rendered by their anxiety temporarily forgetful of this truth, the public murmuring very speedily reminded them of it. The people, with that intuitive sagacity which seems the special provision for the safety of the unlettered multitude, analogous to the instinct of the lower animals, exclaimed that the emperor, in his greedy and tyrannous anxiety to obtain possession of so rich yet hated a country as heretical England, would doubtless accede to any terms. As a papist and a Spaniard he would promise anything now, with the full determination of revoking everything the moment he should have concluded the desired match; and the more favourable, argued the people, the terms now published were to England, the greater the probability that the emperor and his son would revoke them at the very first opportunity, if, indeed, they were not already provided with secret articles authorizing them to do so. To the fraud and ambition of the emperor the popular report said that Philip added sullenness, haughtiness, cruelty, and a domineering disposition peculiarly his own. That the death of the emperor would put Philip in possession of his father's dominions was clear; the people assumed it to be equally so that England would from that moment become a mere province of Spain; that Englishmen equally with the other subjects of Spain would then be subjected to all the tender mercies of the inquisition, and that the Spanish alliance and the complete ruin of England and enslaving of all Englishmen were but different terms and formula in which to enunciate the same thing.

To a people already discontented, as the protestants of England were, with the recent and sudden changes made in religious affairs, such arguments as these could not be addressed with any art or industry without being productive of great effect. Every day increased the general dislike of the people to the Spanish match. The more prudent among even those who in principle were the most deeply and sincerely opposed to the contemplated marriage, did not, indeed, see that the mere anticipation of evil to come, and an anticipation, too, which was quite opposed to the avowed purposes of the emperor and Philip, could warrant an open resistance. But the reasonable and the just are seldom the majority where either the feelings or the interests of mankind are very much aroused and appealed to; and a few men of some note were soon found to place themselves at the head of the discontented, with the avowed intention of appealing to arms rather than allowing themselves to become the bond-slaves of the Spaniard. Had France at this critical juncture taken advantage of Mary's difficulties and want of popularity, it is very probable that her reign would have ended here, and that her memory would have been saved from the indelible stains of much and loathsome cruelty. But the king of France, though at war with Philip, would lend no aid to an English insurrection. Perhaps he felt that Mary, aided as she was certain to be by Spain, would surely put down any attempts at insurrection, in which case she, of course, would aid the emperor against France; and to this motive we may not unreasonably be supposed to have added that feeling for the rights of sovereignty over subjects, which even the hostility of sovereigns can rarely

banish from their hearts. From whatever motives, however, the king of France did refuse to aid the English in their proposed resistance to their sovereign's alliance with Philip of Spain. But this did not damp the enthusiasm of the leading opponents of the Spanish alliance. Sir Thomas Wyatt offered to raise and head the malcontents of Kent, and Sir Peter Carew those of Devonshire; and they persuaded the duke of Suffolk to raise the midland counties, by assuring him that their chief object was to re-invest the lady Jane with the crown. A time was fixed for the simultaneous action of these leaders; and had the compact been punctually kept, it is more than probable that the enterprise would have been fully successful. But Sir Peter Carew, in his exceeding eagerness, rose before the appointed time, and being, in consequence, unsupported by Wyatt and the duke of Suffolk, was beaten at the first onset by the earl of Bedford, and with difficulty made his escape to France. Suffolk, on hearing of Carew's failure and flight, left town, accompanied by his brothers, Lord Thomas and Sir Leonard Gray, and proceeded to the counties of Warwick and Leicester, where his chief influence lay. But he was hotly pursued by a party of horse under the earl of Huntingdon, and being overtaken before he could raise sufficient force for resistance, was obliged to disperse his few followers and conceal himself. Accident or treachery soon discovered his hiding place, and he was sent under an escort to London. Wyatt, in the meantime, raised the standard of revolt at Maidstone, in Kent, where he issued a passionate proclamation, inviting the people to aid him in removing evil councillors from about the queen, and to prevent the ruin of the nation which must needs follow the completion of the Spanish match. Great numbers of persons joined him, and among them some catholics, as he had dexterously omitted from his proclamation all mention of religion. The duke of Norfolk, at the head of the queen's guards and some other troops, reinforced by five hundred Londoners under the command of Brett, marched against the revolted and came up with them at Rochester. Here Sir George Harper, who had been with Wyatt, pretended to desert to the duke, but quickly returned to Wyatt, carrying with him Brett and his Londoners, upon whom Sir George's eloquence so wrought, that they professed their preference of death to aiding in the enslavement of their country. Norfolk, fearing that this desertion might mislead the rest of his force, now retreated, and Wyatt marched to Southwark, whence he sent to demand that the Tower should be placed in his hands, that the queen should free the nation from all terror of Spanish tyranny by marrying an Englishman, and that four councillors should forthwith be placed in his hands as hostages for the performance of these conditions.

While Wyatt was wasting his time in sending this demand and awaiting a reply, Norfolk had secured London bridge, and had taken effectual steps to overawe the Londoners and prevent them from joining Wyatt. Perceiving his error when too late, Wyatt marched to Kingston, where he crossed the river, and made his way unresisted into Westminster. Here, however, his followers rapidly deserted him, and he was encountered and seized in the Strand, near Temple-bar, by Sir Maurice Berkeley. Vast numbers of the deluded countrymen were at the same time seized, and as the queen's rage was proportioned to the fear and peril to which she had been subjected, the executions that followed were very numerous. It is said that not less than four hundred of the captured wretches were put to death in cold blood; four hundred more were condemned, but being led before the queen with halters on their necks, they knelt to her and implored her grace, which was granted. Wyatt, the prime mover of this revolt, was executed, as a matter of course. On the scaffold he took care to exonerate, in the most unequivocal terms, from all participation or even knowledge of his proceedings the lady Elizabeth

and the earl of Devon, whom Mary's jealous hatred had endeavoured to connect with this ill-starred and ill-managed revolt. They were both seized and strictly examined by the council, but Wyatt's manly and precise declaration defeated whatever intent there might have been to employ false witnesses to connect them with his rash proceedings. But though Mary was thus prevented from proceeding to the last extremity against them, she sent Elizabeth under strict surveillance to Woodstock, and the earl of Devon to Fotheringay castle. To Elizabeth, indeed, immediate release was offered, on condition of her accepting the hand of the duke of Savoy, and thus relieving her sister from her presence in the kingdom; but Elizabeth knew how to "bide her time," and she quietly, but positively, refused the proffered alliance.

All this time Lord Guildford Dudley and the lady Jane had remained imprisoned, but unmolested and unnoticed. The time which had elapsed without any proceedings being taken against them, beyond their mere confinement, led every one to suppose that their youth, and the obvious restraint under which they had acted, had determined Mary not to punish them beyond imprisonment, and that she would terminate even that when she safely could do so. But the imprudent, nay, the situation of his daughter and her husband being considered, the wicked connection of the duke of Suffolk with Wyatt's revolt, aroused in Mary that suspicion which was no less fatal to its objects than her bigotry. Jane now anew appeared to her in the character of a competitor for the throne. That she was not wilfully so, that she was so closely confined that she could not by any possibility correspond with the disaffected, were arguments to which Mary attached no importance. To her it was enough that this innocent creature, even now a mere girl and wishing for nothing so much as the quiet and studious moral life in which her earlier girlhood had been passed, might possibly be made the pretext for future revolt. The Lord Guildford Dudley and Lady Jane were, consequently, warned that the day was fixed for their execution. Subsequently the queen bestowed the cruel mercy of a reprieve for three days, on the plea that she did not wish, while inflicting bodily death on Jane, to peril her eternal salvation. The unhappy lady was, therefore, during the short remnant of her life importuned and annoyed by catholic priests, who were sent by the queen to endeavour to convert her to their faith. But she skilfully and coolly used all the arguments then in use to defend the reformed faith, and even wrote a Greek letter to her sister, adjuring her to persevere in the true faith, whatever perils might environ her.

It was at first intended to behead both the prisoners at the same time and on the same scaffold. On reflection, motives of policy caused the queen to alter this determination; and it was ordered that Lord Guildford should first be executed on Tower-hill, and the lady Jane shortly afterwards within the precincts of the Tower, where she was confined.

On the morning appointed for this double murder, Lord Guildford sent to his young and unfortunate wife, and requested an interview to take an earthly farewell; but Jane with a more masculine and self-possessed prudence, declined it, on the ground that their approaching fate required the full attention of each, and that their brief and bloody separation on earth would be followed by an eternal union. From her prison window the lady Jane saw her youthful husband led out to execution, and shortly afterwards saw his headless body brought back in a common cart. Even this sad spectacle, instead of shaking her firmness, did but the more confirm and strengthen a constancy which was founded not upon mere constitution, but upon long, serious, and healthy study.

Her own dread hour had at length arrived, and Sir John Sage, the constable of the Tower, on summoning her to the scaffold, begged her to bestow some gift upon him which he might keep as a perpetual memorial of

her. She gave him her tablets in which, on seeing the dead body of her husband, she had written a sentence in Greek, Latin, and English, to the effect that though human justice was against her husband's body, the divine mercy would be favourable to his soul; that, for herself, if her fault deserved punishment, her youth, at least, and her imprudence, were worthy of excuse, and that she trusted for favour to God and to posterity.

On the scaffold she blamed herself not for ever having wished for the crown, but for not having firmly refused to act upon the wishes of others in reaching at it. She confessed herself worthy of death, and being disrobed by her female attendants, calmly and unshrinkingly submitted herself to her fatal doom.

The duke of Suffolk and Lord Thomas Gray were shortly afterwards executed for their share in Wyatt's revolt. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was tried in Guildhall for the same offence, but there being little or no evidence against him, his eloquent and acute defence led the jury to acquit him. With an arbitrary and insolent stretch of prerogative that now seems almost incredible, Mary, enraged at the acquittal, not only recommitted Sir Nicholas to the Tower, where she kept him for a considerable time, but she even had the jury sent to prison, and fined from one to two thousand pounds each! The end she had in view in this abominably tyrannous conduct, however, was fully achieved. Thenceforth jurors were little prone to acquit the unhappy gentlemen who, no matter how loosely, were charged with participation in the affair of Wyatt. Many were condemned merely in consequence of the terrors of their jurors, and among them was Sir John Throgmorton, brother to Sir Nicholas. Arrests took place every day, the Tower and other places of confinement were filled with nobles and gentlemen, whose offence was that they chanced to be popular; the affection of the people being a deadly offence to the queen, who felt that she was loathed by them, and who felt so little secure against a new out-break, that she sent out commissioners to disarm them, and lay up the seized arms in her strong-holds.

In the midst of this gloomy state of things, the parliament was called upon to invest the queen with the power which had formerly been granted to her father, of disposing of the crown at her decease. Gardiner took care to dwell upon the precedent afforded by the power given to Henry VIII., and he had little fear of success, because, independent of the general terror caused by the queen's merciless and sanguinary proceedings, the good-will of numerous members of parliament had been purchased by the distribution of four hundred thousand crowns, which the emperor had sent over for that purpose.

But neither terror nor purchased complaisance could blind the house to the facts, that the queen detested Elizabeth, and that the legitimacy of the queen must imply the bastardy of Elizabeth. The manner, too, in which Gardiner in the course of his speech avoided mentioning Elizabeth, excepting merely as "the lady Elizabeth," and without styling her the queen's sister, confirmed the suspicion that, once invested with the power which she now claimed, the queen would declare Elizabeth illegitimate, and by making a will bequeathing the throne to Philip, hand over the nation to all that Spanish tyranny of which such terrible anticipations had been and still were entertained.

As if to strengthen all other grounds of suspicion of Mary's intention, the hirelings and parasites of Philip were just now, as zealously as imprudently, busy in dwelling upon Philip's descent from the house of Lancaster, and representing him—taking Elizabeth's bastardy as a matter of course—as the next heir to Mary by right of descent.

Great, then, as, from fear or favour, was the desire of the whole parliament to gratify the queen, the determination not to throw the nation bound and blindfolded into the hands of the Spaniard was still greater. They

not only refused to pass the bill to give Mary the power to will away the throne, but when another bill was introduced to make it treasonable to imagine or attempt the death of the queen's husband while she lived, they coolly laid it aside; and that Philip might not be led to complete the mar riage by any lingering hope of possessing any authority in the nation which was unhappy enough to have Mary for its queen, the house passed a law enacting, "That her majesty, as their only queen, should solely and as a sole queen enjoy the crown and sovereignty of her realms, with all the pre-eminences, dignities, and rights thereto belonging, in as large and ample a manner after her marriage as before, without any title or claim accruing to the prince of Spain, either as tenant by courtesy of the realm or by any other means."

Having thus, as far as was in their power, limited and discouraged the dangerous ambition of the cruel and bigoted Philip, the parliament passed the ratification of the articles of marriage, which, indeed, were drawn so favourably to England, that no reasonable objection could have been made to them.

As nothing more could be extorted or bribed from parliament with respect to the queen's marriage, its attention was now directed to matters connected with religion. The bishopric of Durham, which had been divided in the reign of Edward, and which by an arbitrary edict of the queen had already been re-conferred upon Tonstal, was now re-erected by act of parliament. Some bills were also introduced for revising the laws against Lollardy, erroneous preaching, and heresy in general, and for the suppression of books containing heterodox opinions. But here again, to its credit, the parliament was both discriminating and firm; the bills were thrown out; and the queen perceiving that neither Philip's gold nor the terrors of her more sanguinary conduct could make this parliament, at least, sufficiently pliant and slavish for her purposes, she suddenly and sullenly dissolved it.

CHAPTER XLV.

THE REIGN OF MARY (CONTINUED).

Mary's age, and some consciousness, perhaps, of the addition made by her fearful temper to the natural homeliness of her features, had tended to make the acquisition of a young and illustrious husband all the more eagerly desired, for its very improbability; and though she had seen only the portrait of her future husband, she had contrived to become so enamoured of him, that when the preliminaries of the marriage were all arranged, and the arrival of the prince was hourly expected, every delay and every obstacle irritated her almost to phrenzy. Though as a matter of ambition Philip was very desirous of the match, as a simple matter of love, he was, at the very least, indifferent; and even the proverbial hauteur and solemnity of the Spanish character could not sufficiently account for the cold neglect which caused him to forbear from even favouring his future wife and queen with a letter, to account for delays which, in spite of her doting fondness, Mary could not but believe that the prince might easily have put an end to had his impatience been at all equal to her own. From blaming Philip, the impatient fondness so rare as well as so unbecoming at her advanced period of life, caused her to turn her resentment against her subjects, to whose opposition she chose to impute that indifference on the part of the prince, which really arose from dislike of her repulsive and prematurely aged person. A circumstance now occurred which greatly increased the queen's anger against her subjects, and which probably, in so sullen and resentful a nature as hers, did much to fan into a flame that

fierce bigotry which subsequently lighted the fires of persecution in every county in England, and left scarcely a village without its martyr and its mourning. A squadron had been fitted out, and the command was given to Lord Effingham, to convoy the prince to England; but so unpopular was the service, and such strong symptoms appeared of a determined spirit of mutiny among the sailors, that Lord Effingham frankly informed the queen that he did not think the prince would be safe in their hands, and the squadron was at once disbanded. But this measure, though indispensably necessary under the circumstances, brought no peace to the mind of the queen, for she now dreaded not merely the inevitable dangers of the sea, but also that her husband should be intercepted by the French fleet. The slightest rumour so heightened her self-torturing, that she was frequently thrown into convulsions; and not merely was her bodily health affected in the most injurious degree, but even her mind began to be affected to a very perceptible extent. Hypochondriac and pitiably nervous, she became painfully conscious of her want of beauty; though, with the usual self-flattery, she ascribed the repulsive aspect presented to her by her unflattering mirror wholly to her recent sufferings. From being frantically impatient for the arrival of Philip, the unhappy queen now became desponding, and dreaded lest on his arrival he should find her displeasing.

At length the object of so many hopes and fears arrived; the marriage was publicly and with great pomp performed at Winchester; and when Philip had made a public entry into London, and dazzled the eyes of the gazers with the immense riches he had brought over, Mary hurried him away to the comparative seclusion of Windsor. This seclusion admirably suited the prince, whose behaviour, from the day of his arrival, was as well calculated as though it had been purposely intended, to confirm all the unfavourable opinions that had been formed of him. In his manner he was distant, not with shyness but with overweening disdain; and the bravest and wisest of the oldest nobility of England had the mortification to see him pass them without manifesting by glance, word, or gesture, that he was conscious of their respect, salutations, or even their presence. The unavoidably wearisome etiquette of court was now so much increased by Spanish formalities, that both Philip and Mary may almost be said to have been inaccessible. This circumstance, however disgusting to subjects, was in the highest degree pleasing to the queen: having at length possessed herself of her husband, she was unwilling that any one should share his company with her for a moment. More like a love-sick girl than a hard-featured and hard-hearted woman of forty, she could not bear the prince to be out of her sight; his shortest absence annoyed her, and if he showed the commonest courtesy to any of the court ladies, her jealousy was instantly shown to him, and her resentment to the fair who had been so unfortunate as to be honoured with his civility.

The womanly observation of Mary soon convinced her that the only way to Philip's heart was to gratify his ambition; and she was abundantly ready to purchase his love, or the semblance of it, even at the price of the total sacrifice of the liberties and interests of the whole English people. By means of Gardiner she used both fear and hope, both power and gold, to get members returned in her entire interests to a new parliament which she now summoned; and the returns were such as to promise that, in the existing temper of the nation, which had not yet forgotten the sanguinary punishment of the revolt under Wyatt, she might safely make her next great onward movement towards the entire restoration of catholicism and the establishment of her own absolute power.

Cardinal Pole, who was now in Flanders, invested with the office of legate, only awaited the removal of the attainder passed against him in the reign of Henry VIII. The parliament readily passed an act for that

purpose, and the legate immediately came to England, when, after waiting on Philip and Mary, he presented himself to parliament, and formally invited the English nation to reconcile itself to the holy see from which, said the legate, it had been so long and so unhappily separated.

The well-trained parliament readily acknowledged and professed to deplore the defection of England, and presented an address to Philip and Mary, entreating them, as being uninfected by the general guilt, to intercede with the holy father for their forgiveness, and at the same time declared their intention to repeal all laws that were prejudicial to the church of Rome. The legate readily gave absolution to the parliament and people of England, and received them into the communion of Rome; and Pope Julius III., with grave and bitter mockery, observed, when the formal thanks of the nation were conveyed to him, that the English had a strange notion of things thus to thank him for doing what he ought, in fact, to thank them for letting him do.

It must not be supposed that though the nobility and gentry in parliament assembled thus readily and crouchingly laid England once again at the feet of the Roman pontiff, that they were prepared fully to undo all that Henry had done. Indifferent as to the mode of faith prescribed to the multitude, they had not an objection to make this sudden and sweeping re-transfer of the spiritual authority over England. But before they would consent to that transfer of spiritual authority, they obtained from Rome, as well as from the queen, the most positive assurances that the church property, snatched from the church and divided among laymen by Henry, should not be interfered with, but should remain undisturbed in the hands of its lay possessors. The parliament, also, in the very act by which it restored the pope's spiritual authority, enacted that all marriages contracted during the English separation from Rome should remain valid, and also inserted a clause which secured all holders of church lands in their possessions; and the convocation presented a petition to the pope to the same effect, to which petition the legate gave an affirmative answer. Bigoted and arbitrary as Mary confessedly was, it appeared that she could not fully restore, even temporarily, the power of Rome.

The sentence had irrevocably gone forth against that grasping and greedy despotism; and though the accidental occurrence of a fiercely and coldly cruel bigot, in the person of Mary, being seated upon the throne gave back for a time to Rome the spiritual jurisdiction, and the power to dictate and tyrannize in spiritual affairs, all the power and zeal of that bigot could not re-possess the church of the lands which had become lay property. In the first instance, indeed, Rome hoped, by forgiving the past fruits of the the lands, to be able to resume the lands for the future; but when Pole arrived in England he received information, amply confirmed by his own observations, which induced him without further struggle to agree to the formal and complete settlement of the lands, of which we have above given an account.

Perhaps no greater misfortune could have occurred to England than this very cession in form, by the pope, of the right of the laity to the lands of which they had possessed themselves at the expense of the church. Had Rome attempted to resume the solid property, as well as the spiritual rights, of the church, considerations of interest in the former would have caused the nobility and gentry to hesitate about surrendering the latter; but having secured their own property, the great were easily induced to hand over the bulk of the people to a spiritual tyranny which they flattered themselves that they would not suffer from. The vile old laws against heresy, which the former parliament had honestly and indignantly rejected, were now re-enacted; statutes were passed for punishing seditious rumours," and it was made treason to imagine or to attempt the life

of Philip during that of the queen, which, also, the former parliament had refused.

But, amidst all this disgusting sycophancy, even this complaisant parliament had still some English sense of reserve, and resisted every attempt of the queen to get her husband declared presumptive heir to the crown, entrusted with the administration, or even honoured with a coronation. The same anti-Spanish feeling which caused the firmness of parliament on those points, also caused it to refuse all subsidy in support of the emperor, in the war which he was still carrying on against France. These very plain indications of the feelings of the nation towards himself personally caused Philip, not indeed to lay aside his morose and impolitic hauteur, for that was part and parcel of his nature, and as inseparable from his existence as the mere act of breathing, but to endeavour to diminish his unpopularity by procuring the release of several distinguished prisoners, confined either for actual offence against the court, or for the *quasi* offence of being agreeable to the people. The most illustrious of these prisoners was the lady Elizabeth; and nothing that Philip could have done could have been more pleasing to the nation than his releasing that princess, and protecting her from the petty but no less annoying spitefulness of her sister.

About the same time, Philip's politic intervention also gave liberty to the lord Henry Dudley, Sir George Harper, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, Sir Edmund Warner, Sir William St. Loe, and Sir Nicholas Arnold, together with Harrington and Tremaine. The earl of Devonshire also was released from Fotheringay castle, and allowed to go abroad, but he only reached Padua when he was poisoned, and the popular rumour and belief ascribed the murder to the Imperialists.

Baffled in her endeavours to get her husband declared her heir presumptive, the queen became more than ever anxious for the honours of maternity, of the approach of which she at length imagined that she felt the symptoms. She was publicly declared to be pregnant, and Bonner, bishop of London, ordered public prayers to be put up, that the young prince—for the catholics chose to consider not merely the pregnancy of the queen, but even the sex of the child a matter perfectly settled!—might be beautiful, strong, and witty. The people in general, however, manifested a provoking incredulity even as to the pregnancy of the queen, whose age and haggard aspect certainly promised no very numerous offspring; and the people's incredulity was shortly afterwards justified, it proving that the queen had been mistaken by the incipient symptoms of dropsy. To the last possible moment, however, Philip and his friends concealed the truth, and Philip was thus enabled to get himself appointed protector during the minority, should the child survive and the queen die. Finding that this was the utmost concession that could at present be wrung from the parliament, and trusting that it might by good management be made productive of more at some future time, the queen now dissolved the parliament.

A. D. 1555.—The dissolution of parliament was marked by an occurrence which of itself would be sufficient to indicate the despotic character of the times. Some members of the commons' house, unwilling to agree to the slavish complaisance commonly shown by the majority, and yet, as a minority, quite unable to stem the tide, came to the resolution to secede from their attendance. No sooner was the parliament dissolved than these members were indicted in the king's bench. Six of them, terrified at the mere thought of a contest with the powerful and vindictive queen, made the requisite submissions and obtained pardon; and the remainder exercised their right of traverse, thereby so long postponing the trial that the queen's death put an end to the affair altogether. Gardiner's success in bringing about the Spanish match to which the nation had been so

averse, and the tact and zeal for the queen's service which he had shown in his dexterous management of the house of commons, made him now more than ever a weighty authority, not only with the queen but with the catholic party in general. It is singular enough, as Hume well remarks, that though this very learned prelate was far less zealous upon points of theology than Cardinal Pole, yet, while the mild temper of the latter allayed and chastened his tendency towards bigotry, the sterner and hardier character of the former caused him to look upon the free judgment of the commonality as a presumption which it behoved the rulers of the land to put down, even by the severest and most unsparing resort to persecution. For some time it was doubtful whether the milder course, recommended as politic by Pole, or the sterner course, advocated as essentially necessary by Gardiner, would prevail. But Gardiner had the great advantage of advocating the system which was the most in accordance with the cruel and bigoted temper of both Philip and Mary; and Pole had the mortification not only of being vanquished by his opponent, but also of seeing full and terrible license and freedom given to the hitherto partially restrained demons of persecution.

Having determined the queen and court to a course of severity, Gardiner had no difficulty in persuading them that it was politic to select the first victims from among the eminent for learning or authority, or both; and Rogers, prebendary of St. Paul's, a man still more remarkable for virtue and learning than for his eminence in the church and in the reformed party, had the melancholy honour of being singled out as the first victim. As instances of conversion were even more sought after by Gardiner than punishment, there was probably yet another reason why Rogers was selected for the first prosecution. He had a wife and ten children, and was remarkable for his affection both as a father and a husband; and there was every probability that tenderness for them might lead him to avoid, by apostacy, a danger which otherwise he might have been expected to brave. But if Gardiner really reasoned thus, he was greatly mistaken. Rogers not only refused to recant an iota of his opinions at what was called his trial, but even after the fatal sentence of burning was passed upon him he still preserved such an equable frame of mind, that when the fatal hour arrived his jailers actually had to awaken him from a sweet sound sleep to proceed to the stake. Such courage might, one would suppose, have disarmed even the wrath of bigotry; but Gardiner, when the condemned gentleman asked permission to have a parting interview with his wife, cruelly and scoffingly replied, that Rogers, being a priest, could not possibly have a wife! This unfortunate and learned divine was burned at Smithfield, and the flames that consumed him may be said to have kindled a vast and moving pile that swallowed up sufferers of both sexes, and of nearly all ages in every county of England.

Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, was tried at the same time with Rogers, and was also condemned to the stake, but, with a refinement upon cruelty, he was not executed at Smithfield, though tried in London, but sent for that purpose into his own diocese, that his agonies and death in the midst of the very scene of his labours of piety and usefulness might the more effectually strike terror into the hearts of his flock. Hooper, however, turned what his enemies intended for an aggravation of his fate into a consolation, and an opportunity of giving to those whom he had long and faithfully taught, a parting proof of the sincerity of his teachings, and of the efficacy of genuine religion to uphold its sincere believers, even under the most terrible agonies that ruthless and mistaken man, in his pride of fierceness, can inflict upon his fellow worm. And terrible, even beyond the usual terrors of these abominable scenes, were the tortures of the martyred Hooper. The faggots provided for his execution were too green to kindle rapidly, and, a high wind blowing at the time, the flames played

around his lower limbs without being able to fasten upon the vital parts. One of his hands dropped off, and with the other he continued to beat his breast, praying to heaven and exhorting the pitying spectators, until his swollen tongue could no longer perform its office; and it was three quarters of an hour before his tortures were at an end. Of the courage and sincerity of Hooper there is striking evidence in the fact that the queen's pardon was placed before him on a stool after he was tied to the stake, but he ordered it to be removed, preferring the direst torture with sincerity, to safety with apostacy.

Sanders, burned at Coventry, also had the queen's pardon offered to him, and he also rejected it, embracing the stake and exclaiming, "We have the cross of Christ! Welcome everlasting life." Taylor, the clergyman of Hadley, in Hertfordshire, was burned at that place, in the presence of his parishioners. When tied to the stake he began to pray in English, which so enraged his guards, that, bidding him speak Latin, they struck him so violently on the head with their halberts, that he died on the instant, and was spared the lingering agonies prepared for him.

Philpot, archdeacon of Winchester, had very greatly distinguished himself by his zeal for protestantism. On one occasion, being engaged in a controversy with an Arian, the zeal of the archdeacon so far got the ascendancy over his good manners, that he actually spat in the Arian's face. Subsequently, and when he might have been expected to have repented on reflection of what he had done in the heat of passion, he published a formal justification of his conduct, in which he said that he felt bound to give that strong proof of the detestation of his opponent's blasphemy. So impetuous a man was not likely to escape notice in the persecution that now raged, and he was brought to trial for heresy and burned to death in Smithfield.

If Gardiner was the person to whom the persecution chiefly owed its commencement, it was Bonner, bishop of London, who carried it on with the coarsest and most unrelenting barbarity. Apart from all mere bigotry, this singularly brutal man appeared to derive positive sensual gratification from the act of inflicting torture. He occasionally, when he had prisoners under examination who did not answer to his satisfaction, would have them stripped and flog them with his own hand. Nor was this his worst brutality. An unfortunate weaver, on one occasion, refused to recant, when Bonner endeavoured to persuade him, and, as is veraciously recorded, this disgrace of his sacred profession first tore the unfortunate man's beard out by the root, and then held his hand in the flame of a lamp until the sinews burst, by way of giving him, as he said, some notion of what burning really was like!

When we say that this horrible system of persecution and cruelty endured for three years, and that in that time two hundred and twenty-seven persons are known to have suffered—while probably many more were similarly butchered of whom we have no account—while that, besides men of all ranks, from bishops to day-labourers, fifty-five women and four *children* thus perished, it must be obvious that a detailed account of this terrible season of cruelty would be disgusting, even were it not quite impracticable. We shall, therefore, add but a few more cases, and then leave a subject which cannot be treated of even at this distance of time without feelings of disgust and horror.

Ferrar, bishop of St. David's, in Wales, being condemned to death as a heretic, appealed to Cardinal Pole; but his appeal was wholly unattended to, and the unfortunate bishop was burned in his own diocese.

There yet remained two still more illustrious victims to be immolated. Ridley, formerly bishop of London, and Latimer, formerly bishop of Worcester, had long been celebrated for both the zeal and efficiency of their support of the cause of the reformation. In the preaching of both there

was a certain nervous homeliness, which made their eloquence especially effective upon the minds and hearts of the lower orders, and on that very account these two prelates were more formidable to the Romanists than they would have been had they affected a more learned and chastened style. That two such capital enemies of Romanism—one of whom moreover, had even for some time been possessed of Bonner's own see—should escape, could not be expected. They were tried and condemned, and both burned at the same stake at Oxford. Both died with courage and a calm constancy not to be surpassed. Even when they were already tied to the stake, and the revolting tragedy commenced, Latimer cheerfully called out, "Be of good courage, brother Ridley, we shall this day kindle such a torch in England, as, I trust in God, shall never be extinguished." Latimer, who was very aged, suffered but little, being very early killed by the explosion of some gunpowder which the executioner had mercifully provided for that purpose; but Ridley was seen to be alive some time after he was surrounded by flames.

As neither age nor youth, neither learning nor courage, could make any impression upon the flinty heart of Bonner, so neither could even the most heroic proof of filial piety. A young lad, named Hunter, who was only in his nineteenth year, suffered himself, with the imprudence common to youth, to be drawn into a religious argument with a priest, in the course of which argument he had the farther imprudence to deny the real presence. Subsequently he began to apprehend the danger of what he had done, and absconded lest any treachery on the part of the priest should involve him in punishment. The priest, as the young man had feared, did give information, and Bonner, learning that the youth had absconded, caused his father to be seized, and not only treated him with great immediate severity, but threatened him with still worse future treatment. The youth no sooner heard of the danger and trouble to which he had unintentionally exposed his father, than he delivered himself up. To a generous man this conduct would have been decisive as to the propriety of overlooking the lad's speculative error or boldness; but Bonner knew no remorse, and the youth was mercilessly committed to the flames.

A still more disgraceful and barbarous incident occurred in Guernsey. A wretched woman in that island was condemned to the stake, and was, when led to punishment, far advanced in pregnancy. The ineffable pangs inflicted upon her produced labour, and one of the guards snatched the new-born infant from the flames. A brutal and thoroughly ignorant magistrate who was present ordered the helpless little innocent to be thrown back again, "being determined that nothing should survive which sprung from so heretical and obstinate a parent." Setting aside the abhorrent and almost incredible offence against humanity committed by this detestable magistrate, he was, even in the rigid interpretation of the law, a murderer, and ought to have been executed as one; for, whatever the offence of the wretched mother, the child clearly was not contemplated in the sentence passed upon her. But, alas! the spirit of bigotry tramples alike upon the laws of nature and of man; and it is probable that this detestable murderer, so far from receiving merited punishment for his brutality, might have been even applauded for his "zeal."

As though the national dread and detestation of the Spanish alliance had not already been but too abundantly justified by the event, spies were sent out in every direction, and a commission was appointed for inquiring into and punishing all spiritual and even some civil crimes; and two very brief extracts from the commission and instructions will show that in object, powers, and process, the commissioners were, only under another name, inquisitors, and their spies and informers officials of the inquisition. The commission said, that "Since many false rumours were published among the subjects, and many heretical opinions were also spread among

them, the commissioners were to inquire into these either by presentments, by witnesses, or any other political way they could devise, and to search after all heresies, the bringers in, the sellers, the readers of all heretical books; to examine and punish all misbehaviours or negligences in any church or chapel; to try all priests that did not preach the sacrament of the altar; all persons that did not hear mass, or go to their parish church to service; that would not go in processions or did not take holy bread or holy water; and if they found any that did obstinately persist in such heresies, they were to put them into the hands of their ordinaries, to be punished according to the spiritual laws; giving the commissioners full power to proceed as their discretion and *consciences* should direct them, and to use all such means as they would *invent* for the searching of the premises, empowering them, also, to call before them such witnesses as they pleased, and to *force them to make oath of such things as might discover what they sought after.*" This new commission was, in fact, an English inquisition; and the following extract from Hume abundantly shows the determination that that inquisition should not want for *officials* and *familiars.*

"To bring the method of proceeding in England still nearer to the practice of the inquisition, letters were written to Lord North and others, enjoining them 'to put to the torture' such obstinate persons as would not confess, and there to order them at their discretion.

"Secret spies, also, and informers were employed, according to the practice of that iniquitous tribunal. Instructions were given to the justices of the peace that they should 'call *secretly* before them one or two honest persons within their limits, or more, at their discretion, and command them, by oath or otherwise, that they shall *secretly learn and search out* such persons as shall evil behave themselves in the church, or idly, or shall despise, openly by words, the king's or queen's proceedings, or go about to make any commotion, or tell any seditious tales or news.' And also that the same persons, so to be appointed, shall declare to the same justices of the peace the ill behaviour of lewd disorderly persons, whether it shall be for using unlawful games or any such other light behaviour of such suspected persons; and that the same information shall be given *secretly* to the justices, and the same justices shall call such accused persons before them and examine them, without declaring by whom they were accused."

This precious commission also had power to execute by martial law not only the putters forth of all heretical, treasonable, and seditious books and writings, but also all "whosoever had any of these books and did not presently burn them, without reading them or showing them to any other person." Did not the whole tenor of this portion of our history forbid all touch of humour, one would be strongly tempted to inquire how a man was possibly to know the character of books coming to him by gift or inheritance, for instance, without either reading them himself or showing them to some one else! But as bigotry cannot feel, so neither will it condescend to reason.

While Philip and Mary were thus exhibiting an evil industry and zeal to merit the reconcilement of the kingdom to Rome, Paul IV., who now filled the papal throne, took advantage of Mary's bigotry to assume the right of *conferring* upon Mary the kingdom of Ireland, which she already possessed *de facto et de jure* as part and parcel of the English sovereignty, and to insist upon the restoration to Rome of certain lands and money! Several of the council, probably fearing that by degrees Rome would demand back all the church property, pointed out the great danger of impoverishing the kingdom, and but that death had deprived Mary of the shrewd judgment of Gardiner, such concessions would probably not have been made to the grasping spirit of Rome. But Mary replied to all objections by saying that she preferred the salvation of her own soul to ten such

kingdoms as England; and Heath, archbishop of Canterbury, who had succeeded Gardiner in the possession of the great seal, encouraged her in that feeling. A bill was accordingly presented to parliament for restoring to the church the tenths, first fruits, and all impropriations which remained in the hands of the queen. At first sight it might seem that parliament had little cause or right to interfere in a matter which, as far as the terms of the bill went, concerned only the queen herself. But the lay possessors of church lands naturally enough considered that subjects would scarcely be spared after the sovereign had been mulcted. Moreover, while some, probably a great number, of the members were chiefly moved by this consideration, all began to be both terrified and disgusted by the cruel executions which had disgraced the whole nation. A steady opposition consequently arose; and when the government applied for a subsidy for two years and for two-fifteenths, the latter were refused, and the opposition, with equal bitterness and justice, gave as the reason of this refusal, that while the crown was wilfully divesting itself of revenue in behalf of Rome, it was quite useless to bestow wealth upon it. The dissatisfaction of the parliament was still farther evidenced by the rejection of two bills, enacting penalties against such exiles as should fail to return within a certain time, and for incapacitating for the office of justice of the peace such magistrates as were remiss in the prosecution of heretics. This fresh and pointed proof of the displeasure of the parliament determined the queen to dissolve it. But the dissolution of the parliament did not diminish the pecuniary embarrassment of the queen. Her husband had now been several months with his father in Flanders; and the very little of his correspondence with which he favoured her chiefly consisted of demands for money. Stern and unfeeling as she was to every one else, the infatuated queen was passionately attached to the husband who certainly took no pains to conceal his dislike of her; and as the parliament, previous to its dissolution, had granted her but a scanty supply, she was led, by her anxiety to meet her husband's demands, to extort money from her subjects in a manner the most unjustifiable. From each of one thousand persons, of whose personal attachment she affected to be quite certain, she demanded a *loan* of 60*l.*; and even this large sum being inadequate to her wants, she demanded a farther general loan from all persons possessing twenty pounds a year and upwards; a measure which greatly distressed the smaller gentry. Many of them were obliged by her inroads upon their purses to discharge some of their servants, and as these men suddenly thrown upon the world became troublesome, the queen issued a proclamation to compel their former employers to take them back again! Upon seven thousand yeomen who had not as yet contributed, she levied sixty thousand marks, and from the merchants she obtained the sum of six and thirty thousand pounds. She also extorted money by the most tyrannous interference with trade, as regarded both the foreign and native merchants; yet after all this shameless extortion she was so poor, that she offered, and in vain, so bad was her credit, fourteen per cent. for a loan of 30,000*l.* Not even that high rate of interest could induce the merchants of Antwerp, to whom she offered it, to lend her the money, until by menaces she had induced her good city of London to be security for her! Who would imagine that we are writing of the self-same nation that so shortly afterwards warred even to the death with Charles I. for the comparatively trifling matter of the ship money?

The poverty which alone had induced Philip to correspond with her was now terminated, the emperor Charles the Fifth, that prince's father, resigning to him all his wealth and dominion, and retiring to a monastery in Spain. A singular anecdote is told of the abdicated monarch. He spent much of his time in the constructing of watches, and finding it impossible to make them go exactly alike, he remarked that he had indeed been fool-

ish to expect that he could compel that uniformity in minds which he could not achieve even in mere machines! The reflection thus produced is said even to have given him some leaning towards those theological opinions of which he and his son had been the most brutal and ruthless persecutors.

A. D. 1556.—Cranmer, though during the whole of this reign he had been left unnoticed in confinement, was not forgotten by the vindictive queen. She was daily more and more exacerbated in her naturally wretched temper by the grief caused by the contemptuous neglect of her husband. Her private hours were spent in tears and complaints; and that misery which usually softens even the most rugged nature had in her case only the effect of making her still more ruthless and unsparing.

Cranmer, though he had during part of Henry's reign warded off that monarch's rage from Mary, was very much hated by her for the part he had taken in bringing about the divorce of her mother, and she was not only resolved to punish him, but also to make his death as agonising as possible. For the part he had taken in the opposition to her ascending the throne she could easily have had him beheaded, but nothing short of the flames seemed to her to be a sufficiently dreadful punishment for him. She caused the pope to cite him to Rome, there to take his trial for heresy. Being a close prisoner in the Tower, the unfortunate prelate perforce neglected the citation, and he was condemned *par contumace*, and sentenced to the stake. The next step was to degrade him from his sacred office; and Bonner, who, with Thirleby, bishop of Ely, was entrusted with this task, performed it with all the insolent and triumphant brutality consonant with his nature. Firmly believing that Cranmer's eternal as well as earthly punishment was assured, the queen was not yet contented; she would fain deprive him in his last hours even of human sympathy, and the credit attached to consistency and fidelity to the cause he had embraced. Persons were employed to persuade him that the door of mercy was still open to him, and that he, who was so well qualified to be of wide and permanent service to mankind, was in duty bound to save himself by a seeming compliance with the opinions of the queen. The fear of death, and the strong urgings of higher motives, induced Cranmer to comply, and he agreed to subscribe to the doctrines of the real presence and the papal supremacy. Shallow writers have blamed Cranmer for this compliance; none will do so who consider "how fearfully and how wonderfully we are made"—in mind as well as in body; how many and urgent were the motives to this weakness, how much his mind was shaken by long peril and imprisonment, and, above all, who remember and reflect how nobly he subsequently shook off all earthly motives "like dew drops from the lion's mane," and with what calm and holy serenity he endured the last dread tortures.

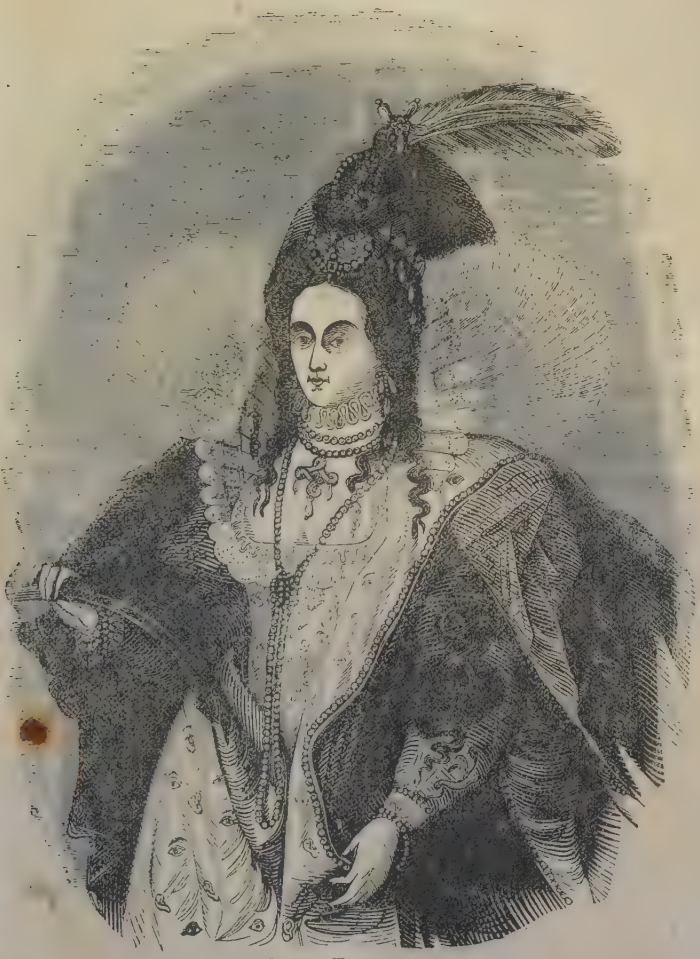
Having induced Cranmer privately to sign his recantation, the queen now demanded that he should complete the wretched price of his safety by publicly making his recantation at St. Paul's before the whole people. Even this would not have saved Cranmer. But, either from his own judgment, or from the warning of some secret friend, Cranmer perceived that it was intended to send him to execution the moment that he should thus have completed and published his degradation. All his former high and courageous spirit was now again aroused within him; and he not only refused to comply with this new demand, but openly and boldly said that the only passage in his life of which he deeply and painfully repented was, that recantation which, in a moment of natural weakness, he already had been induced to make. He now, he said, most sincerely repented and disavowed that recantation, and inasmuch as his hand had offended in signing it, so should his hand first suffer the doom which only that single weakness and insincerity had made him deserving. The rage of the court and its sycophants at hearing a public avowal so different from that which

they expected, scarcely left them as much decency of patience as would allow them to hear him to the end of his discourse; and the instant that he ceased to speak he was led away to the stake.

True to his promise, Cranmer when the faggots were lighted held out his hand into the rising flames until it was consumed, repeatedly exclaiming as he did so, "*This unworthy hand!*" "*This hand has offended!*" The fierce flames, as they reached his body, were not able to subdue the sublime serenity to which he had wrought his christian courage and endurance, and as long as his countenance was visible to the appalled bystanders, it wore the character not of agony but of a holy sacrifice, not of despair but of an assured and eternal hope. It is said by some Protestant writers of the time, that when the sad scene was at an end, his heart was found entire and uninjured; but probably this assertion took its rise in the singular constancy and calmness with which the martyr died. Cardinal Pole, on the death of Cranmer, was made archbishop of Canterbury. But though this ecclesiastic was a man of great humanity as well as of great ability, and though he was sincerely anxious to serve the great interests of religion not by ensnaring and destroying the unhappy and ignorant laity, but by elevating the clergy in the moral and intellectual scale, to render them more efficient in their awfully important service, there were circumstances which made his power far inferior to his will. He was personally disliked at Rome, where his tolerance, his learning, and his addiction to studious retirement, had caused him to be suspected of, at least, a leaning to the new doctrines.

A. D. 1557.—In the midst of Mary's fierce persecutions of her protestant subjects, she was self-tortured beyond all that she had it in her power to inflict on others, and might have asked, in the words of the dying Inca to his complaining soldiers, "Think you that *I*, then, am on a bed of roses?" War raged between France and Spain, and next to her desire firmly to re-establish catholicism in England, was her desire to lavish the blood and treasures of her people on the side of Spain. Some opposition being made Philip visited London, and the queen's zeal in his cause was increased. instead of being, as in the case of a nobler spirit it would have been, utterly destroyed, by his sullen declaration, that if England did not join him against France, he would see England no more. Even this, however much it affected the queen, did not bear down the opposition to a war which, as the clearer-headed members discerned, would be intolerably expensive in any case, and, if successful, would tend to make England a mere dependency of Spain. Under the circumstances, a true English patriot, indeed, must have wished to see Spain humbled, not exalted; crippled in its finances, not enriched. It unfortunately happened, however, that an attempt was made to seize Scarborough, and Stafford and his fellows in this attempt confessed that they were incited to it by Henry of France. This declaration called up all the dominant national antipathy to France; the prudence of the opposition was at once laid asleep; war was declared, and every preparation that the wretched financial state of England would permit, was made for carrying it on with vigour. By dint of a renewal of the most shameless and excessive extortion, the queen contrived to raise and equip an army of ten thousand men, who were sent to Flanders under the earl of Pembroke. To prevent disturbances at home, Mary, in obedience probably to the advice of her cold and cruel husband, caused many of the first men in England, from whom she had any reason to fear opposition, to be seized and imprisoned in places where even their nearest friends could not find them.

The details of the military affairs between France and Spain with her English auxiliaries belong to the history of France. In this place it may suffice to say, that the talents of Guise rendered all attempts useless; and and that, so far from benefiting Philip, the English lost Calais, that key to



QUEEN ELIZABETH.

France, of which England was so chary and so proud. Even the cold and unpatriotic heart of Mary was touched by this capital misfortune; and she was often heard to say, in the agonies of her uxorious grief, that, after her death "Calais" would be found visibly graven upon her broken heart. But regrets were vain, and wisdom came too late. France improved her success by stirring up the Scotch; and, with such a danger threatening her very frontier, England was obliged sullenly and silently to withdraw from an onerous warfare, which she had most unwisely entered upon.

Philip continued the war for some time after England had virtually withdrawn from it; and he was negotiating a peace and insisting upon the restoration of Calais as one of its conditions, when Mary, long labouring under a dropsy, was seized with mortal illness and died, in the year 1588, after a most wretched and mischievous reign of five years and four months. This miserable woman has been allowed the virtue of sincerity as the sole good, the one oasis in the dark desert of her character. But even this virtue must, on careful examination, be denied to her by the impartial historian. As a whole, indeed, her course is *not* marked by insincerity, But why? Her ferocity and despotism were too completely unresisted by her tame and aghast people to leave any room for the exercise of falsehood, after the very first days of her disgraceful reign. But *in* those first days, while it was yet uncertain whether she could resist the power and ability of the ambitious and unprincipled Northumberland, she proved that she could use guile where force was wanting. Her promises to the protestants were in many cases voluntary, and in all profuse and positive; yet she no sooner grasped the sceptre firmly in her hand, than she scattered her promises to the winds, and commenced that course of bigotry and cruelty which has for ever affixed to her memory the loathed name, which even yet no Englishman can pronounce without horror and disgust, of the Bloody Queen Mary.

CHAPTER XLVI.

THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH.

A. D. 1558.—So completely had the arbitrary and cruel reign of Mary disgusted her subjects, almost without distinction of rank or religious opinions, that the accession of Elizabeth was hailed as a blessing unalloyed and almost too great to have been hoped for. The parliament had been called together a few days before the death of Mary, and when Heath, as chancellor, announced that event, he was hardly allowed to conclude ere both houses burst into the joyful cry of "God save Queen Elizabeth! Long and happily may she reign!"

Deep and deadly indeed must have been the offences of the deceased queen to have rendered her death an actual subject of joy, instead of grief, to a nation proverbially so loyal and affectionate as England!

Elizabeth, when she received the news of her sister's death was at Hatfield, where she had for some time resided in studious and close retirement; for, even to the last, Mary had shown that her malignity against her younger sister had suffered no abatement, and required only the slightest occasion to burst out in fatal violence. When she had devoted a few days to the appearance of mourning, she proceeded to London and took up her abode in the Tower. The remembrance of the very different circumstances under which she had formerly visited that blood-stained fortress, when she was a prisoner, and her life in danger from the malignity of her then all-powerful sister, affected her so much, that she fell upon her knees and returned thanks anew to the Almighty for her safe deliverance from danger, which, she truly said, was scarcely inferior to that of Daniel

in the den of lions. Her immediately subsequent conduct showed that her heart was properly affected by the emotions which called forth this act of piety. She had been much injured and much insulted during the life of her sister; for such was the hateful and petty cast of Mary's mind, that there were few readier ways to win her favour than by insult or injury to the then friendless daughter of Anne Boleyn. But Elizabeth now seemed determined only to remember the past in her thankfulness for her complete and almost miraculous deliverance from danger. She allowed neither word nor glance to express resentment, even to those who had most injured her. Sir H. Bedingfield, who had for a considerable time been her host, and who had both harshly and disrespectfully caused her to feel that, though nominally his guest and ward, she was in reality his jealously-watched prisoner, might very reasonably have expected a cold if not a stern reception; but even this man she received with affability when he first presented himself, and never afterwards inflicted any severer punishment upon him than a good-humoured sarcasm. The sole case in which she manifested a feeling of dislike was that of the brutal and blood-stained Bonner, from whom, while she addressed all the other bishops with almost affectionate cordiality, she turned away with an expressive and well-warranted appearance of horror and disgust.

As soon as the necessary attention to her private affairs would allow her, the new queen sent off messengers to foreign courts to announce her sister's death and her own accession. The envoy to Philip, who at this time was in Flanders, was the lord Cobham, who was ordered to return the warmest thanks of his royal mistress for the protection he had afforded her when she so much needed it, and to express her sincere and earnest desire that their friendship might continue unbroken. The friendly earnestness of Elizabeth's message strengthened Philip in a determination he had made even during the illness of Mary, of whose early death he could not but have been expectant, and he immediately instructed his ambassador to the court of London to offer the hand of Philip to Elizabeth. Blinded by his eager desire to obtain that dominion over England which his marriage with Mary had failed to secure, Philip forgot that there were many objections to this measure; objections which he, indeed, would easily have overlooked, but which the sagacious Elizabeth could not fail to notice. As a catholic, Philip was necessarily disliked by the protestants who had so lately tasted of catholic persecution in its worst form; as a Spaniard, he was cordially detested by Englishmen of either creed. But apart from and beyond these weighty objections, which of themselves would have been fatal to his pretensions, he stood in precisely the same relationship to Elizabeth that her father had stood in to Catharine of Arragon, and in marrying Philip, Elizabeth would virtually, and in a manner which the world would surely not overlook, pronounce her mother's marriage illegal and her own birth illegitimate. This last consideration alone would have decided Elizabeth against Philip; but while in her heart she was fully and irrevocably determined never to marry him, she even thus early brought into use that duplicity for which she was afterwards as remarkable as for her higher and nobler qualities, and sent him so equivocal and undecided an answer, that, so far from despairing of success, Philip actually sent to Rome to solicit the dispensation that would be necessary.

With her characteristic prudence, Elizabeth, through her ambassador at Rome, announced her accession to the pope. That exalted personage was grieved at the early death of Mary, not only as it deprived Rome of the benefit of her bigotry, but as it made way for a princess who was already looked up to with pride and confidence by the protestants; and he suffered his double vexation to manifest itself with a very indiscreet energy. He treated Elizabeth's assumption of the crown without his

permission as being doubly wrong; wrong, as treating with disrespect the holy see, to which he still deemed England subject, and wrong, as the holy see had pronounced her birth illegitimate. This sort of conduct was by no means calculated to succeed with Elizabeth; she immediately recalled her ambassador from Rome, and only pursued her course with the more resolved and open vigour. She recalled home all who had been exiled, and set at liberty all who had been imprisoned for their religious opinions during the reign of her sister; she caused the greater part of the service to be performed in English, and she forbade the elevation of the host in her own chapel, which she set up as the standard for all other places of worship. But, always cool and cautious, Elizabeth, while she did thus much and thus judiciously to favour the reformers, did not neglect to discourage those who not only would have fain outstripped her in advancing reform, but even have inflicted upon the Romanists some of the persecutions of which they themselves had complained. On occasion of a petition being presented to her, it was said, in that partly quaint and partly argumentative style which in that age was so greatly affected, that having graciously released so many other prisoners, it was to be hoped that she would receive a petition for the release of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John. Being as yet undetermined as to the extent to which it would be desirable to permit or encourage the reading of the Scriptures, she readily replied, that previous to doing so she must consult those prisoners, and learn whether they desired their liberty. To preaching she was never a great friend; one or two preachers, she was wont to say, were enough for a whole county. And, at this early period of her reign, she deemed that the indiscreet zeal of many of the most noted of the protestant preachers was calculated to promote that very persecution of the Romanists which she was especially anxious to avoid; and she, consequently, forbade all preaching save by special license, and took care to grant licenses only to men of discretion and moderation, from whose preaching no evil was to be apprehended.

The parliament was very early employed in passing laws for the suppression of the recently erected monasteries, and restoring the alienated tenths and first fruits to the crown. Sundry other laws were passed chiefly relating to religion; but those laws will be sufficiently understood by those who have attentively accompanied us thus far, when we say, that they, substantially, abolished all that Mary had done, and restored all that she had abrogated of the laws of Edward.

The then bishops, owing everything to her sister and to catholicism, were so greatly offended by these clear indications of her intended course, that they refused to officiate at her coronation, and it was not without some difficulty that the bishop of Carlisle was at length prevailed upon to perform the ceremony.

The most prudent and effectual steps having thus been taken to secure the protestant interests without in any degree awakening or encouraging whatever there might be of protestant bigotry, and to despoil the Romanists of what they had violently acquired without driving them to desperation, the queen caused a solemn disputation to be held before Bacon, whom she had made lord keeper, between the protestant and the Romanist divines. The latter were vanquished in argument, but were too obstinate to confess it; and some of them were so refractory that it was deemed necessary to imprison them. Having been thus far triumphant, the protestants proceeded to their ultimate and most important step; and a bill was passed by which the mass was abolished, and the liturgy of King Edward re-established; and penalties were enacted against all who should either absent themselves from worship or depart from the order here laid down. Before the conclusion of the session, the parliament gave a still farther proof of its attachment to the queen,

and of its desire to aid her in her designs, by voting her a subsidy of four shillings in the pound on land, and two-and-eight-pence on goods with two fifteenths. Well knowing all the dangers of a disputed succession, the parliament at the same time petitioned her to choose a husband. But the queen, though she acknowledged that the petition was couched in terms so general and so respectful that she could not take any offence at it, protested that, always undesirous of changing her condition, she was anxious only to be the wife of England and the mother of the English, and had no higher ambition than to have for her epitaph, "Here lies Elizabeth, who lived and died a maiden queen."

A. D. 1559.—The parliament just prorogued had, as we have shown, got through a vast deal of important business in the session; but though that was the first session of a new reign, a reign, too, immediately following one in which such horrors of tyrannous cruelty had been enacted, it is to be remarked, to the praise of the moderation of both queen and parliament, that not a single bill of attainder was passed, though some attaints by former parliaments were mercifully or justly removed.

While the queen had been thus wisely busy at home, she had been no less active abroad. Sensible that her kingdom required a long season of repose to enable it to regain its power, she ordered her ambassadors, Lord Effingham and the bishop of Ely, to conclude peace with France on any terms; and peace was accordingly concluded. But as the marriage of Henry and Anne Boleyn had been concluded in open opposition to Rome, France chose to deem Elizabeth wrongfully seated upon the throne; and the duke of Guise and his brothers, seeing that Mary, queen of Scots, the wife of the dauphin, would—supposing Elizabeth out of the question—be the rightful heir, persuaded the king of France to order his son and his daughter-in-law to assume both the title and the arms of England. The death of Henry of France at a tournament not being followed by any abandonment on the part of Mary and her husband, then Francis II. of France, of this most unwarrantable and insulting assumption, Elizabeth was stung into the commencement of that deadly hatred which subsequently proved so fatal to the fairer but less prudent Mary of Scotland.

A. D. 1561.—The situation of Scotland and the circumstances which occurred there at this period will be found in all necessary detail under the proper head. It will suffice to say, here, that the theological and civil disputes that raged fiercely among the turbulent and warlike nobility of Scotland and their respective followers, plunged that country into a state of confusion, which encouraged Elizabeth in her hope of extorting from Mary, now a widow, a clear and satisfactory abandonment of her assumption; an abandonment which, indeed, had been made for her by a treaty at Edinburgh, which treaty Elizabeth now, through Throgmorton, her ambassador, demanded that Mary should ratify. But wilfulness and a certain petty womanly pique determined Mary to refuse this, although immediately on the death of her husband she had laid aside both the title and the arms of queen of England.

Mary's residence in France, meanwhile, had become very disagreeable to her from the ill-offices of the queen mother, and she resolved to comply with the invitation of the states of Scotland to return to that kingdom. She accordingly ordered her ambassador, D'Oisel, to apply to Elizabeth for a safe conduct through England; but Elizabeth, through Throgmorton, refused compliance with that request, except on condition of Mary's ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh. Mary remonstrated in severe though chastened terms, and immediately determined upon proceeding to Scotland by sea, for which purpose she embarked at Calais. Elizabeth at the same time sent out cruisers, ostensibly to pursue pirates, but, as it should seem, with the intention of seizing upon the person of Mary, who, how-

ever, passed through the English squadron in a fog, and arrived safely at Leith. But though safe, Mary was far from happy. She had loved France with even more than a native's love, and only ceased to gaze upon its receding shores when they were hidden by the darkness of night. The manners of the French were agreeable to her; she had become, as it were, "native and to the manor born," in that land of gaiety and frivolity; and all that she heard of the stern harsh bigotry of the predominant party in Scotland, led her to anticipate nothing but the most wearisome and melancholy feelings. Her youth, her beauty, her many accomplishments, and, above all, the novelty of seeing their sovereign once more among them, caused the Scots to give her a most joyful and affectionate reception. Her first measures were well calculated to confirm the favourable opinion which her people appeared to entertain. She gave, at least ostensibly, all her confidence and nearly all her attention to the leaders of the reformed party, who, indeed, had now complete power over the great mass of the Scottish people. Secretary Liddington and her brother, Lord James, whom she created earl of Murray, ably seconded her endeavours to introduce something like order into that land so long and so grievously torn by faction and strife, and as the measures taken were at once firm and conciliatory, everything seemed to promise success.

But there was, amidst all this seeming promise of better times, one fatal element which rendered her success nearly impossible. Bigotry in England was personified mildness and moderation, compared to the intense and envenomed bigotry which at that time existed in Scotland. Mary on her first entrance into Scotland had issued an order that every one should submit to the reformed religion. But she herself was still a papist; and scarcely was the first joy of her arrival subsided when the reformed preachers began to denounce her on that account. The celebration of catholic rites in her own chapel would have been sternly refused her by the zealous preachers and their zealous followers, had not the multitude been induced to side by her in that matter, for fear of her returning to France in disgust. But even that consideration did not prevent the preachers and some of their followers from proceeding to the most outrageous lengths; and this single consideration sufficed to throw the whole Scottish people into confusion and uneasiness.

Wisely chary of expense, and profoundly politic, Elizabeth saw that the bigotry of Mary's subjects would find that princess other employment than that of making any attempt to disturb the peace of England. She therefore turned her attention to improving the arts, commerce, navy, and artillery of England; and with so much judgment, and with such great as well as rapid success, that she well merited the title that was bestowed upon her, of "the restorer of naval glory and queen of the northern seas." Her spirit and prudence had naturally enough encouraged foreign princes to believe, that though she had in some sort pledged herself to a maiden life, it was not impossible to dissuade her from persevering in that resolution. The archduke Charles, second son of the emperor; Casimir, son of the elector palatine; Eric, king of Sweden; Adolph, duke of Holstein; and the earl of Arran, presumptive heir to the crown of Scotland, were among the suitors for her hand. Nor were there wanting aspirants to that high and envied honour even among her own subjects. The earl of Arundel, though old enough to be her father, and Sir William Pickering were among those who flattered themselves with hope; as was Lord Robert Dudley, a son of the ambitious duke of Northumberland, beheaded in the reign of Mary; and as the fine person and showy accomplishments of this last caused the queen to treat him with more favour and confidence than his actual talents seemed to warrant from so acute a judge of men's merits as Elizabeth, it was for some time very generally imagined that he was a favoured lover. But the queen answered all addresses with a refusal.

and yet not such a refusal as to utterly destroy that feeling of attachment which was so useful to her as a queen, and—can we doubt it?—so agreeable as well as flattering to her as a woman? But though Elizabeth appeared to be decidedly disinclined to marriage, nothing appeared to offend her more than the marriage of any who had pretensions to succeed her. A remarkable instance of this occurred in the case of the lady Catherine Gray, youngest sister of the hapless lady Jane. This lady married, in second nuptials, the earl of Hertford, son of the protector Somerset, and, the lady proving pregnant, Elizabeth confined both husband and wife in the Tower, where they remained for nine years. At the end of that time the countess died, and then the queen at length gave the persecuted earl his liberty.

A. D. 1562.—Besides all considerations of his personal and ineradicable bigotry, Philip of Spain had yet another motive for fulfilling the vow which, on escaping from a violent tempest, he had made, to do all that in him lay for the extirpation of heresy. Of that "heresy" Elizabeth, by the common consent not only of her own subjects but of the protestants of all Europe, was looked upon as the child and champion; and her rejection of Philip's hand, and her consequent baffling of all his hopes of obtaining sway over England, had excited his gloomy and vindictive nature to a fierce and personal hatred. In every negotiation, under every circumstance, he made his hatred to the queen appear in his virulent and obstinate opposition to the interests of England. Not content with the most violent persecution of the protestants wherever his own authority could be stretched to reach them, he lent his aid to the queen mother of France. That aid so fearfully turned the scale against the French Huguenots, that their chivalrous leader, the prince of Condé, was fain to apply for aid to the protestant queen of England. Though during the whole of her long and glorious reign, Elizabeth was wisely chary of involving herself in great expenses, the cause of protestantism would probably of itself have been too dear to her to allow of her hesitating. But the prince of Condé appealed to her interest as well as to her religious sympathies. The Huguenots possessed nearly the whole of Normandy; and Condé proffered to give Elizabeth possession of Havre-de-Grace, on condition that she should put a garrison of three thousand men into that place, send three thousand men to garrison Dieppe and Rouen, and supply money to the amount of a hundred thousand crowns. The offer was tempting. True it was that the French were by treaty bound to restore Calais, but there were many reasons for doubting whether that agreement would be fulfilled. Possessed of Havre, and thus commanding the mouth of the Seine, England would be the more likely to be able to command the restitution of Calais; the offer of Condé was accordingly accepted. Havre and Dieppe were immediately garrisoned, but the latter place was speedily found to be untenable, and evacuated accordingly. To Rouen the catholics were laying siege, and it was with great difficulty that Poynings threw in a small reinforcement of English to aid the Huguenot garrison. Thus aided the Huguenots fought bravely and well, but were at length overpowered and put to the sword. About the same time three thousand more English arrived to the support of Havre, under the command of the earl of Warwick, eldest brother of the Lord Robert Dudley. With this aid and a second sum of a hundred thousand crowns, the Huguenots, though severely beaten near Dreux, where Condé and Montmorency were taken prisoners by the catholics, still kept well together, and even took some considerable towns in Normandy.

A. D. 1563.—How sincerely desirous Elizabeth was of effectually aiding the Huguenots will appear from the fact that, while she had thus assisted them with a numerous body of admirable troops and with two hundred thousand crowns, as well as proffered her bond for another hundred thou-

and if merchants could be found to lend the amount, she was now so poor that she was obliged to summon a parliament and demand assistance. This demand led to a renewal of the parliament's request that she would marry. She had been dangerously ill of the small-pox, and her peril had re-awakened all the national terrors of the evils inseparable from a disputed succession. The parliament, consequently, now added to its petition, that she would marry, the alternative, that she would at least cause her successor to be clearly and finally—save in the event of her marrying and having issue—named by an act of parliament.

Nothing could have been less agreeable to the queen than this petition. She well knew the claim of Mary of Scotland, and shrewdly judged that the being named as her successor would not diminish the inclination of that queen to give her disturbance. On the other hand, to deny that claim and to decide in favour of the house of Suffolk, would be to incite Mary to instant enmity, and at the same time to create in another quarter the impatience, rarely unmixed with enmity, of the declared successor. In this dilemma she acted with her usual caution and policy; gave the parliament to understand that she had by no means irrevocably made up her mind against marriage, and assured them, in general terms, that she could not die with any satisfaction until she had settled the succession on solid and satisfactory foundations.

The parliament, sincerely attached to the queen, and, besides, well aware that her temper would but ill bear aught that bore the appearance of importunity or of dictation, was obliged to be contented, or seemingly so, with this reply; and proceeded to busy itself in passing needlessly severe laws against the catholics, and ridiculously severe laws against those imaginary and impossible offenders, witches and wizards. A subsidy and two fifteenths, and a subsidy of six shillings in the pound, the last to be paid in three years, were then voted to the queen, and parliament was again prorogued.

After long and mutually cruel butcheries the French Huguenots and catholics came to an agreement. An amnesty and partial toleration of the Huguenots was published by the court, and Condé was reinstated in his appointments. To the great discredit of this gallant leader, his own and his party's interests were never attended to by him, almost to the entire forgetfulness of his agreements made with Elizabeth when she so nobly and liberally assisted him. He stipulated, indeed, that she should be repaid her expenses, but in return she was to give up Havre, and trust, as before, for the restitution of Calais to that treaty which the French had so evidently resolved upon breaking. Enraged at Condé's breach of faith, and believing the possession of Havre to be her best if not her sole security for the restitution of Calais, Elizabeth rejected these terms with disdain, and sent orders to the earl of Warwick to take every precaution to defend Havre from the attacks of the now united French.

Warwick, in obedience to these orders, expelled all French from that place, and prepared to defend himself against a large French army, encouraged by the presence of the queen mother, the king, the constable of France, and Condé himself. But the courage, vigour and ability of Warwick, which promised to baffle all attempts upon Havre, or at least to make it a right dear purchase to the enemy, were counterbalanced by the breaking out among his men of a most fatal and pestilential sickness. Seeing them die daily of this terrible disease, which was much aggravated by the great scarcity of provisions, Warwick urgently demanded a reinforcement and supplies from England. But these being withheld, and the French having succeeded in making two practical breaches, the earl had no alternative but to capitulate, and he was obliged to surrender the place upon the sole condition of being allowed life and safe conduct for his troops. He had hardly surrendered when a reinforcement of three thou

sand men arrived from England under Lord Clinton, but, besides that they were too late, they also were suffering under the plague which at that period raged in England. As a consequence of the loss of Havre, Elizabeth was glad to consent to restore the hostages given by France for the restitution of Calais, on receiving two hundred and twenty thousand crowns; but it was stipulated that nothing in this transaction should be held to prejudice the claim of either nation.

Though in reality the hatred and jealousy that subsisted between Elizabeth and Mary queen of Scots were bitter and constant, nothing of quarrel had as yet been openly allowed to appear. They corresponded weekly and assumed quite a sisterly tone of affection. So far was this deceptive conduct carried on the part of Elizabeth, that Hales, a lawyer, having published a book opposing the title of Mary as Elizabeth's successor, was fined and imprisoned; and Bacon, the lord keeper, on the mere suspicion of having encouraged that publication, was visited for some time with the queen's displeasure. An interview was even appointed to take place between the two queens at York, but Elizabeth, probably not very anxious to let her subjects see Mary's superiority of personal beauty, pleaded public affairs, and the meeting was abandoned.

A new source of care arose for Elizabeth. Mary, young and lovely, and of no frigid temperament, was naturally not disinclined to a second marriage; and her uncle's restless ambition would scarcely have allowed her to remain unmarried even had she been so. To prevent Mary's marriage was obviously not in Elizabeth's power; but as she, at least, had the power of getting her formally excluded from the English succession, she thought it not so impossible in the first instance to procrastinate Mary's choice, and then to cause it to fall on the least likely person to aid and encourage her in any attempts prejudicial to England. With this view she raised objections, now of one and now of another sort, against the aspirants to Mary's hand, and at length named Lord Robert Dudley, her own subject, and, as some thought, her own unfavoured suitor, as the person upon whom it would be most agreeable to her that Mary's choice should fall.

The Lord Robert Dudley—as the reader has hitherto known him, but who had now been created earl of Leicester—was handsome, greatly and generally accomplished, and possessed the art of flattery in its utmost perfection; an art to which, far more than to his solid merits, he owed his power of concealing from Elizabeth his ambition, rapacity, and intolerable haughtiness, or of reconciling her to them. The great and continued favour shown to him by the queen had made himself as well as the multitude imagine, that he might reasonably hope to be honoured with her hand; and it was even believed that the early death of his young and lovely wife, the daughter of a wealthy gentleman named Robsart, had been planned and ordered by the earl, in order to remove what he deemed the sole obstacle to the success of his loftier views. To so ambitious a man, whatever the personal superiority of Mary over Elizabeth, the crown matrimonial of Scotland must have seemed a poor substitute, indeed, to that of England; and Leicester not only objected to the proposal, but attributed its conception to a deep scheme of his able and bitter enemy, Cecil, to deprive him of his influence by weaning Elizabeth from all personal feeling for him, and causing her to identify him with her rival Mary.

The queen of Scotland, on the other hand, wearied with the long and vexatious delays and vacillations of Elizabeth, and influenced perhaps, by the personal beauty and accomplishments of the earl, as well as anxious by her marriage with him to remove Elizabeth's evident reluctance to naming her to the English succession, intimated her willingness to accept the powerful favourite. But Elizabeth had named him only in the hope that he would be rejected; he was too great a favourite to be parted with

and though she had herself distinctly named the earl as the only man whom she should choose to see the husband of Mary, she now coldly and suddenly withdrew her approbation.

The high, and never too prudent, spirit of Mary naturally revolted from this new proof of duplicity and unfriendly feeling; the correspondence between the rival queens grew less frequent and more curt and formal, and at length for a time wholly ceased. But Mary, probably under the advice of her friends in France, resolved to make yet another effort to avoid a final and irremediable breach with Elizabeth, and for that purpose sent Sir James Melvil on a mission to London.

Englishmen are greatly and justly proud of queen Elizabeth; taken as a whole her reign was one of the greatest and wisest in our history. But even making all allowance for the prejudice Melvil may be supposed to have felt against Elizabeth, the account he gives of what he saw of her conduct on this occasion places her in so weak, so vain, so puerile a light, that, would rigid impartiality allow it, one would gladly overlook this portion of our great Elizabeth's reign altogether. Every day she appeared in some new style of dress, every interview was marked by some question as to the difference in feature, person, or manner between herself and her far lovelier, far more accomplished, but far less worthy and less estimable rival, which is infinitely more characteristic of the petty but aching envy of some ill-natured school-girl, with vanity made only the more restless and craving of flattery from the occasional suggestions of shrewder sense on the score of personal inferiority, than of that high-souled and calm-browed queen who knew how to endure a dungeon and to dare an armada.

An accomplished courtier, Melvil was also a shrewd and practised man of the world; and it is quite clear, from his memoirs, that he saw through Elizabeth alike in the weakness of her vanity, and in the strength of her deep and iron determination. His report, and probably both her friends' advice and her own inclination, determined Mary no longer to hesitate about choosing a husband for herself. Lord Darnley, son of the earl of Lenox, cousin-german to Mary by the lady Margaret Douglas, niece of Henry VIII., was by all parties in Scotland considered a very suitable person. He was of the same family as Mary; was, after her, next heir to the crown of England, and would preserve the crown of Scotland in the house of Stuart. While these considerations made him eligible in the eyes of Mary's family and of all Scotchmen, he had been born and educated in England, and it was therefore not to be supposed that Elizabeth could have any of that jealousy towards him which she might have felt in the case of a foreign prince and a papist. And, in truth, perceiving that it was not to be hoped that Mary would remain single, Elizabeth was not ill pleased that Mary's choice should fall upon Darnley. He could add nothing in the way of power or alliance to the Scottish queen, whose marriage with him would at once release Elizabeth from the half-defined jealousy she felt as to Leicester's real sentiments, and would, at the same time, do away with all dread of the queen of Scots forming any one of the numerous foreign alliances which were open to her, and any one of which would be dangerous to England.

Lenox had been long in exile. Elizabeth now secretly advised Mary to recall him, reverse his attainder, and restore his forfeited possessions; but no sooner was this done than she openly blamed the proceedings, with the view at once of embarrassing Mary and of keeping up her own interest with the opposite faction in Scotland. Her duplicity did not stop here. When the negotiations for the marriage were far advanced, Darnley asked Elizabeth's permission to go into Scotland; and that permission was, to all appearance, cheerfully granted. But when she learned that his handsome person was admired by Mary and that the marriage was fully determined on, she sent to order Darnley on no account to go on

with the marriage, but, on his allegiance, to return to England forthwith. Compliance with such caprice and tyranny was out of the question; and Elizabeth threw the countess of Lenox and her second son into prison, and seized all Lenox's English property without the shadow of a plea beyond the conduct of young Darnley, to which she had deliberately given her sanction! The insulting vacillation of Elizabeth's conduct in a matter of such delicate interest to Mary, can only be reconciled with her usual shrewdness by supposing that, independent of any small feminine spitefulness of which we fear that even the utmost partiality can hardly acquit her, she deliberately, and as a matter of deep, though merciless policy, sought thus to obtain a plea upon which to repudiate Mary as her successor in England, and a ready means of stirring up discontents among Mary's own subjects, and thus preventing them from being troublesome to England.

A. D. 1565.—Mary's relationship to the house of Guise, whose detestation of the reformed religion was so widely known and so terribly attested, was very unfortunate for her; inasmuch as it converted her warm attachment to her own religion into something like bigotry and intolerance. She not only refused to ratify the acts establishing the reformed religion, and endeavoured to restore civil power and jurisdiction to the catholic bishops, but was even imprudent enough to write letters to the council of Trent, in which she professed her hope not merely of one day succeeding to the crown of England, but also of so using her power and influence as to bring about the reconciliation of the whole of her dominions to the holy see. Considering her knowledge of Elizabeth's temper and feelings towards her, and considering, too, how much advantage Elizabeth would obviously obtain from every circumstance which could cause the Scotch zealots to sympathize with Elizabeth against their own queen, nothing could well have been more imprudent than this missive. Under any circumstances, probably, Mary, a zealous catholic, would have had but an uneasy reign among the fiercely bigoted Scottish protestants; but there is little reason to doubt that this very communication to the council of Trent was a main first cause of all her subsequent misfortunes. The protestants of Scotland were at that time no whit behind the catholics of any part of the world, either in self-righteousness, or in bitter and bigoted detestation of all who chanced to differ from them. Alarmed as well as indignant at the queen's ostentatious attachment to her own creed, the protestants not only murmured at her exercise of its rites, even in her own private residence and chapel, but abused her faith in the grossest terms while importuning her to abjure it. The queen answered these rude advisers with a temper which, had she always displayed it, might have spared her many a sorrowful day; assured them that besides that her apostacy would deprive Scotland of her most powerful friends on the continent, she was sincerely attached to her own faith and convinced of its truth. With the self-complacency peculiar to narrow minded bigotry, the remonstrants assured her that they alone had truth on their side, and bade her prefer that truth to all earthly support and alliances. The rude zeal of the reformed was still farther increased by the belief, carefully encouraged by the agents of Elizabeth, that the Lenox family were also papists. It was in vain that Darnley, now King Henry, endeavoured to show that he was no papist by frequently making his appearance at the established church; this conduct was attributed to a jesuitical and profound wiliness, and the preachers often publicly insulted him Knox, especially, not scrupling to tell him from the pulpit that boys and women were only put to rule over nations for the punishment of their sins.

While the violence of the clergy and the arts of Elizabeth's emissaries were thus irritating the common people of Scotland against their queen, the discontents of her nobility began to threaten her with a yet nearer and

more ruinous opposition. The duke of Chaterault and the earls of Murray and Argyle, with other malcontent nobles, actually raised forces, and soon appeared in arms against the king and queen, instigated to this treasonable conduct merely by their paltry fears of being losers of influence and power by the rise of the Lenox family consequent upon Darnley's marriage to the queen. The reformed preachers openly, and English emissaries secretly, aided the malcontent lords in endeavouring to seduce or urge the whole Scottish population from its allegiance. But the people were, for once, in no humour to follow the seditious or the fanatical; and after but very trifling show of success, the rebels, being pursued by the king and queen at the head of an army of eighteen thousand, were fain to seek safety in England.

We dwell more upon the affairs of Scotland just at this period than we generally do, because thus much of Scottish history is necessary here to the understanding of that portion of English history with which Mary, queen of Scots, is so lamentably, and so disgracefully to England, connected.

The event of the Scottish revolt having thus completely disappointed all the hopes of Elizabeth, she now strenuously disavowed all concern in it; and having induced Murray and Chaterault's agent, the abbot of Kilwinning, to make a similar declaration before the Spanish and French ambassadors, she, with a bitter practical satire, added to the force of their declaration, by instantly ordering them from her presence as detestable and unworthy traitors!

A. D. 1566.—Hard is the fate of princes! Rarely can they have sincere friends; still more rarely can they have favourites who do not, by their own ingratitude or the envy of others, call up a storm of misfortune for both sovereign and favourite.

Hitherto the conduct of Mary had been morally irreproachable; for the coarse abuse of Knox is itself evidence of the strongest kind, that, save her papacy and her sex—of which he seems to have felt an about equal detestation—even he had not wherewithal to reproach her. Having for her second husband a handsome and youthful man of her own choice, it might have been hoped that at least her domestic felicity was secured. But Darnley was a vain, weak-minded man; alike fickle and violent; ambitious of distinction, yet weary of the slightest necessary care; easily offended at the most trivial opposition, and as easily governed by the most obvious and fulsome flattery. Utterly incapable of aiding the queen in the government, he was no jot the less anxious to have the crown-matrimonial added to the courtesy-title of king which Mary had already bestowed upon him. In this temper he was inclined to detest all who seemed able and willing to afford the queen counsel; and among these was an Italian musician, by name David Rizzio. He had attended an embassy sent to Scotland by the duke of Savoy, and was retained at the Scottish court, in the first instance, merely on account of his musical talents. But he was both aspiring and clever, and he soon testified so much shrewdness and inclination to be useful, that he was made French secretary to the queen. Brought thus intimately into contact with the queen, he so rapidly improved on his advantages, that in a short time he was universally looked upon not only as the queen's chief confidant and counsellor, but also as the chief and most powerful dispenser of her favours. As is usually the case with favourites, the ability which had enabled Rizzio to conquer court favour did not teach him to use it with moderation; and he had scarcely secured the favour of the queen, ere he had incurred the deadly hate of nearly every one at court. The reformed hated him as a papist and the reputed spy and pensionary of the pope; the needy hated him for his wealth, the high-born for his upstart insolence; the aspiring detested his ambition, and many men—probably not too pure in their own

morals—could find no other supposition on which to account for Mary's protection of him, save a criminal connection between them. It is true that Rizzio was ugly and by no means very young even when he first came to court, and some years had now passed since that event; and, moreover, Rizzio, whose ability had done much to clear away the obstacles to the marriage of Mary and Darnley, had at one time, at least, been as much in the favour of the king as of the queen. But Darnley, soured by the queen's coldness, which he was willing to attribute to any cause rather than to his own misconduct, easily fell into the snare set by the enemies alike of himself, his queen, and Rizzio, and became furiously jealous of an ugly and almost deformed secretary. Yet Darnley was one of the handsomest men of the age and a vain man too!

Among the extravagant reports to which the excessive favour already enjoyed by Rizzio had given rise, was one, that it was the intention of Mary to make him chancellor in the room of the earl of Morton! It was true that Rizzio knew nothing of the language or of the laws of Scotland; but the report was credited even by the astute Morton himself, who forthwith exerted himself to persuade Darnley that nothing but the death of Rizzio could ever restore peace and safety to either king or kingdom.

The earl of Lenox, the king's father, George Douglas, natural brother to the countess of Lenox, and the lords Lindesay and Ruthven, readily joined in the conspiracy against the unfortunate foreigner, and, to guard themselves against the known fickleness of the king, they got him to sign a paper authorizing and making himself responsible for the assassination of Rizzio, as being "an undertaking tending to the glory of God and the advancement of religion." The banished lords who were ever hovering on the borders in hope of some event productive of disturbance, were invited by the king to return, and every preparation being made, a night was at length appointed for the murder of Rizzio.

Mary, now in the sixth month of her pregnancy, was at supper in her private apartments, attended by Rizzio, the countess of Argyle, her natural sister, and others of her personal attendants, when the king suddenly entered the room and placed himself behind the queen's chair. Immediately afterwards Lord Ruthven, cased in armour and ghastly from long illness and anxiety, George Douglas, and others, rushed in and seized upon the unfortunate Rizzio as he sprang up to the queen and clung to her garments, shrieking the while for protection. The queen, with tears, entreaties, and even threats, endeavoured to save her secretary, but the resolved conspirators forced him into the antechamber, where he died beneath no fewer than fifty-six wounds!

The condition of the queen being considered, the presence of her husband while she was thus horribly outraged by being made witness of the atrocious murder of her servant, must necessarily have turned her former coldness towards Darnley into actual loathing. On learning that Rizzio was indeed dead, she immediately dried her tears, saying "I will weep no more; henceforth I will only think of revenge."

Assuming Mary to be guilty of the participation in the murder of her husband with which she was afterwards so disastrously charged, though even this outrage upon her both as queen and woman would be no excuse for her misconduct as queen, woman, and wife, yet it ought not wholly to be left out of sight while we judge of the character of Mary. In a court such as the court of Scotland clearly was at that time, nothing short of the purity of angels could have escaped the general pollution of cruelty, deceit and sensuality.

All resentments felt by Mary were now, it should seem, merged into detestation of the cruelly and insolently savage conduct of her husband She showed him every mark of contempt in public, and avoided him in private as though in mingled hate and terror. At length, however, she

was confined at Edinburgh castle of a son; and as Darnley had apartments there, they were at least apparently reconciled and living together.

A messenger was instantly sent to Elizabeth, who received the news while at a ball at Greenwich. She was much cast down at first, and even complained to some of her attendants that she was but a barren stock, while Mary was the glad mother of a fair boy. But she soon recovered her wonted self-possession, and on the following day she publicly congratulated Melvil, Mary's envoy, and sent the earl of Bedford and George Cary, son of her kinsman the earl of Hunsdon, to attend the christening of the young prince, and to carry some rich presents to his mother.

But whatever cordiality Elizabeth might affect upon this occasion, the birth of a son to the queen of Scots, as it increased the zeal of her partizans in England, so it made even the best friends of Elizabeth desirous that she should take some effectual steps for the settlement of the succession.

It was proposed by some leading members of parliament that the question of the succession and that of the supply should go together. Sir Ralph Sadler, in order to elude this bringing of the question to a point, affirmed that he had heard the queen say that for the good of her people she had come to the resolution to marry. Others of the court affirmed the same, and then the house began to consider about joining the question of the queen's marriage to that of the settlement in general, when a message was brought from the queen ordering the house to proceed no farther in the matter. She pledged her queenly word as to her sincere intention to mary; and she said that to name any successor previously would be to increase her already great personal dangers. This message by no means satisfied the house, and Peter Wentworth, a popular member, bluntly said that such a prohibition was a breach of the privileges of the house; while some of the members on the same side added, that unless the queen would pay some regard to their future security by fixing a successor, she would show herself rather as the stepmother than as the natural parent of her people. The debates still continuing in this strain, the queen sent for the speaker, and her remonstrances with him having failed to produce the desired effect upon the house, she shortly afterwards dissolved the parliament, sharply reflecting, at the same time, upon the pertinacity with which they had pressed her to marry or fix the succession.

A. D. 1567.—The debates in parliament had more than ever awakened the zeal of the partizans of the queen of Scots. The catholics of England were to a man ready to rise on her behalf, should Elizabeth's death or any national calamity afford an inviting opportunity; and, moreover, the court of Elizabeth was itself full of Mary's partizans. But while Elizabeth and her sagacious friend and councillor Cecil—to whom it is not too much to say that Elizabeth owed more than half the glory she acquired, and owed still more freedom from the obloquy her temper would but for him have caused her to incur—were using every expedient to avoid the necessity of declaring so dangerous a successor as the queen of Scots, that ill-fated princess was in the very act of plunging herself into a tissue of horrors and infamies, which were to render her the prisoner and the victim of the princess whom she had dared to rival and hoped to succeed.

After the death of Rizzio, Mary's perilous and perplexed situation had made some confidant and assistant indispensably necessary to her, especially situated as she was with her frivolous and sullen husband. The person who at this time stood highest in her confidence was the earl of Bothwell, a man of debauched character and great daring, but whose fortune was much involved, and who was more noted for his opposition to Murray and the rigid reformers, than for any great civil or military talents. This nobleman, it is believed, suggested to her the expedient of being divorced

from Darnley, but from some difficulties which arose to its execution that project was laid aside.

The intimate friendship of Mary with Bothwell, and her aversion to her husband, made observant persons much astonished when it was announced that a sudden return of the queen's affection to her husband had taken place; that she had even journeyed to Glasgow to attend his sick bed; that she tended him with the utmost kindness; and that, as soon as he could safely travel, she had brought him with her to Holyrood-house, in Edinburgh. On their arrival there it was found, or pretended, that the low situation of the place, and the noise of the persons continually going and coming, denied the king the repose necessary to his infirm state. A solitary house, called the Kirk o' Field, at some distance from the palace, but near enough to admit of Mary's frequent attendance, was accordingly taken, and here she continued her attentions to him, and even slept for several nights in a room immediately below his. On the ninth of February she excused herself to him for not sleeping at the place, as one of her attendants was going to be married, and she had promised to grace the ceremony with her presence. About two o'clock in the morning an awful explosion was heard, and it was soon afterwards discovered that the Kirk o' Field was blown up, and the body of the unfortunate Henry Darnley was found in a field at some distance, but with no marks of violence upon it.

It is a singular fact that, amidst all the disputation that has taken place as to the guilt or innocence of Mary in this most melancholy affair, no one of the disputants has noticed Mary's selection of a room *immediately below* that of the king for several nights before the murder. *Was the gun-powder deliberately, in small quantities and at intervals, deposited and arranged in that apartment?*

That Darnley had been most foully murdered no sane man could doubt—and the previous intimacy of Mary and Bothwell caused the public suspicion at once to be turned upon them; and the conduct of Mary was exactly calculated to confirm, instead of refuting, the horrible suspicion which attached to her. A proclamation was indeed made, offering a reward for the discovery of the king's murderers; but the people observed that far more anxiety was displayed to discover those who attributed that terrible deed to Bothwell and the queen. With a perfectly infatuated folly, the queen neglected even the external decencies which would have been expected from her, even had she been less closely connected in the public eye with the supposed murderer, Bothwell. For the earl of Lenox, father of the murdered king, wrote a letter to the queen, in which, avoiding all accusation of the queen, he implored her justice upon those whom he plainly charged with the murder, namely, Bothwell, Sir James Balfour and his brother Gilbert Balfour, David Chalmers, and four other persons of the queen's household; but Mary, though she cited Lenox to appear at court and support his charge, and so far seemed to entertain it, left the important fortress of Edinburgh in the hands of Bothwell as governor, and of his creature Balfour as his deputy.

A day for the trial of the charge made by Lenox was appointed; and that nobleman, with a very small attendance, had already reached Stirling on his way to Edinburgh, when his information of the extraordinary countenance shown to Bothwell, and the vast power entrusted to him, inspired Lenox with fears as to even his personal safety should he appear in Edinburgh; he therefore sent Cunningham, one of his suite, to protest against so hurried an investigation of this important affair, and to entreat Mary, for her own sake as well as for the sake of justice, to take time, and to make arrangements for a full and impartial trial, which obviously could not be had while Bothwell was not only at liberty, but in possession of exorbitant and overwhelming power. Not the slightest attention was paid to this manifestly just demand of Lenox; a jury was sworn, and as

no prosecutor or witness was present, that jury could only acquit the accused—the verdict being accompanied by a protest, in which they stated the situation in which the very nature of the proceedings had placed them. But even *had* witnesses been present, their evidence could have availed little towards furthering the ends of justice, for, by a very evident wilfulness, those who drew the indictment had charged the crime as having been committed on the tenth day of the month, while the evidence must have proved it to have been the ninth, and this significant circumstance increased the odium of both Mary and Bothwell. Two days after this shameful trial a parliament was held, and Bothwell, whose acquittal was such as must have convinced every impartial man of his guiltiness, was actually chosen to carry the royal sceptre!

Such indecent but unequivocal evidence of the lengths to which Mary was prepared to go in securing impunity to Bothwell, awed even those who most detested the proceedings; and a bond of association was signed, by which all the subscribers, consisting of all the chief nobility present at this parliament, referred to the acquittal of Bothwell as a legal and complete one, engaged to defend him against all future imputation of the murder of the late king, and recommended Mary to marry Bothwell! Degraded, indeed, by long and shameless faction must the nation have been, when the chief of its nobles could insult public justice and public decency by the publication of such a document as this!

Having thus paved the way towards his ultimate designs, Bothwell assembled a troop of eight hundred cavalry on pretence of pursuing some armed robbers who infested the borders, and waylaid Mary on her return from Stirling, where she had been paying a visit to her infant son. Mary was *seized* near Edinburgh; but Sir James Melvil, her attached and faithful servant who was with her at the time, not only confessed that he saw no surprise or unwillingness on her part, but adds, that some of Bothwell's officers openly laughed at the notion of seizure of Mary's person, and stated the whole matter to have been arranged between the parties themselves. Bothwell carried his prisoner to Dunbar, and there made himself master of her person, even if he had not been so before. Some of the nobility, either still doubtful of her guilty consent, or desirous, at the least, of forcing her into a more explicit declaration of it, now sent to offer their services to rescue her; but she, with infinite coolness, replied, that though Bothwell had originally obtained possession of her person by violence, he had since treated her so well that she was now quite willing to remain with him.

That no circumstance of infamy and effrontery might be wanting to this disgusting business, Bothwell, when he had himself proposed as the queen's husband and seized upon her person, was already a married man! But a divorce was now sued for and obtained in four days from the commencement of the suit; the queen was then taken to Edinburgh, and the banns of marriage put up between her and the duke of Orkney, which title Bothwell now bore.

In the midst of the awful degradation exhibited by the Scottish nation at this time, it is pleasing to notice that Craig, a clergyman, being desired to solemnize the marriage thus abominably brought about, not only refused to perform the ceremony, but openly reprobated it, with a courage which so put the council to shame that it dared not punish him. The bishop of Orkney, a protestant, was more compliant, and was subsequently very deservedly deposed by his church. Unwarned by the disgust of her own people and by the remonstrances of her relations, the Guises of France, the infatuated Mary thus pursued her designs, and it became known that Bothwell, with her consent, was taking measures to get the young prince James into his power. This at length fairly aroused public indignation; the chief nobility, including most of those who had s gned

the ever infamous bond in favour of Bothwell, now formed an association for the protection of the young prince and for the punishment of the murderers of the king. The army of the associated lords and the royal troops under Bothwell met at Carbery-hill; but it was so clear both that Bothwell had no capacity equal to the occasion, and that her own troops looked upon their cause with disgust, that Mary, after making certain stipulations, put herself into the hands of the confederates and was taken to Edinburgh, the populace reproaching her in the coarsest terms, and holding up banners representing the murder of her husband and the distress of her infant son. Bothwell, in the meantime, escaped to the Orkneys, and for some time lived by actual piracy; he at length went to Denmark, where he was thrown into prison: maddened under the severity of his confinement and the horror of his reflections, he died about ten years afterwards, so miserably, that even his atrocity cannot deprive him of our pity.

Though treated with scorn and humbled by the indignities to which she was now daily exposed, Mary was still so infatuated in her affection for the unworthy Bothwell, that she is reported to have said in a letter to him, that she would surrender her crown and dignity rather than his affections; and as she appeared to be thus determined, the confederates, to decrease the chance of her once more getting power into her hands, sent her to a sort of honourable imprisonment in the castle of Lochlevin lake. The owner of this place was mother of the earl of Murray, and as she pretended to have been the mother and not the mere mistress of the late king, she bore Mary a hatred which fully insured her vigilance.

Elizabeth was accurately informed of all that had passed in Scotland, and her eagle vision could not fail to perceive the advantages to her own security to be obtained by her interference between Mary and her enraged subjects. She accordingly, through Throckmorton, sent a remonstrance to the confederated lords, and advice, mingled with some severity, to Mary, to whom she offered assistance, and protection at the English court for her infant son, but on condition that she should lay aside all thoughts of revenge or punishment, except as far as related to the murder of her late husband. As both queen and woman, Elizabeth acted well in both her remonstrance to the lords and her advice to Mary; but, judging from her whole course of policy at other times, it is no breach of charity to suppose that even her womanly pity for Mary's present distressed and perilous situation, did not prevent her from determining to make it available towards her own security and peace for the time to come.

In the meantime the confederated lords proceeded to arrange matters with very little deference to either the rights of their own queen or the remonstrances of the queen of England. After much intrigue and dispute, it was agreed that the regency of the kingdom should be placed in the hands of Murray, and that Mary should resign the crown in favour of her son; nay, so desperate were her circumstances, that, though "with abundance of tears," she actually signed the deeds that made these extensive alterations, without making herself accurately mistress of their contents.

The prince James was immediately proclaimed king and crowned at Stirling, and in the oath which the earl of Morton took in his behalf at that ceremony, an oath to extirpate heresy was included. Elizabeth was so much annoyed at the disregard with which her remonstrance had been treated, that she forbade Throckmorton to attend the young king's coronation.

As soon as Murray had assumed the regency a parliament was assembled, in which it was solemnly voted that she was an undoubted accomplice in the murder of her husband, but ought not to be imprisoned. Her abdication and her son's succession were at the same time ratified.

SURRENDER OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS AT CARBERRY HILL.

Murray proved himself equal to his high post. He obtained possession of the fortresses which held out for Mary or Bothwell, and everywhere compelled at least external obedience to his authority. But he had many enemies even among his seeming friends; many of those who had been most enraged against Mary, while she had thus lived in what was no better than open adultery with Bothwell, were softened by the contemplation of her sorrows now that he was a fugitive upon the face of the earth, without the possibility of ever regaining his guilty power. To all these persons were added the eminent catholics and the great body of the people, who pitied her sorrows now with the merely instinctive and unreasoning impulse with which recently they had heaped the coarsest contempt upon her misconduct. Even yet, then, it was quite within the bounds of possibility that she might recover her power, and so exert it as to cause the past to be forgiven.

A. D. 1568.—But Mary's own conduct even when least blameworthy, was ever to be inimical to her. The constant insults and vexations that she endured from the lady of Lochlevin determined her to attempt her escape from that melancholy confinement; and by those artful and winning blandishments which no beautiful woman ever better knew how to employ, she induced George Douglas, brother of the laird of Lochlevin, to aid in her escape. After many vain endeavours the enamoured youth at length got her from the house in disguise, and rowed her across the lake in a small boat.

As soon as her escape was known many of the nobility hastened to offer her their aid, and to sign a bond to defend her against all comers. Among those that thus signed were the earls of Argyle, Huntley, Eglintoun, Cassilis, Crauford, Rothes, Montrose, Sunderland, and Errol, besides numerous barons and nine bishops, and in a very few days she found her standard surrounded by upwards of six thousand men. Elizabeth, too, offered to assist her, on condition that she would refer the quarrel to her arbitration and allow no French troops to enter the kingdom, but the offer was too late; Murray hastily drew together an army, and attacked her forces at Langside, near Glasgow; and though the regent was somewhat inferior in force, his superior ability inflicted a complete defeat upon Mary, who hastily fled to a fishing-boat in Galloway, and landed the same day at Wokington, in Cumberland, whence she immediately sent a messenger to crave the protection and hospitality of Elizabeth. The reality and extent of the generous sympathy of that princess were now to be developed; interest was now straightly and sternly opposed to real or pretended generosity.

Mary had evidently relied upon the power of her insinuation and eloquence to be of service to her in a personal interview, which she immediately solicited. But the able and tried ministers of Elizabeth were not slower than Mary herself in perceiving the probable consequence of such an interview, and Elizabeth was advised by them that she as a maiden queen could not, consistently even with mere decency, admit to her presence a woman who was charged with murder and adultery, and that, too, under circumstances which made even these horrible crimes more than usually horrible. The queen of Scots was very indignant at being, and on such a plea, deprived of the interview upon which she had so very much reckoned. She replied to the ministers with great spirit, and so evidently showed her determination to consider herself as a sister sovereign seeking Elizabeth's friendship, and not as a charged criminal whom Elizabeth could have any earthly right to sit in judgment upon, that Cecil determined to force her, indirectly at least, upon an investigation, by allowing Murray and his party to charge her before the queen in council with having been "of fore-knowledge, counsel, and device, persuader and commander of the murder of her husband, and had intended to cause the

innocent prince to follow his father and so transfer the crown from the right line to a bloody murderer and godless tyrant." To this point of this intricate and most painful affair the attention of general readers has never been sufficiently directed. The usual narrative of historians leaves the careless or superficial reader to fancy that the conduct of Elizabeth must throughout have been unjustifiable, as to even the detention of Mary, the whole question being Mary's guilt and Elizabeth's right to punish. We have already sufficiently shown that we are not inclined to sacrifice truth to our admiration of the many admirable qualities of Elizabeth. For much of her treatment to Mary she is deserving of the highest blame, and as regards her execution every one must feel the utmost indignation; but the mere detention of her, and inquiry into her guilt as to her husband, and *her intentions as to her infant son*, were justified alike by the laws of nations and by every feeling of humanity and of morality. That Mary was "an independent sovereign" can only be affirmed by a mere play upon words.

Stained with the deep charges of murder and adultery, beaten on the battle-field, and fugitive from her enraged and horrified subjects, Mary was in no condition to exercise her sovereignty until she should have re-established it by arms or treaty. By arms she could not proceed without great peril to England, for she must have relied upon aid from France; by treaty she could not proceed but by the aid of Elizabeth, whose territory might be periled by some clause of such treaty. Situated as England was, both as to France and as to Spain, it is quite clear to all who pay due attention to the whole of the circumstances, that in an honourable detention of Mary, and a full, fair and impartial inquiry into her conduct, Elizabeth would have been fully justified.

The subsequent conduct shown to Mary, her close imprisonment and unkind treatment, reflect no credit upon either Elizabeth or her ministers; but it must be remembered that Mary, besides those verbal insults which wound women more painfully than the sword itself, greatly provoked the harsh feeling of Elizabeth by her perpetual readiness to lend her name and influence to plots involving the life as well the crown of Elizabeth.

It seems quite certain that, at the outset of the business, the main desire of both Elizabeth and her ministers was to place Mary in such a position that she would be unable practically to revoke her settlement of the crown upon her infant son, whose regency, being protestant, would have a common interest with England, instead of a temptation to aid France or Spain to her annoyance. One scheme for this purpose was to give her in marriage to an English nobleman, and Elizabeth proposed the alliance to the duke of Norfolk, who bluntly replied, "That woman, madam, shall never be my wife who has been your competitor, and whose husband cannot sleep in security upon his pillow." Unfortunately for the duke, his practice was by no means governed by the sound sense of his theory, and he very soon afterwards consented to offer himself to Mary, in a letter, which was also signed by Arundel, Pembroke, and Leicester. Mary pleaded that "woeful experience had taught her to prefer a single life," but she hinted pretty plainly that Elizabeth's consent might remove such reluctance as she felt. Norfolk, through the bishop of Ross, kept up the correspondence with Mary. Elizabeth was from the very first aware of it, and she at length significantly quoted Norfolk's own words to him, warning him to "beware on what pillow he should rest his head." Shortly afterwards the duke, for continuing the correspondence, was committed to the Tower. Leicester was pardoned for the share he had had in the original correspondence; but there seemed so much danger that both Norfolk and the queen of Scots would be severely dealt with, that all the great catholic families of the north joined in a formidable insurrection. Mary

Loch Leven Castle.

on the breaking out of this affair, was removed to Coventry; but the contest was short; the earl of Northumberland, who headed the revolt, was defeated and taken prisoner, and thrown into Lochlevin castle. His countess, with the earl of Westmoreland and some other fugitives, were safe among he Scottish borderers, who were able to protect them equally against the regent Murray and the emissaries of Elizabeth.

Upon the English of the northern counties who had been beguiled into this hopeless revolt, the vengeance of Elizabeth was terrible and extensive. The poor were handed over to the rigours of martial law, and it is affirmed that from Newcastle to Netherby, in a district sixty miles long and forty miles wide, there was not a town or even a village which was not the scene of execution! The wealthier offenders were reserved for the ordinary course of condemnation by law, it being anticipated that their forfeitures would reimburse the queen the large sums which it had cost her to put down the revolt.

A. D. 1570.—The vigour of the regent Murray had kept the greater part of Scotland perfectly quiet, even while the north of England was in arms for Mary: and as among the numerous projects suggested to Elizabeth for safely ridding herself of Mary was that of delivering her up to Murray, it is most probable that the Scottish queen would have been restored to her country and—though partially and under strong restrictions—to her authority, but for the death of the regent. While amusing Mary with a variety of proposals which came to nothing, varied by sudden objections which had been contrived from the very first, Elizabeth's ministers were sedulously strengthening the hands and establishing the interests of their mistress in Scotland; they, however, seem really to have intended the eventual restoration of Mary under the most favourable circumstances to England, when the enmity and suspicion of the English cabinet against her, as a zealous papist, were made stronger than ever by the publication of a bull by Pius V., in which he insultingly spoke of Elizabeth's as a merely "pretended" right to the crown, and absolved all her subjects from their allegiance. Of this bull, insolent in itself and cruel towards Mary, several copies were published both in Scotland and in England; and a catholic gentleman, named Felton, whose zeal bade defiance alike to prudence and decency, was capitally punished for affixing a copy of this document to the gates of the bishop of London.

It must be clear that no sovereign could overlook such an invitation to rebellion and assassination. It would in any state of society be likely to urge some gloomy and half insane fanatic to the crime of murder; though as to any national effect, even while the catholics were still so numerous, the papal bull had now become a mere *brutem fulmen*. Lingard, even, the ablest catholic historian, says, upon this very transaction, "If the pontiff promised himself any particular benefit from this measure, the result must have disappointed his expectations. The time was gone by when the thunders of the Vatican could shake the thrones of princes. By foreign powers the bull was suffered to sleep in silence; among the English catholics it served only to breed doubts, dissensions, and dismay. Many contended that it had been issued by incompetent authority; others, that it could not bind the natives until it should be carried into actual execution by some foreign power: all agreed that it was, in their regard, an imprudent and cruel expedient, which rendered them liable to the suspicion of disloyalty, and afforded their enemies a pretence to brand them with the name of traitors. To Elizabeth, however, though she affected to ridicule the sentence, it proved a source of considerable uneasiness and alarm."

The parliament, at once alarmed and indignant at the bull of Pius V., very naturally laid some heavy restrictions upon the catholics, who were feared to be ready at any moment to rise in favour of the queen of Scots

and for the deposition of Elizabeth, should Philip of Spain or his general, Alva, governor of the Netherlands, land a sufficiently numerous army of foreign papists in England. And these fears of the parliament and the ministry had but too solid foundation. The duke of Norfolk from his confinement was constantly intriguing with Mary; and that unhappy princess, wearied and goaded to desperation by her continued imprisonment, and the constant failure of all attempts at gaining her liberty, even when she the most frankly and completely agreed to all that was demanded of her, sent Rudolphi, an Italian, who had her confidence, to solicit the co-operation of the pope, Philip of Spain, and Alva. Some letters from Norfolk to the latter personage were intercepted by the English ministry, and Norfolk was tried for treasonable leaguing with the queen's enemies, to the danger of her crown and dignity. Norfolk protested that his aim was solely to restore Mary to her own crown of Scotland, and that detriment to the authority of Elizabeth he had never contemplated and would never have abetted.

A. D. 1572.—His defence availed him nothing; he was found guilty by his peers and condemned to death. Even then the queen hesitated to carry the sentence into effect against the premier duke of England, who was, also, her own relative. Twice she was induced by the ministers to sign the warrant, and twice she revoked it. This state of hesitation lasted for four months. At the end of that time the parliament presented an address strongly calling upon her to make an example of the duke, to which she at length consented, and Norfolk was beheaded; dying with great courage and constancy, and still protesting that he had no ill design towards his own queen in his desire to aid the unhappy queen of Scots We are inclined to believe that the duke was sincere on this head; but certainly his judgment did not equal his sincerity; for how could he expect to overturn the vast power of Elizabeth, so far as to re-establish Mary on the throne, but by such civil and international fighting as must have periled Elizabeth's throne, and, most probably, would have led to the sacrifice of her life.

Burleigh, devoted to the glory of his royal mistress and to the welfare of her people, and plainly perceiving that the catholics, both at home and abroad, would either find or feign a motive to mischief in the detention of the queen of Scots, resolutely advised that the unhappy queen should be violently dealt with, as being at the bottom of all schemes and attempts against the peace of England. But Elizabeth was not yet—would that she had never been!—so far irritated or alarmed as to consent to aught more than the detention of Mary; and to all the suggestions of Burleigh she contented herself with replying, with a touch of that poetic feeling which even intrigues of state never wholly banished from her mind, that "she could not put to death the bird that, to escape the lure of the hawk, had flown to her feet for protection."

Burleigh was aided in his endeavours against Mary by the parliament; but Elizabeth, though both her anxiety and her anger daily grew stronger, personally interfered to prevent a bill of attainder against Mary, and even another bill which merely went to exclude her from the succession.

Towards the friends of Mary, Elizabeth was less merciful. The earl of Northumberland was delivered by Morton—who had succeeded Lenox in the Scotch regency—into the hands of the English ministers; and that chivalrous and unfortunate nobleman was beheaded at York.

The state of France at this time was such, from the fierce enmity of the catholics to the Huguenots or protestants, as to give serious uneasiness to Elizabeth. The deep enmity of Charles IX. of France towards the leaders of his protestant subjects was disguised, indeed, by the most artful caresses bestowed upon Coligni, the king of Navarre, and other leading Huguenots: but circumstances occurred to show that the king of France not only de-

tested those personages and their French followers, but that he would gladly seize any good opportunity to aid Philip of Spain in the destruction, if possible, of the protestant power of England.

The perfidious Charles, in order to plunge the Huguenots into the more profoundly fatal security, offered to give his sister Margaret in marriage to the prince of Navarre; and Coligni, with other leaders of the Huguenot party, arrived in Paris, to celebrate a marriage which promised so much towards the reconciliation of the two parties. But so far was peace from being the real meaning of the court of France, that the queen of Navarre was poisoned. This suspiciously sudden death, however, of so eminent a person did not arouse the doomed Coligni and the other protestants to a sense of their real situation. The marriage was concluded; and but a few days after, on the eve of St. Bartholomew, the designs of Charles IX., or, more strictly speaking, of his execrable mother, burst forth. The venerable Coligni was murdered almost by the king's side; men, women, and children alike were butchered by the king's troops, so that in Paris alone about five hundred persons of rank and above ten thousand of the lower order are known to have perished in this most sanguinary and cowardly affair. Orders were at the same time sent to Rouen, Lyons, and other great towns of France, where the same detestable butcheries were committed on a proportionably large scale.

The king of Navarre and the prince of Condé narrowly escaped. The duke of Guise advised their destruction, but the king had contracted as much personal affection for them as he could feel for any one but the she-wolf, his mother, and he caused their lives to be spared on condition of their seeming conversion to popery.

The frightful massacre of St. Bartholomew could not but be greatly alarming as well as disgusting to Elizabeth. She could not but perceive, from a butchery so frightful and excessive, that there was among the catholic princes of the continent a determination to exterminate protestantism; nor could she but feel that she, as the champion of that faith, was henceforth more conspicuously than ever marked out for destruction, could it be accomplished either by warfare or in the more dastardly way of private assassination.

Charles IX. was himself conscious of the offence this atrocious massacre of his protestant subjects must necessarily give to Elizabeth, and he sent a strong apology to her through Fenelon, his ambassador. To us it has ever appeared that this apology did, in reality, only make the offence the blacker; Charles now calumniated the unfortunate persons whom he had murdered. He pretended that he had discovered, just as it was about to be carried into execution, a Huguenot conspiracy to seize his person, and that it was as a necessary matter of self-defence that his catholic soldiery had acted. The single fact that orders for wholesale massacre were acted upon at distant provincial cities, as well as at Paris, would at once and for ever give the lie to this statement. Even Charles's own ambassador confessed that he was ashamed alike of his country and of the apology which he was, by his office, compelled to make for so outrageous a crime. His office, however, left him no choice, and he went to court. Here he found every one, male and female, attired in the deepest mourning, and bearing in their features the marks of profound grief and alarm. No one spoke to him, even, until he arrived at the throne, where the queen, who respected his personal character, heard his apology with all the calmness that she could muster. Elizabeth very plainly, in her reply, showed that she wholly disbelieved Charles's calumny upon his protestant subjects, but she concluded that she would defer making up her mind upon the real feelings of Charles until she should see how he would act in future, and that in the meantime, as requested by his own ambassador, she would rather pity than blame him.

The massacres in France, joined to the Spanish massacres and persecutions in the Low Countries, and the favour into which Charles IX. now visibly took the Guises, made it evident to Elizabeth that nothing but opportunity was wanting to induce the French and Spaniards to unite for her destruction, and she took all possible precautions. She fortified Portsmouth, paid all requisite attention to her militia and fleet, and, while she renewed her open alliances with the German princes, she lent all the aid that she secretly could to the people of the Low Countries to assist them against their Spanish tyrants.

A. D. 1579.—Beyond what we have just now said of the foreign policy of Elizabeth we need not here say anything; the events that took place, whether in Spain, the Netherlands, or France, falling properly under those heads. The attention of Elizabeth, as to foreigners, was addressed chiefly to aiding the protestants with secrecy and with as rigid economy and stringent conditions as were consistent with effectual aid; and to keeping up such a constant demonstration of vigour and a prepared position, as might intimidate catholic princes from any such direct hostility to her as would be likely to provoke her into openly encouraging and assisting their malcontent subjects.

This policy enabled Elizabeth to enjoy a profound peace during years which saw nearly all the rest of Europe plunged in war and misery.

A. D. 1580.—The affairs of Scotland just at this time gave Elizabeth some uneasiness. During several years the regent Morton had kept that kingdom in the strictest amity. But the regent had of late wholly lost the favour of the turbulent nobles, and he found himself under the necessity of giving in his resignation; and the government was formally assumed by King James himself, though he was now only eleven years of age. The count D'Aubigny, of the house of Lenox, was employed by the duke of Guise to detach James from the interests of Elizabeth, and to cause him to espouse those of his mother. Elizabeth endeavoured to support and reinstate Morton, but D'Aubigny had now obtained so much influence with the king, that he was able to have Morton imprisoned and subsequently beheaded, as an accomplice in the murder of the late king.

With Spain, too, Elizabeth's relations were at this period uneasy and threatening. In revenge for the aid which he knew Elizabeth to have given to his revolted subjects of the Netherlands, Philip of Spain sent a body of troops to aid her revolted subjects of Ireland; and her complaints of this interference were answered by a reference to the piracies committed by the celebrated Admiral Drake, who was the first Englishman who sailed round the world, and who obtained enormous booty from the Spaniards in the New World.

A. D. 1581.—The jesuits, and the scholars generally of the continental seminaries which the king of Spain had established to compensate to the catholics for the loss of the universities of England, were so obviously and so intrusively hostile to the queen and the protestant faith, that some stringent laws against them and the catholics generally were now passed. And let any who feel inclined to condemn the severity of those laws first reflect upon the continual alarm in which both the queen and her protestant subjects had been kept, by the pernicious exertions of men who never seemed at a loss for a subtle casuistry to induce or to justify a brutal cruelty or a violent sedition.

Campion, a jesuit who had been sent over to explain to the catholics of England that they were not bound, in obedience to the bull of Pius V., to rebel until the pope should give them a second and explicit order to that effect—*i. e.*, not until the state of England should by accident, or by jesuitical practices, be placed in convenient confusion!—being detected in treasonable practices directly opposed to his professed errand, was first put to the rack and then executed.

Elizabeth had formerly been addressed with offers of marriage by Alengon, now duke of Anjou, brother to the late tyrant, Charles IX., of France, and he now renewed his addresses through his agent Simier, a man of great talent and most insinuating manners. The agent so well played his part in the negotiation that he excited the jealousy of the powerful and unprincipled Leicester, who offered him every possible opposition and insult. The queen, whom Simier informed of Leicester's marriage to the widow of the earl of Essex, formally took Simier under her especial protection, and ordered Leicester to confine himself to Greenwich.

Simier so well advocated the cause of Anjou, that Elizabeth went so far as to invite that prince to England; and, after making stipulations for the aid of France, should the interests of Anjou in the Netherlands involve her in a quarrel with Philip of Spain, Elizabeth, in presence of her whole court and the foreign ambassadors, placed a ring on Anjou's finger, and distinctly said that she did so in token of her intention to become his wife. As she was now nine-and-forty years of age, and might be supposed to have outlived all the youthful fickleness imputed to her sex, and as she gave orders to the bishops to regulate the forms of the marriage, every one supposed that it was certain. Despatches were sent to notify the approaching event abroad, and in many parts of England it was anticipatively celebrated by public holiday and rejoicing.

But the marriage of Elizabeth to Anjou was looked upon with great dislike by the leading men of the English court. The duke, as a catholic, and a member of a most persecuting family, could not but be viewed with fear and suspicion by sound statesmen like Walsingham and Hatton; while Leicester, conscious that with the queen's marriage his own vast power and influence would end, heartily wished her not to marry at all. These courtiers employed her favourite ladies to stimulate her pride by hinting the probability of her husband, instead of herself, becoming the first personage in her dominions; and to appeal to her fears by suggesting the dangers to which she would be exposed should she have children; the latter, surely, a danger not very probable at her time of life. However, the courtiers' artifices were fully successful. Even while the state messengers were on their way to foreign courts with the news of the queen's approaching marriage, she sent for Anjou, and told him, with tears and protestations of regret, that her people were so much prejudiced against her union with him, that though her own happiness must needs be sacrificed she had resolved to consult the happiness of her people, and, therefore could not marry him. The duke on leaving her presence threw away the costly ring she had given him, and declared that English women were as capricious as the waves that surround their island. He soon after departed, and being driven from Belgium to France, died there; deeply and sincerely regretted by Elizabeth.

A. D. 1584.—Several attempts having been made to raise new troubles in England in favour of the queen of Scots, the ministers of Elizabeth made every exertion to detect the conspirators. Henry Piercy, earl Northumberland, brother to that earl who was some time before beheaded for his connection with Mary's cause; Howard, earl of Arundel, son of the duke of Norfolk, that princess' late suitor; Lord Paget and Charles Arundel and Francis Throgmorton, a private gentleman, were implicated. Most of them escaped, but Throgmorton was executed. Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, who had been the prime mover of this plot, was sent home in disgrace. Some further proofs of a widely-spread and dangerous conspiracy having been discovered in some papers seized upon Creighton, a Scottish jesuit, the English ministers, who found Mary connected with all these attempts, removed her from the custody of the earl of Shrewsbury, who seemed not to have been sufficiently watchful of her conduct, and committed her to that of Sir Amias Paulet and Sir Drue Drury, men of

character and humanity, but too much devoted to Elizabeth to allow any unreasonable freedom to their prisoner.

Further laws were at the same time passed against jesuits and popish priests, and a council was named by act of parliament with power to govern the kingdom, settle the succession, and avenge the queen's death, should that occur by violence. A subsidy and two fifteenths were likewise granted to the queen.

During this session of parliament a new conspiracy was discovered, which greatly increased the general animosity to the catholics, and proportionably increased the attachment of the parliament to the queen, and their anxiety to shield her from the dangers by which she seemed to be perpetually surrounded. A catholic gentleman named Parry, who had made himself so conspicuous in the house of commons by his intemperate opposition to a bill for restraining the seditious practices of Romish priests, that he was committed to the custody of the serjeant-at-arms and only liberated by the clemency of the queen, was now, in but little less than six weeks, charged with high treason. This man had been employed as a secret agent by Lord Burleigh, but not deeming himself sufficiently well treated he went to Italy, where he seems to have deeply intrigued with both the papal party at Rome and the ministers of his own sovereign at home. Having procured from the Romish authorities a warm sanction of his professed design of killing Queen Elizabeth with his own hand, this sanction he hastened to communicate to Elizabeth, and being refused a pension he returned to his old vocation of a spy, and was employed to watch the pernicious jesuit Persons, in conjunction with Nevil. Though actually in the service of the government, both Nevil and Parry were men of desperate fortune, and their discontent at length grew so desperate that they agreed to shoot the queen when she should be out riding. The earl of Westmoreland, under sentence of exile, chanced to die just at this period, and Nevil, who, though a salaried spy, was also in exile in Normandy, thought it very likely that he, as next heir to the deceased earl, would recover the family estate and title by revealing the plot to which he was a party. Nevil's revealments to the government were confirmed by Parry's own confession, and the latter, a double traitor—alike traitor to his native land and to his spiritual sovereign—was very deservedly executed.

A fleet of twenty sail under Admiral Sir Francis Drake, with a land force of two thousand three hundred volunteers under Christopher Carlisle, did the Spaniards immense mischief this year, taking St. Jago, near Cape Verd, where they got good store of provision, but little money; St. Domingo, where they made the inhabitants save their houses by the payment of a large sum of money; and Carthagena, which they similarly held to ransom. On the coast of Florida they burned the towns of St. Anthony and St. Helen's; and thence they went to the coast of Virginia, where they found the miserable remnant of the colony so long before planted there by Sir Walter Raleigh. The poor colonists were at this time reduced to utter misery and despair by long continued ill success, and gladly abandoned their settlements and returned home on board Drake's fleet. The enormous wealth that was brought home by that gallant commander, and the accounts given by his men of both the riches and the weakness of the Spaniards, made the notion of piracy upon the Spanish main extremely popular, and caused much evil energy to be employed in that direction, which would otherwise have been of serious annoyance to the government at home.

Meanwhile the earl of Leicester, who had been sent to Holland in command of the English auxiliary forces to aid the states against Spain proved himself to be unfit for any extensive military power. His retinue was princely in splendour, and his courtly manners and intriguing spirit

caused him to be named captain-general of the United Provinces, and to have the guards and honours of a sovereign prince. But here his achievements, which gave deep offence to Elizabeth, began to diminish in brilliancy. Though nobly aided by his nephew, Sir Philip Sidney, one of the most gallant and accomplished gentlemen who have ever done honour to England, he was decidedly inferior to the task of opposing so accomplished a general as the prince of Parma. He succeeded in the first instance in repulsing the Spaniards and throwing succours into Grave; but the cowardice or treachery of Van Hemert—who was afterwards put to death pursuant to the sentence of a court martial—betrayed the place to the Spaniards. Venlo was taken by the prince of Parma, as was Nuys, and the prince then sat down before Rhimberg. To draw the prince from before this last named place, which was garrisoned by twelve hundred men well provided with stores, and upon which, consequently, Leicester should have allowed the prince to have wasted his strength and *then* have brought him to action, Leicester laid siege to Zutphen. The prince thought this place far too important to be allowed to fall into the hands of the English, and he hastened to its aid, sending an advanced guard under the marquis of Cuesto to throw relief into the fortress. A body of English cavalry fell in with this advance, and a gallant action commenced, in which the Spaniards were completely routed, with the loss of the marquis of Gonzago, an Italian noble of great military reputation and ability. In this action, however, the English were so unfortunate as to lose the noble Sir Philip Sidney, whose accomplishments, humanity, and love of literature made him the idol of the great writers of the age. The humanity which had marked his whole life was conspicuous even in the last sad scene of his death. Dreadfully wounded, and tortured with a raging thirst, he was about to have a bottle of water applied to his parched lips, when he caught the eyes of a poor private soldier who lay near him in the like fevered state, and was looking at the bottle with the eager envy which only the wounded soldier and the desert wanderer can know. "Give him the water," said the dying hero, "his necessity is still greater than mine."

While Leicester was barely keeping ground against Spain in the Netherlands, and Drake was astounding and ruining the Spaniards in various parts of the New World, Elizabeth was cautiously securing herself on the side of Scotland. Having obtained James's alliance by a dexterous admixture of espionage and more open conduct, Elizabeth felt that she had but little to fear from foreign invasions; it being stipulated in their league "that if Elizabeth were invaded, James should aid her with a body of two thousand horse and five thousand foot; that Elizabeth, in the like case, should send to his assistance three thousand horse and six thousand foot; that the charge of these armies should be defrayed by the prince who demanded assistance; that if the invasion should be made upon England, within sixty miles of the frontiers of Scotland, this latter kingdom should march its whole force to the assistance of the former; and that the present league should supersede all former alliances of either state with any foreign kingdom so far as religion was concerned."

And, in truth, it was requisite that Elizabeth should be well prepared at home, for her enemies abroad grew more and more furious against her, as every new occurrence more strongly displayed the sagacity of her ministers and her own prudence and firmness in supporting them. Partly on account of the imprisonment of the queen of Scots, but chiefly on account of those rigorous laws which their own desperate and shameful conduct daily made more necessary, the foreign papists, and still more the English seminary at Rheims, had become wrought up to so violent a fury, that nothing short of the assassination of Elizabeth was now deemed worthy their contemplation.

John Ballard, a priest of the seminary at Rheims, having been engaged

in noticing and stirring up the fanatical zeal of the catholics of England and Scotland, proposed, on his return to Rheims, the attempt to dethrone Elizabeth and to re-establish papacy in England, an enterprise which he pretended to think practicable, and that, too, without any extraordinary difficulty. At nearly the same time a desperate and gloomy fanatic, John Savage, who had served for several years under the prince of Parma in the Low Countries, and who was celebrated for a most indomitable resolution, offered to assassinate Elizabeth with his own hands. As that deed would greatly facilitate the proposed revolution in England, the priests of Rheims, who had long preached up the virtuous and lawful character of the assassination of heretical sovereigns, encouraged him in his design, which he vowed to pursue, and the more fanatical catholics of England were instructed to lend him all possible aid. Savage was speedily followed to England by Ballard, who took the name of Captain Fortescue, and busied himself night and day in preparing means to avail himself of the awe and confusion in which the nation could not fail to be plunged by the success of the attempt which he doubted not that Savage would speedily make.

Anthony Babington, a Derbyshire gentleman, had long been known to the initiated abroad as a bigoted catholic and as a romantic lover of the imprisoned queen of Scots. To this gentleman, who had the property and station requisite to render him useful to the conspirators, Ballard addressed himself. To restore the catholic religion and place Mary on the throne of England, Babington considered an enterprise that fully warranted the murder of Elizabeth; but he objected to entrusting the execution of so important a preliminary to the proposed revolution to one hand. The slightest nervousness or error of that one man, Babington truly remarked, would probably involve the lives or fortunes of all the chief catholics in England. He proposed, therefore, that five others should be joined to Savage in the charge of the assassination. So desperate was the villainy of Savage, and he was so angry at this proposed division of a cruel and cowardly treason, that it was only with some difficulty that his priestly colleague induced him to share what the wretch impiously termed the "glory" of the deed, with Barnwell, Charnock, Tilney, and Tichborne; all of them gentlemen of station, character, and wealth; and Babington, also a man of wealth, character, and station, which he owed to the former service of his father as cofferer to the very queen whom it was now proposed to slay! Such is that terrible *fons criminis*, fanaticism!

It was determined that at the very same hour at which Savage and his colleagues should assassinate Elizabeth, the queen of Scots should be out riding, when Babington, with Edward, brother of Lord Windsor, and several other gentlemen, at the head of a hundred horse, should attack her guards and escort her to London, where she would be proclaimed amid the acclamations of the conspirators, and, doubtless, all catholics who should see her.

That this hellish plot would have succeeded there can be little doubt but for the watchful eye of Walsingham, which had from the first been upon Ballard; and while that person was busily plotting a revolution which, commencing with the assassination of the queen, would almost infallibly have ended with a general massacre of the protestants, he was unconsciously telling all his principal proceedings to Walsingham, that able and resolute minister having placed spies about him who reported everything of importance to the secretary. Gifford, another seminary priest, also entered the pay of the minister, and enabled him to obtain copies of correspondence between Babington and the queen of Scots, in which he spoke of the murder of Elizabeth as a *tragical execution* which he would willingly undertake for Mary's sake and service, and she replied that she highly approved of the whole plan, including the assassination of

the queen, a general insurrection aided by foreign invasion, and Mary's own deliverance. Nay, the queen of Scots went still farther; she said that the gentlemen engaged in this enterprise might expect all the reward it should ever be in her power to bestow; and reminded them that it would be but lost labour to attempt an insurrection, or even her own release from her cruel imprisonment, until Elizabeth were dead.

We have not scrupled to declare our dislike of the original conduct of Elizabeth, so far as we deem it criminal or mean. But we cannot therefore shut our eyes to the fact, that though party writers have made many and zealous attempts to show that the whole plot was of Walsingham's contrivance, the evidence against Mary was as complete and satisfactory as human evidence could be. That Walsingham employed spies, that these were chiefly priests who were false to their own party, and that some of them were men of bad character—what do these things prove? Circumstanced as Walsingham was, knowing his queen's life to be in perpetual danger from restless and desperate plotters, we really cannot see how he was to avoid that resort to spies, which under any other circumstances we should be among the first to denounce. But with whom, then, did these spies act? With catholics of station and wealth, whom no spies could possibly have engaged in perilous and wicked proceedings, but for their own fierce fanaticism. And how and from whom did these spies procure Walsingham the important letters which divulged all the particulars of the intended villainy? By letter carrying from Mary to the enamoured Babington, and from Babington to Mary. What film bigotry may throw over the eyes of fierce political partisans we know not, but assuredly we can imagine nothing to be clearer than the guilt of Mary, as far as she could be guilty of conspiring against the life of Elizabeth—who had so long imbittered her life and deprived her of all enjoyment of her crown and kingdom, who had mocked her with repeated promises which she never intended to fulfil, and who had carried the arts of policy so far as to outrage nature by making the utter neglect of the imprisoned mother a tacit condition, at the least, of friendship and alliance with the reigning son. The commissioners on their return from Fotheringay castle pronounced sentence of death upon Mary, queen of Scots, but accompanied the sentence with what—considering that from the moment of her abdication in his favour, his right to reign became wholly independent of his mother—seemed a somewhat unnecessary clause of exception in favour of James; which said that "the sentence did in no wise derogate from the title and honour of James, king of Scotland; but that he was in the same place, degree, and right, as if the sentence had never been pronounced."

It is an extraordinary fact, and one which is unnoticed not only by the partial writers who have endeavoured to throw the deserved degree of blame upon Elizabeth, and also to represent Mary as altogether free from blame even where her criminality was the most glaringly evident, but even by the impartial Hume, that when the sentence on Mary was published in London, the people received it, not with the sadness and silence or the fierce and fiery remonstrance with which the English are wont to rebuke or restrain evil doing, but by the ringing of bells, lighting of bon fires, and all the ordinary tokens of public rejoicing. Does not this single fact go to prove that it was notorious that Mary, during her confinement, was perpetually plotting against the life of the queen, and endeavouring to deliver England and Scotland over to the worst horrors that could befall them—the restoration of papacy and the arbitrary rule of Philip of Spain? We repeat, whatever the former conduct of Elizabeth, Mary of Scotland was now notoriously a public enemy, prepared to slay the queen and expose the protestants of the nation to massacre, so that she might obtain her own personal liberty, and take away the liberty of

conscience from the whole nation. That this was the true state of the case was made evident not merely by the rejoicings of the multitude out of doors, but by the solemn application of the parliament to Elizabeth to allow the sentence to be executed. The king of France, chiefly by the compulsion of the house of Guise and the league, interceded for Mary; and James of Scotland, who had hitherto been a most cold and neglectful son, whatever might be the errors of his mother, now sent the master of Gray and Sir Robert Melvil to try both argument and menace upon Elizabeth.

Most historians seem to be of opinion that the reluctance which Elizabeth for some time exhibited to comply with what was undoubtedly the wish of her people, the execution of Mary, was wholly feigned. We greatly doubt it. That Elizabeth both hated and feared Mary was inevitable; Mary's position, her bigotry, the personal ill-feeling she had often shown towards Elizabeth, and her obvious willingness to sacrifice her life, were surely not additions to the character of a woman who had connived at her husband's death and then married his murderer, which could have engendered any kindly feelings on the part of a princess so harrassed and threatened as Elizabeth was by the faction of which Mary, in England at least, was the recognised head. But apart from all womanly and humane relenting, Elizabeth could not but be conscious that the death of Mary would cause a great accession to the rage of the catholic powers; and apathetic as James had shown himself hitherto, it was but reasonable to suppose that the violent death of his mother would rouse him into active enmity to England. However, the queen's hesitation, real or assumed, was at length overcome, and she signed the fatal warrant which Davison, her secretary, acting under the orders and advice of Lord Burleigh, Leicester, and others of the council, forthwith dispatched to Fotheringay by the earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, who were charged with seeing it executed.

A. D. 1587.—Immediately on the arrival of the two earls, they read the warrant, and warned Mary to be prepared for execution at eight on the following morning. She received the news with apparent resignation; professed that she could not have believed that Elizabeth would have enforced such a sentence upon a person not subject to the laws and jurisdiction of England, but added, "As such is her will, death, which puts an end to all my miseries, shall be to me most welcome; nor can I esteem that soul worthy the felicities of heaven which cannot support the body under the horrors of the last passage to those blissful mansions."

She then asked for the admission of her own chaplain, but the earl of Kent said that the attendance of a papist priest was unnecessary, as Fletcher, dean of Peterborough, a most learned and pious divine, would afford her all necessary consolation and instruction. She refused to see him, which so much angered the earl of Kent, that he coarsely, though truly told her that her death would be the life of the protestant religion, as her life would have been the death of it.

Having taken a sparing and early supper, the unhappy Mary passed the night in making a distribution of her effects and in religious offices, until her usual hour for retiring, when she went to bed and slept for some hours. She rose very early, and resumed her religious exercises, using a consecrated host which had been sent to her by Pope Pius.

As the fatal hour approached she dressed herself in a rich habit of velvet and silk. Scarcely had she done so when Andrews, sheriff of the county, entered the room and summoned her to the last dread scene, to which she was supported by two of Sir Amias Paulet's guards, an infirmity in her limbs preventing her from walking without aid. As she entered the hall adjoining her room she was met by the earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, Sir Amias Paulet, Sir Drue Drury, and other gentlemen; and here

Sir Andrew Melvil, her attached steward, threw himself upon his knees before her, lamenting her fate and wringing his hands in an agony of real and deep grief. She comforted him by assurances of her own perfect resignation, bade him report in Scotland that she died a true woman to her religion, and said, as she resumed her way to the scaffold, "Recommend me, Melvil, to my son, and tell him that, notwithstanding all my distresses, I have done nothing prejudicial to the state and kingdom of Scotland. And now, my good Melvil, farewell; once again, farewell, good Melvil, and grant the assistance of thy prayers to thy queen and mistress."

She now turned to the earls, and begged that her servants might freely enjoy the presents she had given them and be sent safely to their own country; all which was readily promised. But the earls objected to the admission of her attendants to the execution, and some difficulty was even made about any of them being present in her last moments. This really harsh refusal roused her to a degree of anger she had not previously shown, and she indignantly said to the earls, "I know that your mistress, being a maiden queen, would vouchsafe, in regard of womanhood, that I should have some of my own people about me at my death. I know that her majesty hath not given you any such strict command but that you might grant me a request of far greater courtesy, even though I were a woman of inferior rank to that which I bear. I am cousin to your queen, and descended from the blood royal of Henry VIII., and a married queen of France, and an anointed queen of Scotland."

This remonstrance had due effect, and she was allowed to select four of her male and two of her female servants to attend her to the scaffold; her steward, physician, apothecary, and surgeon, with her maids Curle and Kennedy.

Thus attended, she was led into an adjoining hall, in which was a crowd of spectators, and the scaffold, covered with black cloth. The warrant having been read, the dean of Peterborough stepped forward and addressed her in exhortation to repentance of her sins, acknowledgment of the justice of her sentence, and reliance for mercy and salvation only upon the mediation and merits of Christ. During the dean's address Mary several times endeavoured to interrupt him, and at the conclusion she said, "Trouble not yourself any more about the matter, for I was born in this religion, I have lived in this religion, and I will die in this religion."

She now ascended the scaffold, saying to Paulet, who lent her his arm, "I thank you, sir; it is the last trouble I shall give you, and the most acceptable service that you have ever rendered me." The queen of Scots now, in a firm voice, told the persons assembled that "She would have them recollect that she was a sovereign princess, not subject to the parliament of England, but brought there to suffer by violence and injustice. She thanked God for having given her this opportunity to make public profession of her faith, and to declare, as she often before had declared that she had never imagined, nor compassed, nor consented to the death of the English queen, nor even sought the least harm to her person. After her death many things, which were then buried in darkness, would come to light. But she pardoned, from her heart, all her enemies, nor should her tongue utter that which might chance to prejudice them."

At a sign from the earls the weeping maid servants now advanced to disrobe their mistress. The executioners, in their sordid fear lest they should thus lose their perquisites, the rich attire of the queen, hastily interfered. Mary blushed and drew back, observing that she had not been accustomed to undress before such an audience, or to be served by such valets. But, as no interference, was made by the earls she submitted; her neck was bared; her maid, Kennedy, pinned a handkerchief, edged with gold, over her eyes; and an executioner taking hold of each of her

arms, led her to the block, upon which she laid her head, saying audibly and in firm tones, "Into thy hands, O God, I commend my spirit."

The executioner now advanced, but was so completely unnerved that his first blow missed the neck, deeply wounding the skull; a second was likewise ineffectual; at the third the head was severed from the body. The unhappy lady evidently died in intense agony, for when he exhibited the head to the spectators, the muscles of the face were so distorted that the features could scarcely be recognised.

When the executioner, on exhibiting the head, cried "God save Queen Elizabeth," the dean of Peterborough replied, "And so perish all her enemies;" to which the earl of Kent added, "So perish all the enemies of the gospel."

The body was on the following day embalmed and buried in Peterborough cathedral, whence, in the next reign, it was removed to Westminster abbey.

CHAPTER XLVII.

THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH (*continued.*)

A. D. 1587.—The tragical scene we have just described must have convinced even the most devoted of Elizabeth's subjects that their "virgin queen" was not over-abundantly blessed with the "god-like quality of mercy," whatever opinion they might entertain of Mary's participation in the crime for which she suffered. But there are many circumstances connected with the history of this period which may be pleaded in extenuation of conduct that in less critical times could only be viewed with unalloyed abhorrence and disgust. The massacre of St. Bartholomew was still fresh in the recollection of every one, and the bigoted zeal which the queen of Scots ever displayed in favour of the catholics, whose ascendancy in England she ardently desired, gave a mournful presage of what was to be expected by the protestant population should their opponents succeed in their desperate machinations. Neither must we disregard the assertion, so often made and never disproved, that when Elizabeth signed the warrant of execution, she not only did so with much apparent reluctance, but placed it in the hands of Davison, her private secretary, expressly charging him not to use it without farther orders. Whatever, indeed, may have been her secret wishes, or real intentions, her subsequent behaviour had the semblance of unfeigned sorrow. Could it be proved to have been otherwise, no one would deny that her conduct throughout was characterized by unparalleled hypocrisy—a profound dissimulation written in characters of blood.

Elizabeth, in fact, did what she could to throw off the odium that this sanguinary transaction had cast upon her. She wrote to the king of Scotland in terms of the deepest regret, declaring that the warrant she had been induced to sign was to have lain dormant, and, in proof of her sincerity, she imprisoned Davison, and fined him in the sum of 10,000*l*, which reduced him to a state not far removed from actual beggary.

One of the most memorable events in English history was now near at hand; one which called for all the energy and patriotic devotion that a brave and independent people were capable of making; and, consequently, every minor consideration vanished at its approach. This was the projected invasion of England by Philip of Spain. This monarch, disappointed in his hopes of marrying Elizabeth, returned the queen her collar of the garter, and from that time the most irreconcilable jealousy appears to have existed between them. In all the ports throughout his extensive dominions the note of preparation was heard, and the most powerful navy

that had ever been collected was now at his disposal. An army of 50,000 men were also assembled, under experienced generals, and the command of the whole was given to the celebrated duke of Parma. The catholics on the continent were in an ecstacy of delight; the pope bestowed his benediction on an expedition that seemed destined once more to restore the supremacy of the holy see, and it was unanimously hailed by all who wished it success as the *invincible armada.*

To repel this mighty array, no means within the reach of Elizabeth and her able ministers were forgotten, nor could anything exceed the enthusiastic determination of her subjects to defend their altars and their homes. Among the newly raised levies the militia formed a very important item; the nobility also vied with each other in their efforts of assistance; and Lord Huntingdon alone raised 40,000 foot and 10,000 horse. The royal navy had, fortunately, been on the increase for a long time previous, and the successful exertions of Admiral Drake in the Indies had infused a degree of confidence into our sailors, before unknown in the service.

The views of the Spanish king having been fully ascertained by the emissaries of Elizabeth, she ordered 20,000 troops to be cantoned along the southern coast of the kingdom, in such a manner that in forty-eight hours the whole might be assembled at any port where there was a probability of the enemy's landing. A large and well-disciplined corps, also, amounting to 24,000 men, was encamped at Tilbury fort, near the mouth of the Thames, under the immediate command of the earl of Leicester, who was appointed generalissimo of the army. These troops the queen reviewed, and having harangued them, rode through the lines with the general—her manner evincing great firmness and intrepidity, which while it gave *eclat* to the scene, filled every breast with patriotic ardour. The residue of her troops, amounting to 34,000 foot and 2,000 horse, remained about the queen's person; and the militia were in readiness to reinforce the regular troops wherever there might be occasion.

All the ports and accessible points on the coast were fortified and strongly garrisoned; but though orders were given to oppose the enemy's descent, wherever it might be, the respective commanders were directed not to come to a general engagement in the event of their landing, but to retire and lay waste the country before them, that the Spaniards might meet with no subsistence, and be perpetually harassed in their march. Nor was anything left undone that might be likely to contribute to the defeat of the armada by sea. Lord Howard of Effingham was created lord high admiral, and Sir Francis Drake vice-admiral, who, together with Hawkins and Frobisher, were stationed near Plymouth, to oppose the enemy as he entered the channel; while Lord Henry Seymour commanded another fleet upon the coast of Flanders, to prevent the duke of Parma from bringing over troops from that quarter.

A. D. 1588.—The armada sailed from Lisbon on the 30th of May, but being dispersed by a storm, rendezvoused at Corunna and did not enter the English channel until the 19th of July, when Effingham suffered them to pass him, but kept close in their rear until the 21st. The duke of Medina Sidonia (the Spanish admiral) expected to have been here joined by the duke of Parma and the land forces under his command, but the latter had found it impracticable to put to sea without encountering the fleet of Lord Seymour, by which he justly feared that both his ships and men would be put in the utmost jeopardy.

For four days a kind of brisk running fight was kept up, in which the English had a decided advantage; and the alarm having now spread from one end of the coast to the other, the nobility and gentry hastened out with their vessels from every harbour, and reinforced the English fleet, which soon amounted to 140 sail. The earls of Oxford, Northumberland, and Cumberland, Sir Thomas Cecil, Sir Robert Cecil, Sir Walter Raleigh,

Sir Thomas Vavasor, Sir Thomas Gerrard, Sir Charles Blount, and many others distinguished themselves by this generous and seasonable proof of their loyalty. On the 24th the lord admiral divided the fleet into four squadrons, the better to pursue and annoy the enemy; the first squadron he himself commanded; the second he assigned to Sir Francis Drake; the third to Sir John Hawkins; and the fourth to Sir Martin Frobisher. The result of this was, that in the three succeeding days the armada had become so shattered by the repeated skirmishes in which it had been engaged, that it was compelled to take shelter in the roads of Calais.

The English admiral having been informed that 10,000 men belonging to the duke of Parma's army had marched towards Dunkirk, and apprehending serious consequences from the enemy's receiving such a reinforcement, determined to spend no more time in making desultory attacks on the huge galleons with his comparatively small vessels. Accordingly, in the night of the 28th of July, he sent in among them eight or ten fireships; and such was the terror of the Spanish sailors, that they cut their cables, hoisted sail, and put to sea with the utmost hurry and confusion. In their anxiety to escape, victory was no longer thought of. The duke of Medina Sidonia, dreading again to encounter the English fleet, attempted to return home by sailing round the north of Scotland; but the elements were now as fatal to the Spanish fleet as the skill and bravery of the English sailors. Many of the ships were driven on the shores of Norway, Ireland, and the north of Scotland; and out of that vast armament which, from its magnitude and apparent completeness, had been styled *invincible*, only a few disabled vessels returned to tell the tale of its disastrous issue. In the several engagements with the English fleet in the channel, in July and August, the Spaniards lost fifteen great ships and 4,791 men; seventeen ships, and 5,394 men (killed, taken, and drowned) upon the coast of Ireland, in September; and another large ship, with 700 men, cast away on the coast of Scotland. But this enumeration by no means included their total loss. On the part of the English the loss was so trifling as scarcely to deserve mention.

The destruction of the Spanish armada inspired the nation with feelings of intense delight; the people were proud of their country's naval superiority, proud of their own martial appearance, and proud of their queen. A medal was struck on the occasion with this inscription "*Venit, vidit, fugit*"—It came, saw, and fled:" another, with fire-ships and a fleet in confusion, with this motto, "*Dux fœmina facti*"—"A woman conducted the enterprise." But on the fatal news being conveyed to Philip, he exclaimed, in real or affected resignation, "I sent my fleet to combat the English, not the elements. God be praised, the calamity is not greater."

If the destruction of the Spanish armada had saved England from the domination of a foreign power, whose resentment for past indignities was not likely to be easily appeased, it was no less a triumph for the protestant cause throughout Europe; the Huguenots in France were encouraged by it, and it virtually established the independence of the Dutch; while the excessive influence which Spain had acquired over other nations was not only lost by this event, but it paralyzed the energies of the Spanish people and left them in a state of utter hopelessness as to the future. A day of public thanksgiving having been appointed for this great deliverance, the queen went in state to St. Paul's in a grand triumphal car, decorated with flags and other trophies taken from the Spaniards.

The public rejoicings for the defeat of the armada were scarcely over when an event occurred, which, in whatever light it might be felt by Elizabeth herself, certainly cast no damp on the spirits of the nation at large; we mean the death of Leicester. The powerful faction of which the favourite had been the head acknowledged a new leader in the earl of Essex, whom his step-father had brought forward at court as a counterpoise to

the influence of Raleigh, and who now stood second to none in her majesty's good graces. But Essex, however gifted with noble and brilliant qualities, was confessedly inferior to Leicester in several endowments highly essential to the leader of a court party. Though not void of art, he was by no means master of the dissimulation, address, and wary coolness by which his predecessor well knew how to accomplish his ends. The character of Essex was frank and impetuous, and experience had not yet taught him to distrust either himself or others.

A. D. 1589.—After the defeat of the armada, a thirst for military achievments against the Spaniards pervaded the mind of the English public. The queen encouraged this spirit, but declared her treasury was too poor to sustain the expenses of a war. An association was soon formed by the people, and an army of 21,000 men, under the command of Norris and Drake, sailed from Plymouth to avenge the insult offered to England by Philip of Spain. The young earl of Essex, without consulting the pleasure of his sovereign, made a private journey to Plymouth, and joined the expedition. No sooner was the queen made acquainted with his absence, than she dispatched the lord Huntingdon to bring the fugitive to her feet; but he had already sailed.

It was the queen's order that the armament should first proceed to Portugal, and endeavour to join the army of Don Antonio, who contended with Philip for the possession of the throne of Portugal; but Drake would not be restrained by instructions, and he proceeded to Corunna, where he lost a number of men, without obtaining the slightest advantage. In Portugal they were scarcely more successful; but at their return their los were concealed, their advantages magnified, and the public were satisfied hat the pride of Spain had been humbled.

Elizabeth might probably have expected that the death of the queen of Scots would put an end to conspiracies against her life; but plots were still as rife as ever; nor can we feel surprise that it should be so, considering that Elizabeth, as well as Philip of Spain, employed a great number of spies, who, being men of ruined fortunes and bad principles, betrayed the secrets of either party as their own interests led them; and sometimes were the fabricators of alarming reports to enhance the value of their services.

England and France were now in alliance, and the French king called for English aid in an attack upon Spain, but the queen had begun to repent of the sums she had already advanced to Henry, and demanded Calais as a security for her future assistance; for the preparations on the peninsula alarmed her majesty lest Philip should make a second attempt to invade England. At length the English council adopted a measure, proposed by the lord admiral, Howard of Effingham, to send out an expedition that should anticipate the design of the enemy, and destroy his ports and shipping; Essex had the command of the land forces, and Howard that of the navy. When the English troops entered Cadiz, the council of war was divided in opinion as to the fitness of that step, which ended in the possession of the city and fleet, from which the troops returned with glory for their bravery, and with honour for their humanity, as no blood had been wantonly spilt, nor any dishonourable act committed. Though Essex had been the leading conquerer at Cadiz, the victory was reported as chiefly attributable to Sir Walter Raleigh, and to have been in itself a cheap and easy conquest.

A. D. 1591.—The maritime war with Spain, notwithstanding the cautious temper of the queen, was strenuously waged at this time, and produced some striking indications of the rising spirit of the English navy. A squadron, under Lord Thomas Howard, which had been waiting six months at the Azores to intercept the homeward-bound ships from Spanish America, was there surprised by the enemy's fleet, which had been

sent out for their convoy. The English admiral, who had a much smaller force, put to sea in all haste, and got clear off, with the exception of one ship, the Revenge, the captain of which had the temerity to confront the whole Spanish fleet of fifty-six sail rather than strike his colours. It was, however, a piece of bravery as needless as it was desperate; for after his crew had displayed prodigies of valour, and beaten off fifteen boarding parties, his ammunition being gone and the whole of his men killed or disabled, the gallant commander was compelled to strike his flag, and soon after died of his wounds on board the Spanish admiral's ship.

A. D. 1593.—In those days, when an English sovereign required money, and then only, the services of a parliament were called for; and Elizabeth was now under the necessity of summoning one. But she could ill brook any opposition to her will; and fearing that the present state of her finances might embolden some of the members to treat her mandates with less deference than formerly, she was induced to assume a more haughty and menacing style than was habitual to her. In answer to the three customary requests made by the speaker, for liberty of speech, freedom from arrests, and access to her person, she replied by her lord keeper, that such liberty of speech as the commons were justly called to—liberty, namely, of aye and no, she was willing to grant, but by no means a liberty for every one to speak what he listed. And if any idle heads should be found careless enough of their own safety to attempt innovations in the state, or reforms in the church, she laid her injunctions on the speaker to refuse the bills offered for such purposes till they should have been examined by those who were better qualified to judge of these matters. But language, however imperious or scornful, was insufficient to restrain some attempts on the part of the commons to exercise their known rights and fulfil their duty to the country. Peter Wentworth, a member whose courageous and independent spirit had already drawn upon him repeated manifestations of the royal displeasure, presented to the lord keeper a petition, praying that the upper house would join with the lower in a supplication to the queen for fixing the succession. Elizabeth, enraged at the bare mention of a subject so offensive to her, instantly committed Wentworth, Sir Thomas Bromley, who seconded him, and two other members, to the Fleet prison; and such was the general dread of offended majesty, that the house was afraid to petition for their release.

A. D. 1596.—Essex, whose vanity was on a par with his impetuosity, had now attained the zenith of his prosperity; but, confident in the affections of Elizabeth, he frequently suffered himself to forget that a subject's dutiful respect was due to her as his queen. On one memorable occasion, it is related, that he treated her with indignity uncalled for and wholly indefensible; a dispute had arisen between them in the presence of the lord high admiral, the secretary, and the clerk of the signet, respecting the choice of a commander for Ireland, where Tyrone at that time gave the English much trouble. The queen had resolved to send Sir William Knolles, the uncle of Essex; while the earl with unbecoming warmth urged the propriety of sending Sir George Carew, whose presence at court, it appears, was displeasing to him, and, therefore, with courtier-like sincerity, he thus sought to remove him out of the way. Unable, either by argument or persuasion, to prevail over the resolute will of her majesty, the favourite at last forgot himself so far as to turn his back upon her with a laugh of contempt; an indignity which she revenged in the true "Elizabethan style," by boxing his ears, and bidding him "Go to the devil," or "Go and be hanged!"—for our chroniclers differ as to the exact phrase, though all agree that she suited the word to the action This retort so inflamed the blood of Essex, that he instantly grasped his sword, and while the lord admiral interposed to prevent a further ebullition of passion, the earl swore that not from her father would he have

taken such an insult, and, foaming with rage, he rushed out of the palace. For a time this affair furnished ample scope for idle gossip and conjecture; the friends of Essex urged him to lose no time in returning to his attendance at court and soliciting her majesty's forgiveness. This, however, he could not be prevailed on to do; but, like many other quarrels among individuals of an humbler grade, it was at length patched up, and the reconciliation appeared to the superficial observer as perfect, as it was, in all probability, hollow and insincere.

Essex had long thirsted for military distinction, and had often vehemently argued with Burleigh on the propriety of keeping up a perpetual hostility against the power of Philip; but the prudent and experienced minister contended that Spain was now sufficiently humbled to render an accommodation both safe and honourable; and his prudential counsel was adhered to by the queen. Economy in the public expenditure was, in fact, necessary; and one of the last acts of Burleigh's life was the completion of an arrangement with the states of Holland for the repayment of the sums which Elizabeth had advanced to them, whereby the nation was relieved of a considerable portion of its former annual expense.

After exercising very considerable influence in the administration of affairs in England for forty years, the faithful Burleigh, whose devotion to the queen and attachment to the reformed faith were constant and sincere, died in the 78th year of his age; and in about a month after, his great opponent, Philip II., also bowed to death's stern decree. Under his successor the Spanish monarchy declined with accelerated steps; all apprehensions of an invasion ceased, and the queen's advisers had an opportunity of turning their whole attention to the pacification of Ireland.

A. D. 1598.—The Irish rebel, Tyrone, had successfully resisted the English forces in several encounters; and at length the whole province of Munster declared for him. It was evident that much time had been spent on minor objects, while the great leader of the rebels was in a manner left to overrun the island and subjugate it to his will. This subject was earnestly canvassed by Elizabeth and her council; by the majority of whom Lord Mountjoy was considered as a person fully equal to the office of lord-deputy at so critical a juncture. Essex, however, offered so many objections to his appointment, arguing the point with so much warmth and obstinacy, and withal intimating his own superior fitness for the office with so much art and address, that the queen, notwithstanding certain suspicions which had been infused into her mind respecting the probable danger of committing to Essex the chief command of an army, and notwithstanding her presumed unwillingness to deprive herself of his presence, appears to have adopted his suggestion with an unusual degree of earnest haste. The earl of Essex was accordingly made lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and with 20,000 choice troops he went forward on his long-desired mission.

A. D. 1599.—Having landed at Dublin in the spring, Essex immediately appointed his friend, the earl of Southampton, to the office of general of the horse; but instead of opening the campaign, as was expected by his friends in England, with some bold and decisive operation against Tyrone, the summer was spent in temporising, and before the close of the year a suspicious truce between the parties put an end to all his anticipations of success. Nay, so unexpected was the issue of this expedition, that it afforded the best possible opportunity to his enemies to shake the queen's confidence even in his loyalty. An angry letter from her majesty was the immediate consequence; and Essex, without waiting for the royal permission, hurried over to England in order to throw himself at the feet of his exasperated sovereign. The sudden appearance of her favourite, just after she had risen from her bed, imploring her forgiveness on his knees, disarmed the queen of her anger; and on leaving the apart

ment, he exclaimed exultingly, "that though he had encountered much trouble and many storms abroad, he thanked God he found a perfect calm at home."

The earl of Essex doubtless thought the troubled waters were at rest; his vanity favoured the notion, and self-gratulation followed as a matter of course; but he soon found that the tempest was only hushed for the moment, for at night he found himself a prisoner in his own house by the peremptory orders of Elizabeth. Heart-sick and confounded, a severe illness was the quick result of this proceeding; and for a brief interval the queen not only showed some signs of pity, but administered to his comfort. A warrant was, however, soon afterwards made out for his committal to the Tower, and though it was not carried into effect, yet his chance of liberty seemed too remote for prudence to calculate on. But the fiery temper of Essex had no alloy of prudence in it: he gave way to his natural violence, spoke of the queen in peevish and disrespectful terms, and, among other things, said, "she was grown an old woman, and was become as crooked in her mind as in her body."

A. D. 1600.—Shortly after his disgrace, Essex wrote to James of Scotland, informing him that the faction who ruled the court were in league to deprive him of his right to the throne of England, in favour of the infanta of Spain; and he offered his services to extort from Elizabeth an acknowledgment of his claims. It appears, indeed, from concurrent testimony, that the conduct of Essex had now become highly traitorous, and that he was secretly collecting together a party to aid him in some enterprise dangerous to the ruling power. But his plans were frustrated by the activity of ministers, who had received information that the grand object of the conspirators was to seize the queen's person and take possession of the Tower. A council was called, and Essex was commanded to attend; but he refused, assembled his friends, and fortified Essex-house, in which he had previously secreted hired soldiers. Four of the privy council being sent thither to inquire into the reason of his conduct, he imprisoned them and sallied out into the city; but he failed in his attempt to excite the people in his favour, and on returning to his house, he and his friend the earl of Southampton were with some difficulty made prisoners, and after having been first taken to Lambeth palace, were committed to the Tower.

A. D. 1601.—The rash and aspiring Essex now only begged that he might have a fair trial, still calculating upon the influence of the queen to protect him in the hour of his utmost need. Proceedings were commenced against him instantly; his errors during his administration in Ireland were represented in the most odious colours; the undutiful expressions he had used in some of his letters were greatly exaggerated; and his recent treasonable attempt was dwelt on as calling for the exercise of the utmost severity of the law. His condemnation followed; judgment was pronounced against him, and against his friend, the earl of Southampton. This nobleman was, however, spared; but Essex was conducted to the fatal block, where he met his death with great fortitude, being at the time only in the thirty-fourth year of his age. His most active accomplices were Cuff, his secretary, Merrick, his steward, Sir Christopher Blount, his father-in-law, and Sir Robert Davers, who were executed some few days after.

The parliamentary proceedings of this year were more elaborate than before, particularly as regarded the financial state of the country. It was stated that the whole of the last subsidies amounted to no more than 160,000*l*., while the expense of the Irish war alone was 300,000*l*. On this occasion it was observed by Sir Walter Raleigh, that the estates of the nobility and gentry, which were charged at thirty or forty pounds in the queen's books, were not charged at a hundredth part of their real value. He also moved, that as scarcely any justices of the peace were rated above eight or ten pounds a year, they might be advanced to twenty pounds at

least, which was the qualification required by the statute for a justice of peace; but the commons declined to alter the rate of taxation and leave themselves liable to be taxed at the rack-rent. Monopolies upon various branches of trade were next brought under consideration; and as they were generally oppressive and unjust (some obtained by purchase and others given to favourites), many animated discussions followed, which ended in a motion that the monopolies should be revoked, and the patentees punished for their extortions. Of course there were members present who were venal enough to defend this iniquitous mode of enriching certain individuals at the expense of the public. A long list of the monopolizing patents being, however, read—among which was one on salt, an article that had thus been raised from fourteen pence to fourteen shillings a bushel—a member indignantly demanded whether there was not a patent also for *making bread;* at which question some courtiers expressing their resentment, he replied that if bread were not already among the *patented* luxuries, it would soon become one unless a stop was put to such enormities. That the arguments of the speakers were not lost upon the queen seems certain: for although she took no notice of the debates, she sent a message to the house, acquainting them that several petitions had been presented to her against monopolies, and declared "she was sensibly touched with the people's grievances, expressing the utmost indignation against those who had abused her grants, and appealed to God how careful she had ever been to defend them against oppression, and promised they should be revoked." Secretary Cecil added "her majesty was not apprised of the ill tendency of these grants when she made them, and hoped there would never be any more;" to which gracious declaration the majority of the house responded, "Amen."

In this memorable session was passed the celebrated act, to which allusion is so often made in the present day, for the relief and employment of the poor. Since the breaking up of the religious establishments, the country had been overrun with idle mendicants and thieves. It was a natural consequence that those who sought in vain for work, and as vainly implored charitable aid, should be induced by the cravings of hunger to lay violent hands upon the property of others. As the distress of the lower orders increased, so did crime; till at length the wide-spreading evil forced itself on the attention of parliament, and provision was made for the bettering of their condition, by levying a tax upon the middle and upper classes for the support of the aged and infirm poor, and for affording temporary relief to the destitute, according to their several necessities, under the direction of parochial officers.

We must now briefly revert to what was going on in Ireland. Though the power of the Spaniards was considered as at too low an ebb to give the English government any great uneasiness for the safety of its possessions, it was thought sufficiently formidable to be the means of annoyance as regarded the assistance it might afford Tyrone, who was still at the head of the insurgents in Ireland. And the occurrence we are about to mention shows that a reasonable apprehension on that head might well be entertained. On the 23rd of September the Spaniards landed 4000 men near Kinsale, and having taken possession of the town, were speedily followed by 2000 more. They effected a junction with Tyrone; but Mountjoy, who was now lord-deputy, surprised their army in the night, and entirely defeated them. This led to the surrender of Kinsale and all other places in their possession; and it was not long before Tyrone, as a captive, graced the triumphal return of Mountjoy to Dublin.

A. D. 1602.—The most remarkable among the domestic occurrences of this year was a violent quarrel between the jesuits and the secular priests of England. The latter accused the former, and not without reason, of having been the occasion, by their assassinations, plots, and conspiracies

against the queen and government, of all the severe enactments under which the English catholics had groaned since the fulmination of the papal bull against her majesty. In the height of this dispute, intelligence was conveyed to the privy council of some fresh plots on the part of the jesuits and their adherents; on which a proclamation was immediately issued, banishing this order from the kingdom on pain of death; and the same penalty was declared against all secular priests who should refuse to take the oath of allegiance.

That Queen Elizabeth deeply regretted the precipitancy with which she signed the warrant for the execution of her favourite Essex there is every reason to believe. She soon became a victim to hypochondria, as may be seen from a letter written by her godson, Sir John Harrington; and as it exhibits a curious example of her behaviour, and may be regarded as a specimen of the epistolary style of the age, we are induced to quote some of the sentences: "She is much disfavoured and unattired, and these troubles waste her much. She disregardeth everie costlie cover that cometh to her table, and taketh little but manchet and succory pottage. Every new message from the city doth disturb her, and she frowns on all the ladies." He farther on remarks, that "The many evil plots and designs hath overcome her highness' sweet temper. She walks much in her privy chamber, and stamps much at ill news; and thrusts her rusty sword, at times, into the arras in great rage." And in his postscript he says, "So disordered is all order, that her highness has worn but one change of raiment for many daies, and swears much at those who cause her griefs in such wise, to the no small discomfiture of those that are about her; more especially our sweet Lady Arundel." Her days and nights were spent in tears, and she never spoke but to mention some irritating subjects. Nay, it is recorded, that having experienced some hours of alarming stupor, she persisted, after her recovery from it, to remain seated on cushions, from which she could not be prevailed upon to remove during ten days, but sat with her finger generally on her mouth, and her eyes open and fixed upon the ground, for she apprehended that if she lay down in bed she should not rise from it again. Having at length been put into bed, she lay on her side motionless, and apparently insensible. The lords of the council being summoned, Nottingham reminded her of a former speech respecting her successor; she answered, "I told you my seat had been the seat of kings, and I will have no rascal to succeed me. Who should succeed me but a king?" Cecil, wishing a more explicit declaration, requesting her to explain what she meant by "no rascal," she replied that "a king should succeed, and who could that be but her cousin of Scotland?" Early the following morning the queen tranquilly breathed her last; she was in the 70th year of her age and the 45th of her reign.

Elizabeth was tall and portly, but never handsome, though from the fulsome compliments which she tolerated in those who had access to her person, she appears to have entertained no mean opinion of her beauty. Her extravagant love of finery was well known, and the presents of jewelry, &c., she received from such of her loving subjects as hoped to gain the royal favour were both numerous and costly. Like her father, she was irritable and passionate, often venting her rage in blows and oaths Her literary acquirements were very considerable; and in those accomplishments which are in our own day termed "fashionable," namely, music, singing, and dancing, she also greatly excelled. The charges which have been made against the "virgin queen" for indulging in amatory intrigues are not sufficiently sustained to render it the duty of an historian to repeat them; and when it is considered that though she possessed a host of sturdy friends, yet that she had many bitter enemies, we need not be surprised that in the most vulnerable point her character as a female has often been unjustly assailed.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

THE REIGN OF JAMES I.

A. D. 1603.—The advanced age to which the late queen lived, and the constant attention which her remaining unmarried had caused men to pay to the subject of the succession, had made the succession of James become a thing as fully settled in public opinion as though it had been settled by her will or an act of parliament. All the arguments for and against him had been canvassed and dismissed, and he ascended the throne of England with as little opposition as though he had been Elizabeth's eldest son.

As the king journeyed from Edinburgh to London all ranks of men hailed him with the thronging and applause which had been wont to seem so grateful to his predecessor. But if James liked flattery, he detested noise and bustle; and a proclamation was issued forbidding so much congregating of the lieges, on the ground that it tended to make provisions scarce and exorbitantly dear. It was only shyness, however, and not any insensibility to the hearty kindness of his new subjects, that dictated the king's proclamation. So pleased, indeed, was he with the zealous kindness shown to him by the English, that he had not been two months before them when he had honoured with the order of knighthood nearly two hundred and forty persons! Peerages were bestowed pretty nearly in the same proportion; and a good humoured pasquinade was posted at St. Paul's promising to supply weak memories with the now very necessary art of remembering the titles of the new nobility.

It was not merely the king's facility in granting titles that was blamed, though that was in remarkable, and, as regarded his judgment, at least, in by no means favourable contrast to the practice of his predecessor; but the English, already jealous of their new fellow-subjects, the Scots, were of opinion that he was more than fairly liberal to the latter. But if James made the duke of Lenox, the earl of Mar, Lord Hume, Lord Kinross, Sir George Hume, and Secretary Elphinstone, members of the English privy council, and gave titles and wealth to Sir George Hume, Hay, and Ramsay, he at least had the honour and good sense to leave nearly the whole of the ministerial honours and political power in the hands of the able English who had so well served his predecessor. Secretary Cecil, especially, who had kept up a secret correspondence with James towards the close of the late reign, had now the chief power, and was created, in succession, Lord Effingdon, Viscount Cranborne, and earl of Salisbury.

It is not a little surprising that while James was so well received by the nation at large, and had the instant support of the ministers and friends of the late queen, he had scarcely finished renewing treaties of peace and friendship with all the great foreign powers, when a conspiracy was discovered for placing his cousin, Arabella Stuart, upon the throne. Such a conspiracy was so absurd, and its success so completely a physical impossibility, that it is difficult not to suspect that it *originated* in the king's own excessive and unnecessary jealousy of the title of Arabella Stuart, who, equally with himself, was descended from Henry VIII., but who in no other respect could have the faintest chance of competing with him. But, however it originated, such a conspiracy existed; and the lords Grey and Cobham, and Sir Walter Raleigh, Lord Cobham's brother, Mr. Broke, Sir Griffin Markham, Sir Edward Parham, and Mr. Copley, together with two catholic priests named Watson and Clarke, were apprehended for being concerned in it. The catholic priests were executed, Cobham, Grey and Markham were pardoned while their heads were upon the block, and Raleigh was also reprieved, but *not* pardoned; a fact which was fatal to him many years after, as will be perceived. Even at present it was mis-

chievous to him, for, though spared from death, he was confined in the Tower, where he wrote his noble work, the History of the World.

A. D. 1604.—A conference was now called at Hampton court to decide upon certain differences between the church and the puritans, and generally to arrange that no injurious religious disputes might arise. As James had a great turn for theological disputation he was here quite in his element; but instead of showing the puritans all the favour they expected from him in consequence of his Scottish education, that very circumstance induced the king to side against them, at least as far as he prudently could; as he had abundant proof of the aptness of puritanical doctrine to produce seditious politics. He was importuned, for instance, by the puritans to repeal an act passed in the reign of Elizabeth to suppress societies called *prophesyings*, at which there was usually more zeal than sense, and more eloquence than religion. The reply of James was at once so coarsely practical, and so indicative of his general way of thinking upon such points, that we transcribe it literally. "If what you aim at is Scottish presbytery, as I think it is, I tell you that it agrees as well with monarchy as the devil with God. There Jack, and Tom, and Will, and Dick, shall meet and censure me and my council. Therefore I reiterate my former speech; the king *s'avisera*. Stay, I pray you, for seven years before you demand, and then, if I be grown pursy and fat, I may, perchance, hearken to you, for that sort of government would keep me in breath and give me work enough!"

Passing over the business of parliament at the commencement of this reign, as concerning matters of interest rather to the statesman and scholar than to the general reader, we have now to advert to one of the most striking and remarkable events in our history—the *gunpowder plot.*

The affection which the catholics had ever shown towards his mother, and their interpretation of some obliging expressions that he had either artfully or in mere carelessness made use of, had led them to hope that he would greatly relax, if not wholly repeal the severe laws passed against them during the reign of his predecessor. But James had clearly and unequivocally shown that he had no intention of doing aught that could diminish the authority and security of the crown; and the more enthusiastic catholics were in consequence very greatly excited against him.

Catesby, a gentleman of good birth and excellent character, first looked upon the subject as one demanding the absolute punishment of the king, and he communicated his feelings to his friend Piercy, a descendant of the time-honoured house of Northumberland. Piercy proposed simply to assassinate the king, but in the course of their discussion of the plan Catesby suggested a wider and more effectual plan, by which they would rid catholicism not merely of the king, but of the whole protestant strength of the kingdom. He pointed out that the mere death of the king, and even of his children, would be of little avail while the protestant nobles and gentry could raise another king to the throne who, in addition to all the existing causes of the protestant severity, would be urged to new rigour by the very circumstance to which he would owe his power to indulge it. To make the deed effectual, Catesby continued, it would be necessary to take the opportunity of the first day of parliament, when king, lords, and commons would be all assembled, and, by means of a mine below the house, blow the whole of their enemies up at once with gunpowder.

Nothing but a fierce and mistaken fanaticism could allow one man to suggest so dreadful a scheme, or another man to approve of it; but Piercy at once entered into Catesby's plan, and they took means for preparing for its execution. Thomas Winter was sent over to Flanders in search of Guido Vaux, an officer in the Spanish service, and well known alike as

a bigoted catholic and a cool and daring soldier. Catesby and Piercy in the meantime, aided by Desmond and Garnet, jesuits, and the latter the superior of the order in England, were busily engaged in communicating their awful design to other catholics; and every newly-enlisted confederate had the oath of secrecy and faithfulness administered to him, in conjunction with the communion, a rite peculiarly awful as understood by the catholics.

The destruction of protestants all the confederates seem to have considered to be a quite unexceptionable act; but some of the more thoughtful and humane among them suggested the certainty that, besides several catholic peers who would attend, there might be many other catholics present, either as mere spectators or as official attendants. Even this suggestion, which one might suppose effectual as to forbidding the execution of Catesby's wholesale scheme, was silenced by the truly jesuitical remark of the two jesuits, that the sacrifice of a few innocent among the guilty many, was lawful and highly meritorious, because it was required by the interests of religion! Alas! in abusing that sacred name how many crimes have not mistaken men committed!

A. D. 1605.—Towards the end of summer Piercy hired a house adjoining to that in which parliament used to assemble; and having instruments, arms, and provisions with them, they laboured hard in it for many hours each day, and had already mined three feet through the solid wall when they were stopped and alarmed by plainly hearing on the other side a noise for which they could give no account. On inquiry it seemed that the noise arose from the sale of the stock of a coal dealer who had occupied a vault, next to their own, and immediately below the house of lords. The opportunity was seized; Piercy hired the vault, and six-and-thirty barrels of gunpowder were clandestinely conveyed thither and concealed beneath the loads of wood, for the reception of which alone Piercy pretened to need the place.

Having thus surmounted all the great and apparent obstacles to the success of their design, the conspirators distributed among themselves the several parts they were to act on the eventful day. Guido Vaux was to fire the fatal train; Piercy was to seize or slay the infant, duke of York; and the princess Elizabeth, also a mere infant, who would be a powerless instrument in the hands of the catholics, was to be seized and proclaimed queen by Grant, Rookwood, and Sir Everard Digby, three of the leading conspirators, who were to have a large armed party in readiness on pretence of a hunting match.

The dreadful scheme had now been on foot for above a year and a half, and was known to more than twenty persons, but neither fear of punishment, the hope of reward, or any of the motives which ordinarily make conspirators untrue to each other, had caused any one of the desperate band to falter. A personal feeling of gratitude now did what no other feeling, perhaps, could have done, and caused one of the conspirators to take a step which saved the nation from horrors of which even at this distance of time one cannot contemplate the mere possibility but with a shudder.

Some one of the conspirators, lying under obligations to Lord Monteagle, a catholic and a son of Lord Morley, sent him the following letter, which evidently was intended to act upon his personal prudence and secure his safety, without enabling him in any wise to oppose the ruthless butchery that was designed:

"My Lord,

"Out of the love I bear to some of your friends I have a care of your preservation, therefore I would advise you as you tender your life to devise some excuse to shift off your attendance upon this parliament. For God and man have concurred to punish the wickedness

of the time. Think not lightly of this advertisement, but retire your self into your country, where you may expect the event in safety. For though there be no appearance of any stir, yet, I say, they will receive a terrible blow this parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurts them. This counsel is not to be contemned, because it may do you good, and can do you no harm, for the danger is past as soon as you burn this letter. And I hope God will give you the grace to make good use of it, unto whose holy protection I commit you."

Cecil, now earl of Salisbury, was the principal and most active of the king's ministers, and to that nobleman Monteagle fortunately determined to carry the letter, though he was himself strongly inclined to think it nothing but some silly attempt to frighten him from his attendance in parliament. Salisbury professed to have the same opinion of the letter, but laid it before the king some days before the meeting of parliament. James, who, amid many absurdities, was in the main a shrewd man, saw the key to the enigma in the very style of the letter itself: and Lord Suffolk, the lord chamberlain, was charged to examine the vaults beneath the houses of parliament on the day before that appointed for opening the session. He did so in open day, and, as if as a simple matter of form, went through the cellars and came out without affecting to see anything amiss. But he had been struck by the singularity of Piercy, a private gentleman who lived but little in town, having amassed such an inordinate store of fuel; and he read the conspirator in the desperate countenance of Guido Vaux, who was lurking about the place in the garb and character of a servant to Piercy. Acting on these suspicions, the ministers caused a second search to be made at midnight by a well-armed party under Sir Thomas Knivet, a justice of peace. At the very door of the vault they seized Vaux, who had made all his preparations and even had his tinder-box and matches ready to fire the train; the faggots of wood were turned over, and the powder found. Vaux was sent under an escort to the Tower, but was so far from seeming appalled by his danger, that he sneeringly told his captors that if he had known a little earlier that they intended to pay him a second visit, he would have fired the train and sweetened his own death by killing them with him. He behaved in the same daring style when examined by the council on the following day; but two or three days' residence in the Tower and a threat of putting him on the rack subdued him, and he made a full discovery of his confederates. Catesby, Piercy, and their other friends who were to act in London, heard not only of a letter being sent to Lord Monteagle, but also of the first search made in the vault; yet were they so infatuated and so resolute to persevere to the last, that it was only when Vaux was actually arrested that they left London and hurried down to Warwickshire, where Digby and his friends were already in arms to seize the princess Elizabeth. But the sheriff raised the county in time to convey the young princess to Coventry; and the baffled conspirators, never more than eighty in number, had now only to think of defending themselves until they could make their escape from the country. But the activity of the sheriff and other gentry surrounded them by such numbers that escape in any way was out of the question, and having confessed themselves to each other, they prepared to die with a desperate gallantry worthy of a nobler cause. They fought with stern determination, but some of their powder took fire and disabled them; Catesby and Piercy were killed by a single shot; Digby, Rookwood, and Winter, with Garnet the jesuit, were taken prisoners, and soon after perished by the hands of the executioner. It is a terrible proof of of the power of superstition to close men's eyes to evil, that though Garnet's crime was of the most ruffianly description, though he had used his priestly influence to delude his confederates and tools when their better nature prompted them to shrink from such wholesale and unsparing atro-

city, the catholics imagined miracles to be wrought with this miserable miscreant's blood, and in Spain he was even treated as a martyr! Throughout this whole affair, indeed, the evil nature of superstition was to blame for all the guilt and all the suffering. The conspirators in this case were not low ruffians of desperate fortune; they were for the most part men of both property and character; and Catesby was a man who possessed an especially and enviably high character. Digby also was a man of excellent reputation, so much so, that his being a known and rigid papist had not prevented him from being highly esteemed and honoured by Queen Elizabeth.

When the punishment of the wretches who had mainly been concerned in this plot left the court leisure for reflection, some minor but severe punishments were inflicted upon those who were thought by connivance or negligence to have been in any degree aiding the chief offenders. Thus the earl of Northumberland was fined the then enormous sum of thirty thousand pounds, and imprisoned for seven years afterwards, because he had not exacted the usual oaths from Piercy on admitting him to the office of gentleman pensioner. The catholic lords Stourton and Mordaunt, too, were fined, the former four and the latter ten thousand pounds by that ever arbitrary court, the star-chamber, for no other offence than their absence from parliament on this occasion. This absence was taken as a proof of their knowledge of the plot, though surely, if these two noblemen had known of it, they would have warned many other catholics; while a hundred more innocent reasons might cause their own absence.

Of the conduct of James, in regard to the duty he owed to justice in punishing the guilty, and confining punishment strictly to those of whose guilt there is the most unequivocal proof, it is not easy to speak too warmly. The prejudice shown against catholics in the case of the lords Stourton and Mordaunt, and the infinite brutalities inflicted upon the wretched conspirator, were the crimes of the age; but the severe and dignified attention to a just and large charity of judgment as a general principle, which is displayed in the king's speech to this parliament, is a merit all his own.

He observed, says Hume, "that though religion had engaged the conspirators in so criminal an attempt, yet ought we not to involve all the Roman catholics in the same guilt, or suppose them equally disposed to commit such enormous barbarities. Many holy men, and our ancestors among the rest, had been seduced to concur with that church in her scholastic doctrines, who yet had never admitted her seditious principles, concerning the pope's power of dethroning kings or sanctifying assassination. The wrath of heaven is denounced against crimes, but innocent error may obtain its favour; and nothing can be more hateful than the uncharitableness of the puritans who condemn alike to eternal torments even the most inoffensive partisans of popery. For his own part, that conspiracy, however atrocious, should never alter, in the least, his plan of government; while with one hand he would punish guilt, with the other he would still support and protect innocence."

A. D. 1606.—The protestants, and especially the puritans, were inclined to plunge to a very great extent into that injustice of which the king's speech so ably warned them. But the king, even at some hazard to himself and at some actual loss of popularity, persisted in looking at men's secular conduct as a thing quite apart from their ghostly opinions. He bestowed employment and favour, other things being equal, alike on catholic and protestant: and the only hardship caused to the great body of the papists by the horrible gunpowder plot was the enactment of a bill obliging every one without exception to take oath of allegiance. No great hardship upon any good subject or honest and humane man, since it only abjured the power of the pope to dethrone the king!

Almost as soon as James arrived in England he showed himself in one respect, at the least, very far more advanced in true statesmanship than most of his subjects. They for a long time displayed a small and spiteful jealousy of the Scots; he, almost as soon as he mounted the English throne, endeavoured to merge England and Scotland, two separate nations, always sullen and sometimes sanguinary and despoiling enemies, into a Great Britain that might indeed bid defiance to the world, and that should be united in laws and liberties, in prosperity and in interests, as it already was by the hand of nature. There was nothing, however, in the earlier part of his reign, by which so much heart-burning was caused between the king and his parliament, as by the wisdom of the former and the ignorance and narrow prejudice of the latter on this very point. All the exercise of the king's earnestness and influence, aided by the eloquence of, perhaps, all things considered, the greatest man England has ever had, Sir Francis Bacon, could not succeed over the petty nationalities of the Scotch and English parliaments any farther for the present, than to procure an ungracious and reluctant repeal of the directly hostile laws existing in the two kingdoms respectively. Nay, so averse, at the onset, was the English parliament to a measure, the grand necessity and value of which no one could now dispute without being suspected of the sheerest idiocy, that the bishop of Bristol, for writing a book in favour of the measure which lay ignorance thus condemned, was so fiercely clamoured against, that he was obliged to save himself from still harder measures by making an humble submission to these ignorant and bigoted legislators.

A. D. 1607.—The practical tolerance of the king as opposed to his arbitrary maxims of government, and the parliament's lust of persecution as contrasted with its perpetual struggles to obtain more power and liberty for itself, were strongly illustrated this year. A bill was originated in the lower house for a more strict observance of the laws against popish recusants, and for an abatement towards such protestant clergymen as should scruple at the still existing church ceremonials. This measure was doubly distasteful to the king; as a highly liberal protestant he disliked the attempt to recur to the old severities against the catholics: and as a high prerogative monarch he was still more hostile to the insidious endeavour of the puritans, by weakening the church of England, to acquire the power to themselves of bearding and coercing the civil government.

In this same year, however, the very parliament which, on the remonstrance of the king, obediently stopped the progress of that doubly disagreeable measure, gave a striking proof of its growing sense of self importance by commencing a regular journal of its proceedings.

A. D. 1610.—James was so careful to preserve peace abroad that much of his reign might be passed over without remark, but for the frequent bickerings which occurred between him and his parliament on the subject of money. Even in the usually arbitrary reign of Elizabeth the parliament had already learned the power of the purse. The puritan party was now gradually acquiring that at once tyrannical and republican feeling which was to be so fatal to the monarchy and so disgraceful to the nation, and although James was allowed a theoretical despotism, a mere tyranny of maxims and sentences, some merely silly, and others—could he have acted upon them—to the last degree dangerous, the true tyranny was that of the parliament which exerted their power with the merciless and fitful malignity of a dwarf which has suddenly become possessed of a giant's strength. The earl of Salisbury, who was now treasurer, laid before both houses, this session, the very peculiar situation in which the king was placed. Queen Elizabeth, though she had received large supplies during the latter part of her reign, had made very considerable alienations of the crown lands; the crown was now burdened with debt to the amount of 300,000 pounds, and the king was obliged, instead of a single court as in

the late reign, to keep three courts, his own, that of the queen, and that of the prince of Wales. But though these really strong and most reasonable arguments were also urged by the king himself in his speech to parliament, they granted him only one hundred thousand pounds—his debts alone being thrice that sum! It cannot, after this statement of the situation of the king and the temper in which parliament used the power we have spoken of, be astonishing that henceforth there was one perpetual struggle between them, he striving for the means of supporting the national dignity, and indulging a generosity of temper which, imprudent in any king, was doubly so in one who had to deal with so close-fisted a parliament; and they striving at once to abridge the king's prerogative, and to escape from supplying even his most reasonable demands.

An incident occurred this year which, taken in contrast with the extreme horror of foreign disputes which James usually displayed, affords a rather amusing illustration of the extent to which even so petty a "ruling passion" as pedantry may domineer over all others.

Vorstius, a divinity professor of a German university, was appointed to the chair of a Dutch university. He was a disciple of Arminius, and moreover had the presumption to be opposed in argument to King James, who did not think it beneath his royal dignity, or too manifest and dangerous a departure from his pacific foreign policy, seriously to demand of the states that they should deprive and banish the obnoxious professor. The procedure was at once so absurd and so severe, that the Dutch at first refused to remove Vorstius; but the king returned to the charge with such an earnest fierceness, that the states deemed it politic to yield, and the poor professor, who was luckless enough to differ from King James, was deprived of both his home and employment. In the course of this dispute, James, who had so creditably argued for charity in the case of the attempt of his puritans to oppress their catholic fellow-subjects, made use of this revolting observation:—"He would leave it to the states themselves *as to the burning of Vorstius for blasphemies and atheism, but surely never heretic better deserved the flames!*"

Of James' conduct in and towards Ireland we have given a full account, which is very creditable to him, under the head of that country. We now, therefore, pass forward to the domestic incidents of England, commencing with the death of Henry, prince of Wales, an event which was deeply and with good reason deplored.

A. D. 1612.—This young prince, who was only in his eighteenth year, was exceedingly beloved by the nation, having given every promise of a truly royal manhood. Generous, high-spirited, brave, and anxious for men's esteem, perhaps, in the turbulent days that awaited England, even his chief fault—a too great propensity to things military would have proved of service to the nation, by bringing the dispute between the crown and the puritans to an issue before the sour ambition of the latter could have sufficiently matured its views. Dignified and of a high turn of mind, he seems to have held the finessing and the somewhat vulgar familiarity of his father in something too nearly approaching contempt. To Raleigh, who had so long been kept a prisoner, he openly and enthusiastically avowed his attachment, and was heard to say, "Sure no king except my father would keep such a bird in a cage." So sudden was the young prince's death that evil tongues attributed it to poison, and some even hinted that the prince's popularity and free speech had become intolerable to his father. But the surgical examination of the body clearly proved that there was no poison in the case; and moreover, if James failed at all in the parental character, it was by an excessive and indiscriminate fondness and indulgence.

A. D. 1613.—The marriage of the princess Elizabeth to Frederic, the elector palatine, took place this year, and the entertainments in honour of

that event served to dispel the deep gloom which had been caused by the death of Prince Henry. But this event, so much rejoiced at, was one of the most unfortunate that occurred during the whole generally fortunate reign of James, whom it plunged into expenses on account of his son-in-law which nothing could have induced him to incur for any warlike enterprize of his own.

But before we speak of the consequence of this unfortunate connection, we must, to preserve due order of time, refer to an event which created a strong feeling of horror and disgust throughout the nation—the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury at the instance of the earl and countess of Somerset.

Robert Carre, a youth of a respectable but not wealthy family in Scotland, arrived in London in the year 1609, bringing with him letters of recommendation to Lord Hay. Carre, then quite a youth, was singularly handsome and possessed in perfection all the merely external accomplisments; though his education was so imperfect, that it is stated that long after his introduction to the king's notice he was so ignorant of even the rudiments of the then almost indispensable Latin, that James was wont to exchange the sceptre for the birch, and personally to play the pedagogue to the boy-favourite. Noting the comely aspect and graceful bearing of young Carre, Lord Hay took an opportunity to place him in the king's sight at a tilting match, and it chanced that on that very occasion James' attention was the more strongly drawn to him by an accident occurring by which young Carre's leg was broken. The sight of this so affected the king, that in the course of the day he went to the young patient's chamber, consoled him with many kind words, and became so pleased with his spirit and general behaviour, that he instantly adopted him as an especial and favoured personal attendant. Attentive to the lessons of the kingly pedagogue, and skilful in discovering and managing his weaknesses, young Carre also possessed the art so many favourites have perished for lack of; he was a courtier not only to the king but to all who approached the king. By thus prudently aiding the predilection of the king, Carre rapidly rose. He was knighted, then created earl of Rochester and K. G., and introduced into the privy council. Wealth and power accompanied this rapid rise in rank, and in a short time this new favourite, without any definite office in the ministry, actually had more real influence in the management of affairs than the wise Salisbury himself.

Much of his success Carre owed to the wise counsels of Sir Thomas Overbury, whose friendship he claimed, and who became at once his adviser and his client, and counselled none the less earnestly and well because he felt that his own chief hope of rising at court rested upon the success of Carre. Thus guided, the naturally sagacious and flexible youth soon ripened into the powerful, admired, and singularly prosperous man. Unfortunately he became passionately attached to the young countess of Essex, who as unfortunately returned his passion. This lady when only thirteen years of age, as Lady Frances Howard, daughter of the earl of Suffolk, was, by the king's request, married to the young earl of Essex, then only fourteen. In consideration of their extreme youth the ceremony was no sooner completed than the youthful bridegroom departed to the continent, and did not return from his travels until four years after In the meantime the young countess of Essex and Viscount Rochester had met, loved, and sinned; and when the young earl, with the impatient ardour of eighteen, flew to his fair countess, he was thunderstruck at being received not with mere coolness, but with something approaching to actual loathing and horror. The countess' passion for and guilty connection with Rochester were not even suspected, and every imaginable means were resorted to for the purpose of overcoming what was deemed to be a mere excess of maidenly coyness. All means, however, were alike vain,

nothing could induce her to live with her husband, and she and Rochester now determined to make way for their marriage by a divorce of the lady from the earl of Essex.

Rochester consulted Sir Thomas Overbury; but that prudent courtier, though he had been privy to and had even encouraged their criminal connection, was too sincerely anxious for the character and happiness of his friend not to dissuade him from the ignominy of procuring this divorce, and the folly of committing his own peace and honour to the keeping of a woman of whose harlotry he had personal knowledge. Connected as Rochester and the countess were, the latter was not long ignorant of this advice given by Overbury, and with the rage of an insulted woman and the artful blandishments of a beauty, she easily persuaded the enamoured Rochester that he, too, was injured by that very conduct in which Overbury had undoubtedly most proved the sincerity and the wisdom of his friendship. Having brought Rochester to this point, the countess found little difficulty in determining him to the ruin of that friend to whom he owed so much, and by artfully getting Overbury a mission from the king and then privately counselling Overbury to reject it, he managed so to dupe and enrage James that the unfortunate Overbury was committed to the Tower, where, however, it does not appear that James meant him long to remain. But the instant he entered there, Sir Thomas was fully in the power of his arch enemies. The lieutenant of the Tower, a mere creature and dependant of Rochester, confined Overbury with such strictness, that for six months the unfortunate man did not see even one of his nearest relatives.

Having got rid of the grave and troublesome opposition of Overbury, the guilty lovers now pushed forward matters; and the earl of Essex, completely cured of his love for the lady by what appeared to him the unaccountable capriciousness of her conduct, very gladly consented to a ridiculously indecent plea, which induced the proper authorities to pronounce a divorce between the earl and countess of Essex. The latter was immediately married to her paramour, Rochester, upon whom, that the lady might not lose a step in rank by her new marriage, the king now conferred the title of earl of Somerset.

Though the imprisonment of Overbury had thus completely served her purpose as to her divorce and re-marriage, it had by no means satiated the revenge of the countess. The forcible and bitter contempt with which Overbury had spoken of her was still farther envenomed by her own consciousness of its justice, and she now exerted all the power of her beauty and her blandishments, until she persuaded the uxorious Somerset that their secret was too much in danger while Overbury still lived, and that their safety demanded his death. Poison was resorted to; both Somerset and his countess' uncle, the earl of Northampton, joining in the cowardly crime with some accomplices of lower rank. Slight doses, only, were given to the doomed victim in the first place, but these failing of the desired effect, the base conspirators gave him a dose so violent that he died, and with such evident marks of the foul treatment that he had met with, that an instant discovery was only avoided by burying the body with an indecent haste.

Even in this world of imperfect knowledge and often mistaken judgment, the plotting and cold-blooded murderer never escapes punishment. The scaffold or the gallows, the galleys or the gaol, indeed, he may, though that but rarely happens, contrive to elude. But the tortures of a guilty conscience, a constant remorse mingled with a constant dread, a continued and haunting remembrance of the wrong done to the dead, and a constant horror of the dread retribution which at any instant the slightest and most unforeseen accident may bring upon his own guilty head—these punishments the murderer never did and never can escape. From

the moment that the unfortunate Overbury was destroyed, the whole feeling and aspect of the once gay and brilliant Somerset were changed. He became sad, silent, inattentive to the humours of the king, indifferent to the fatal charms of the countess, morose to all, shy of strangers, weary of himself. He had a doomed aspect; the wild eye and hasty yet uncertain gait of one who sees himself surrounded by the avengers of blood and is every instant expecting to feel their grasp.

As what was at first attributed to temporary illness of body or vexation of mind became a settled and seemingly incurable habit, the king, almost boyish in his love of mirth in his hours of recreation, gradually grew wearied of the presence of his favourite. All the skill and policy of Somerset, all the artful moderation with which he had worn his truly extraordinary fortunes had not prevented him from making many enemies; and these no sooner perceived, with the quick eyes of courtiers, that the old favourite was falling, than they helped to precipitate his fall by the introduction of a young and gay candidate for the vacant place in the royal favour.

Just at this critical moment in the fortunes of Somerset, George Villiers, the cadet of a good English family, returned from his travels. He was barely twenty-one years of age, handsome, well educated, gay, possessed of an audacious spirit, and with precisely that love and aptitude for personal adornment which became his youth. This attractive person was placed full in the king's view during the performance of a comedy. James, as had been anticipated, no sooner saw him than he became anxious for his personal attendance. After some very ludicrous coquetting between his desire for a new favourite and his unwillingness to cast off the old one, James had the young man introduced at court, and very soon appointed him his cup-bearer. Though the ever-speaking conscience of Somerset had long made him unfit for his former gaity, he was by no means prepared to see himself supplanted in the royal favour; but before he could make any effort to ruin or otherwise dispose of young Villiers, a discovery was made which very effectually ruined himself.

Among many persons whom Somerset and his guilty countess had found it necessary to employ in the execution of their atrocious design, was an apothecary's apprentice who had been employed in mixing up the poisons. This man, now living at Flushing, made no scruple of openly stating that Overbury had died of poison, and that he had himself been employed in preparing it. The report reached the ears of the English envoy in the Low Countries, and was by him transmitted to the secretary of state, Winwood, who at once communicated it to the king. However weary of his favourite, James was struck with horror and surprise on receiving this report, but with a rigid impartiality which does honour to his memory, he at once sent for Sir Edward Coke, the chief justice, and commanded him to examine into the matter as carefully and as unsparingly as if the accused persons were the lowest and the least cared for in the land. The stern nature of Coke scarcely needed this injunction; the inquiry was steadily and searchingly carried on, and it resulted in the complete proof of the guilt of the earl and countess of Somerset, Sir Jervis Elvin, lieutenant of the Tower, Franklin, Weston, and Mrs. Turner. Of the temper of Coke this very trial affords a remarkable and not very creditable instance. Addressing Mrs. Turner, he told her that she was "guilty of the seven deadly sins; being a harlot, a bawd, a sorceress, a witch, a papist, a felon, and a murderer!"

The honourable impartiality with which the king had ordered an inquiry into the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury was not equally observed afterwards. All the accused were very properly condemned to death; but the sentence was executed only on the accomplices; by far the worst criminals, the earl and countess were pardoned! A very brief imprisonment

and the forfeiture of their estates were allowed to expiate their enormous crimes, and they were then assigned a pension sufficient for their support, and allowed to retire to the country. But the pardon of man could not secure them the peace of heart which their crime had justly forfeited. They lived in the same house, but they lived only in an alternation of sullenness and chiding, and thus they dragged on many wretched years, a mutual torment in their old age as they had been a mutual snare in their youth, until they at length sank unregretted and unhonoured into the grave.

A. D. 1616.—The fall of Somerset necessarily facilitated and hastened the rise of young George Villiers, who in a wonderfully short time obtained promotions—which, that the regularity of narrative may be preserved, we insert here—as Viscount Villiers, earl, marquis, and finally duke of Buckingham, knight of the garter, master of the horse, chief justice in eyre, warden of the cinque ports, master of the king's bench office, steward of Westminister, constable of Windsor, and lord high admiral of England. His mother was made countess of Buckingham, his brother Viscount Purbeck, and a whole host of his previously obscure and needy favourites obtained honours, places, patents, or wealth.

The profusion of the king—to which justice demands that we add the parsimony of the parliament—made him throughout his whole reign an embarrassed man; and he incurred great, though undeserved odium by the course he took to supply his pressing and immediate wants. When Elizabeth aided the infant states of Holland against the gigantic power of Spain, she had the important towns of Flushing, the Brille, and Rammekins placed in her hands as pledges for the repayment of the money to England. Various payments had been made which had reduced the debt to £600,000, which sum the Dutch were under agreement to pay to James at the rate of £40,000 per annum. This annual sum would doubtless have been of vast service to the king—but £26,000 per annum were spent in maintaining his garrisons in the cautionary or mortgaged towns. Only £14,000 remained clear to England, and even that would cease in the event of new warfare between Holland and Spain. Considering these things, and being pressed on all sides for money to satisfy just demands and the incessant cravings of his favourite and the court, the king gladly agreed to surrender the cautionary towns on the instant payment by the Dutch of £250,000; and, under all the circumstances of the case, James appears to have acted with sound policy in making the bargain.

A. D. 1617.—In the course of this year James paid a visit to Scotland with the view to a favourite scheme which he had long pondered—probably even before he ascended the English throne, and while he still was personally annoyed by the rude and intrusive presumption of the puritans. His scheme was "to enlarge the episcopal authority; to establish a few ceremonies in public worship, and to settle and fix the superiority of the civil to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction."

But though the king's personal influence was now very high, as well from the peace he had preserved throughout his dominions and the pride the Scotch, themselves a pedantic people, felt in hearing the king whom they had given to England, cited as "the British Solomon," as from the great, not to say unjust, preference which the king took every opportunity to show to Scottish suitors for promotion, even his influence, after much opposition on the part of the clergy, could only procure him a sullen adoption of but a small portion of his plan. "Episcopacy" was so much the detestation of the Scotch, that it is surprising that so shrewd a king as James should have made a point of endeavouring to force it upon them But, as if he had not done sufficient in the way of affronting the religious prejudices of the Scotch, James no sooner returned home than he equally affronted those of that large party of his English subjects, the puritans. That dark, sullen, joyless, and joy-hating set of men had, by degrees,

brought the original decorous Sunday of England to be a day of the most silent and intense gloom. This was noticed by the king in his return from Scotland, and he immediately issued a proclamation by which all kinds of lawful games and exercises were allowed after divine service. However imprudent this proclamation on the part of the king, we are inclined to believe that in spirit his extreme was wiser than that of the puritans. But whatever may be the good or the bad policy of the practice, it is certain that the king chose a wrong time for recommending it. Even his authority was as nothing against superstitious fanaticism. But while he failed to check or persuade the puritans, did he not irritate them? Might not the sharpening of many a sword that was bared against Charles I. be traced to the vexation caused in puritan bosoms by this very proclamation of his father?

CHAPTER XLIX.

THE REIGN OF JAMES I. (*continued*).

A. D. 1618.—Sir Walter Raleigh, the favourite of Elizabeth, the opponent and enemy of Essex, to whom he had shown an implacable and savage spirit which makes us doubt whether the world had not been greatly mistaken in deeming him a good as well as a great man, had now been for thirteen years lingering in his prison. Though advanced in years and ruined in fortune, even imprisonment could not break his unquestionably daring and resolved spirit. Soldier, seaman, courtier, and man of intrigue during so much of his life, it was when, amid the yells of the public ferocity, which his own cruelty, however, had provoked and exemplared, he was led to the Tower of London, that he, instead of resigning himself to despair, commenced his elaborate and really learned History of the World! Thirteen years of confinement could not quell that enduring and daring spirit; and, as the report of his friends informed him that public opinion was very favourably and greatly changed on his behalf, he now began to scheme for obtaining his enlargement. He caused it to be noised abroad that, during one of his voyages, he had discovered a gold mine in Guiana, so rich that it would afford enormous wealth not only to any gallant adventurers who, under proper guidance, should seek it, but also to the entire nation at large. These reports, as Raleigh from the first intended, reached the ears of the king; but James doubted the existence of the mine, and the more so because it was clear that a man in the sad situation of Raleigh might be expected to say almost anything to obtain freedom. But the report was so far serviceable to Raleigh, that it reminded the king of the long dreary years the once gallant soldier and gay courtier of Elizabeth had passed in the gloom of a dungeon, and he liberated him from the Tower, but refused to release him from the original sentence of death, which, he said, he considered a necessary check upon a man of Raleigh's character, which assuredly had more of talent and audacity than of either probity or mercy.

Though James was by no means inclined to give credit to the insignificant tale of Raleigh, he gave full leave to all private adventurers who might choose to join him; and Raleigh's intrepid assertions, backed by his great repute for both talent and courage, soon placed him at the head of twelve ships, well armed and manned, and provided with everything necessary for piracy and plunder, but with nothing calculated for digging the pretended treasure.

On the river Oronoko, in Guiana, the Spaniards had built a town called St. Thomas, which, at this time, was exceedingly wealthy. Raleigh had taken possession of the whole district above twenty years before in the

name of Queen Elizabeth; but as he had immediately left the coast, his claim on behalf of England was totally unknown to the Spaniards. It was to this wealthy Spanish settlement that Raleigh now steered, and on arriving there he stopped at the mouth of the Oronoko with five of his largest ships, sending the remainder of the expedition up to St. Thomas' under the command of his son and his fellow-adventurer, Captain Kemyss. The Spaniards, seeing the English adventurers approach St. Thomas in such hostile guise, fired at them, but were speedily repulsed and driven into the town. As young Raleigh headed his men in the attack on the town, he exclaimed, "*This is the true mine, and they are but fools who look for any other!*" He had scarcely spoken the words when he received a shot, and immediately fell dead; Kemyss, however, still continued the attack and took the town, which they burned to ashes in their rage at finding no considerable booty in it.

Raleigh had never averred that he had himself ever seen the wonderfully rich mine of which he gave so glowing an account, but that it had been found by Kemyss on one of their former expeditions together, and that Kemyss had brought him a lump of ore, which proved the value as well as the existence of it the more. Yet, now that Kemyss, by his own account, was within two hour's march of the mine, he made the most absurd excuses to his men for leading them no farther, and immediately returned to Raleigh, at the mouth of the Oronoko, with the melancholy news of the death of the younger Raleigh, and the utter failure of all their hopes as far as St. Thomas was concerned. The scene between Raleigh and Kemyss was probably a very violent one; at all events it had such an effect upon Kemyss that he immediately retired to his own cabin and put an end to his existence.

The other adventurers now perceived that they had entered into both a dangerous and unprofitable speculation, and they inferred from all that had passed that Raleigh from the outset had relied upon piracy and plundering towns—a kind of speculation for which their ill success at St. Thomas gave them no inclination, whatever their moral feelings upon the subject might have been. On a full consideration of all the circumstances, the adventurers determined to return to England and take Raleigh with them, leaving it to him to justify himself to the king in the best manner he could. On the passage he repeatedly endeavoured to escape, but was brought safely to England and delivered up to the king. The court of Spain in the meantime loudly and justly complained of the destruction of St. Thomas; and, after a long examination before the privy council, Raleigh was pronounced guilty of wilful deceit as to the mine, and of having from the beginning intended to make booty by piracy and land-plunder. The lawyers held, however, as a universal rule, that a man who already lay under attaint of treason could in no form be tried anew for another crime; the king, therefore, signed a warrant for Raleigh's execution for that participation in the setting up of the lady Arabella Stuart, for which he had already suffered imprisonment during the dreary period of thirteen years! He died with courage, with gayety almost, but without bravado or indecency. While there was yet a faint hope of his escape he feigned a variety of illnesses, even including madness, to protract his doom; but when all hope was at length at an end, he threw off all disguise, and prepared to die with that courage on the scaffold with which he had so often dared death on the field. Taking up the axe with which he was about to be beheaded, he felt the edge of it, and said, "'Tis a sharp, but it is also a sure remedy for all ills." He then calmly laid his head upon the block, and was dead at the first stroke of the axe. Few men had been more unpopular a few years earlier than Sir Walter Raleigh; but the courage he displayed, the long imprisonment he had suffered, and his execution on a sentence pronounced so long before, merely to give satis-

faction to Spain, rendered this execution one of the most unpopular acts ever performed by the king.

It will be remembered that we spoke of the marriage of the princess Elizabeth to the elector palatine as an event which in the end proved mischievous both to England and to the king.

A. D. 1619.—The states of Bohemia being in arms to maintain their revolt from the hated authority of the catholic house of Austria, the mighty preparations made by Ferdinand II., and the extensive alliances he had succeeded in forming to the same end, made the states very anxious to obtain a counterbalancing aid to their cause. Frederick, elector palatine, being son-in-law to the king of England and nephew to the prince Maurice, who at this time was possessed of almost unlimited power over the United Provinces, the states of Bohemia considered that were he elected to their crown—which they deemed elective—their safety would be insured by his potent connections. They therefore offered to make Frederick their sovereign; and he, looking only at the honour, accepted the offer without consulting either his uncle or father-in-law, probably because he well knew that they would dissuade him from an honour so costly and onerous as this was certain to prove. Having accepted the sovereignty of Bohemia, Frederick immediately marched all the troops he could command to the defence of his new subjects. On the news of this event arriving in England the people of all ranks were strongly excited. As we have elsewhere said, the people of England are extremely affectionate towards their sovereigns; and Frederick, merely as the son-in-law of the king, would have had their warmest wishes. But they were still further interested on his behalf, because he was a protestant prince opposing the ambition and the persecution of the detested Spaniard and Austrian, and there was a general cry for an English army to be sent forthwith to Bohemia. Almost the only man in the kingdom who was clear-sighted and unmoved amid all this passionate feeling was James. He was far too deeply impressed with the opinion that it was dangerous for a king's prerogative and for his subjects' passive obedience, to look with a favourable eye upon revolted states conferring a crown even upon his own son-in-law. He would not acknowledge Frederick as king of Bohemia, and forbade his being prayed for in the churches under that title.

A. D. 1620.—However wise the reasonings of James, it would, in the end, have been profitable to him to have sent an English army, even upon a vast scale, to the assistance of Frederick in the first instance. Ferdinand, with the duke of Bavaria and the count of Bucquoy, and Spinola, with thirty thousand veteran troops from the Low Countries, not only defeated Frederick at the great battle of Prague, and sent him and his family fugitives into Holland, but also took possession of the palatinate. This latter disaster might surely have been prevented, had James at the very outset so far departed from his pacific policy as to send a considerable army to occupy the palatinate, in doing which he would by no means have stepped beyond the most strictly legal support of the legitimate right of his son-in-law.

Now that Frederick was expelled even from his palatinate, James still depended upon his tact in negotiation to spare him the necessity for an actual recourse to arms; but he at the same time, with the turn for dissimulation which was natural to him, determined to use the warlike enthusiasm of his subjects as a means of obtaining money, of which, as usual, he was painfully in want. Urging the necessity of instant recourse to that forcible interference, which in truth he intended never to make, he tried to gain a benevolence, but even the present concern for the palatine would not blind the people to the arbitrary nature of that way of levying heavy taxes upon them, and James was reluctantly obliged to call a parliament.

A. D. 1621.—The unwise inclination of the people to plunge into war on behalf of the palatine was so far serviceable to James, that it caused this parliament to meet him with more than usually dutiful and liberal dispositions. Some few members, indeed, were inclined to make complaint and redress of certain gross grievances their first subject of attention. But the general feeling was against them, and it was with something like acclamation that the parliament proceeded at once to vote the king two subsidies.

This done, they proceeded to inquire into some enormous abuses of the essentially pernicious practice of granting patent monopolies of particular branches of trade. It was proved that Sir Giles Mompesson and Sir Francis Michel had outrageously abused their patent for licensing inns and ale-houses; the former was severely punished, and the latter only escaped the same by breaking from prison and going abroad.

Still more atrocious was the conduct of Sir Edward Villiers, brother of the favourite, Buckingham. Sir Edward had a patent, in conjunction with Mompesson and Michel for the sole making of gold and silver lace. This patent had not only been abused, to the great oppresssion of the persons engaged in that, then, very extensive trade, but also to the downright robbery of all who used the articles, in which the patentees sold a vast deal more of copper than of gold or silver. Villiers, instead of being dealt with as severely as his accomplices, was sent abroad on a mission, and entrusted with the care of the national interests and honour, as a means of screening him from the punishment due to his shameless extortion and robbery at home. Hume, somewhat too tenderly, suggests that the guilt of Villiers was less enormous or less apparent than that of his accomplices. But the true cause of his impunity was the power of his insolent and upstart brother.

The king having expressed himself to be well pleased that the parliament had enabled him to discover and punish this enormous system of cruelty and fraud, the commons now ventured to carry their inquiries into the practices of a higher offender. That offender, alas! for poor human nature, was the illustrious Bacon;

"The wisest, greatest, meanest of mankind."

Kind-hearted, learned, wise, witty, eloquent, and beyond all his contemporaries deep-thoughted and sagacious, the viscount St. Albans, chancellor of England, was greedy almost to insanity; greedy not with the miser's wretched love of hoarding, but with the reckless desire of lavishing. His emoluments were vast, his honours and appointments many, and no one could be more eloquent in behalf of justice and moderation than this great man, who may justly be styled the apostle of common-sense in reasoning. Yet his profusion was so vast and so utterly reckless, and his practice so little in accordance with his preaching, that he took the most enormous bribes in his office of judge in equity. Hume suggests the odd apology that though he took bribes he still did justice, and even gave hostile judgments where he had been paid for giving favourable ones! To us it appears that this, if true, was merely adding the offence of robbing individuals to that of abusing his office. He was very justly sentenced to imprisonment during the royal pleasure, or fine of ten thousand pounds, and incapacity for again holding any office. The fine was remitted, and he was soon released from imprisonment and allowed a pension for his support; a lenity which we think he was undeserving of, in precise proportion to the vastness of his ability, which ought to have taught him to keep his conscience clear.

Many disputes now occurred from time to time between the king and his parliament, and at length the king dissolved them, imprisoned Coke, Philips, Selden, and Pym; and, in his whimsical way of punishing refrac-

tory people, sent Sir Dudley Digges, Sir Thomas Crew, Sir Nathaniel Rick, and Sir James Perrot, on a commission to Ireland, a country to which a scholar and a fine gentleman of that time would about as readily go as a club-lounger of our day would to Siberia, or the salt mines of Po land.

We do not deem it necessary to dwell at all minutely upon this parliamentary opposition to the king, because it is less important in itself than in its consequences, which we shall have to develope in the succeeding reign. *The seed of the civil war was now being sowed.* The commons were daily gaining power and the consciousness of power, but without the large and generous as well as wise spirit which knows how to *reform gradually.*

Even the king himself, with all his high opinions of prerogative and his only too great readiness to exert it, perceived that the day was past for governing with the high hand alone. A curious instance of this occurs in his buying off from the gathering opposition Sir John Saville. While others were sent to prison, or, which was but little better, to Ireland, Sir John, whose opposition had been eager and spirited, made his talent so much feared, that the king made him comptroller of the household, a privy councillor, and a baron. If his successor could but have been induced to ponder this fact, and to take it in conjunction with the nature of mankind, how much misery had been spared to himself and his people, and how many a name that has come down to us in conjunction with the most exalted patriotism, forsooth! would be forgotten in the lordly titles bestowed upon parliamentary usefulness!

A. D. 1622.—Whatever intention James might have professed of going to war on behalf of his son-in-law, his real intention was to secure the friendship of Spain, and thus secure the accomplishment of his own and the nation's wishes by marrying his son, Prince Charles, to the Spaniard's sister. Upon this marriage, besides his looking upon it as a master-stroke of policy, he was passionately bent, as a matter of personal feeling, as he deemed no one below a princess of Spain or France a fitting match for his son.

The war between the emperor and the palatine was still vigorously kept up, the latter prince, in spite of all his misfortunes making the most heroic exertions. The details of this war will be found in their proper place. Here it suffices to say, that though James greatly aided his gallant son-in-law with money, he did him almost equal injury by his negotiations, which every one saw through, and of course treated with disrespect proportioned to their knowledge that they originated in the most intense political prudence, carried to the very verge of actual cowardice. This excessive caution of the king, and his equally excessive addiction to perpetual negotiation always ending in nothing, was made the subject of much merriment on the continent. At Brussels a farce was acted, in the course of which a messenger was made to announce the sad news that the palatinate was at length on the eve of being wrested from the house of Austria. Nothing, the messenger said, could resist the aid which Frederick was now about to receive; the king of Denmark having agreed to send him a hundred thousand pickled herrings, the Dutch a hundred thousand butter-boxes, and the king of England—a hundred thousand dispatches!

But though James was in reality somewhat ridiculously profuse in his efforts to "negotiate" the duke of Bavaria into restoring the palatinate, he really was resting his main hope upon the Spanish match.

Digby, afterwards earl of Bristol, was sent to Madrid to endeavour to hasten the negotiation, which, with more or less earnestness, had now been carried on for five years. The princess being a catholic, a dispensation from the pope was necessary for the marriage; and as various motives of policy made Spain anxious to avoid a total and instant breach

with James, this circumstance was dexterously turned to advantage. Spain undertook to procure the dispensation, and thus possessed the power of retarding the marriage indefinitely or of concluding it at any moment, should circumstances render that course advisable. Suspecting at least a part of the deception that was practised upon him, James, while he sent Digby publicly to Spain, secretly sent Sage to Rome to watch and report the state of affairs and feeling there. Learning from that agent that the chief difficulty, as far as Rome was concerned, was the difference of religion, he immediately discharged all popish rescusants who were in custody. By this measure he hoped to propitiate Rome; to his own subjects he stated his reason for resorting to it to be—his desire to urge it as an argument in support of the application he was continually making to foreign princes for a more indulgent treatment of their protestant subjects.

Digby, now earl of Bristol, was incessant in his exertions, and seems to have been minutely informed of the real intentions and feelings of Spain; and the result of his anxious and well-directed inquiries was his informing James that there was no doubt that the princess would shortly bestow her hand upon his son, and that her portion would be the then enormous sum of eight hundred thousand pounds sterling. Pleased as James was with the news as regarded the anticipated marriage, he was enraptured when he considered it in conjunction with the restoration of the palatinate, which undoubtedly would instantly follow. Nothing now remained but to procure the dispensation from Rome; and that, supposing, as seems to have been the case, that Spain was sincere, was not likely to be long delayed when earnestly solicited by Spain—when all James' hopes were shipwrecked and his finely-drawn webs scattered to the winds by Buckingham. Did a prince *ever* fail to rue the folly of making an upstart too great for even his master's control!

A. D. 1623.—It would have been comparatively a small mischief had the king made Buckingham merely an opulent duke, had he not also made him, practically, his chief minister. Accomplished, showy, and plausible, he was, however, totally destitute of the solid talents necessary to the statesman, and was of so vindictive as well as impetuous a nature, that he would willingly have plunged the nation into the most destructive war for the sake of avenging a personal injury or ruining a personal enemy. Importunate and tyrannical even with the king himself, he was absolute, arrogant, and insulting to all others; and he had even insulted the prince of Wales. But as the king grew old, and evidently was fast sinking, Buckingham became anxious to repair his past error, and to connect himself in such wise with Charles, while still only prince of Wales, as to continue to be the chief minion at court when the prince should have expanded into the king.

Perceiving that the prince of Wales was greatly annoyed by the long and seemingly interminable delays that had taken place in bringing about the Spanish match, Buckingham resolved to make that circumstance serviceable to his views. Accordingly, though the prince had recently shown a decided coolness towards the overgrown favourite, Buckingham approached his royal highness, and in his most insinuating manner—and no one could be more insinuating or supple than Buckingham when he had an object in view—professed a great desire to be serviceable. He descanted long and well upon the unhappy lot of princes in general in the important article of marriage, in which both husband and wife were usually the victims of mere state policy, and strangers even to each other's persons until they met at the altar. From these undeniable premises he passed to the conclusion, so well calculated to inflame a young and enthusiastic man, that, for the sake both of making the acquaintance of his future wife, and of hastening the settlement of the affair by interesting her feelings in behalf alike of his gallantry and of his personal accomplish-

ments, Charles would act wisely by going *incognito* to the Spanish court. A step so unusual and so trusting could not fail to flatter the Spanish pride of Philip and his court, while, as seeming to proceed from his passionate eagerness to see her, the infanta herself must inevitably be delighted.

Charles, afterwards so grave and so melancholy—alas! good prince, how much he had to make him so!—was then young, ingenuous, and romantic. He fell at once into Buckingham's views, and, taking advantage of an hour of unusual good humour, they so earnestly importuned the king that he gave his consent to the scheme. Subsequently he changed his mind; cool reflection enabled him to see some good reasons against the proposed expedition, and his natural timidity and suspicion no doubt suggested still more than had any such solid foundation. But he was again importuned by the prince with earnestness, and by the duke with that tyrannous insolence which he well knew when to use and when to abstain from, and again the king consented.

Endymion Porter, gentleman of the prince's chamber, and Sir Francis Cottington were to be the only attendants of the prince and duke, except their mere grooms and valets. To Sir Francis Cottington the king communicated the scheme in the duke's presence, and asked his opinion of it. The scene that followed is so graphically characteristic of the terms upon which the duke lived with his benefactor and sovereign, that we transcribe it in full from the pages of Hume.

"James told Cottington that he had always been an honest man, and, therefore, he was now about to trust him with an affair of the highest importance, which he was not, upon his life, to disclose to any man whatever. 'Cottington,' added he, 'here is Baby Charles, Dog Steenie (these ridiculous appellations he usually gave to the prince and Buckingham), who have a great mind to go past into Spain and fetch home the infanta. They will have but two more in their company, and they have chosen you for one. What think you of the journey?' Sir Francis, who was a prudent man, and had resided some years in Spain as the king's agent, was struck with all the obvious objections to such an enterprise, and scrupled not to declare them. The king threw himself upon his bed and cried, 'I told you all this before,' and fell into a new passion and new lamentations, complaining that he was undone and should lose Baby Charles.

"The prince showed by his countenance that he was extremely dissatisfied with Cottington's discourse, but Buckingham broke into an open passion against him. The king, he told him, had asked him only of the journey, and of the manner of travelling, particulars of which he might be a competent judge, having gone the road so often by post; but that he, without being called to it, had the presumption to give his advice upon matters of state and against the prince, which he should repent as long as he lived.

"A thousand other reproaches he added which put the poor king into a new agony on behalf of a servant who, he foresaw, would suffer for answering him honestly, upon which he said, with some emotion, "Nay, by God, Steenie, you are much to blame for using him so. He answered me directly to the question which I asked him, and very honestly and wisely; and yet you know he said no more than I told you before he was called in.' However, after all this passion on both sides, James renewed his consent, and proper directions were given for the journey. Nor was he at any loss to discover that the whole intrigue was originally contrived by Buckingham, as well as pursued violently by his spirit and impetuosity."

The prince and Buckingham, with their attendants, passed through France; and so well were they disguised that they even ventured to look in at a court ball at Paris, where the prince saw the princess Henrietta, his afterwards unfortunate and heroically attached queen.

In eleven days they arrived at Madrid, where they threw off their dis-

guises and were received with the utmost cordiality. The highest honours were paid to Charles. The king made him a visit of welcome, cordially thanked him for a step which, unusual as it was among princes, only the more forcibly proved the confidence he had in Spanish honour—gave him a gold passport key that he might visit at all hours, and ordered the council to obey him even as the king himself. An incident which in England would be trivial, but which in Spain, so haughty and pertinacious of etiquette, was of the utmost importance, will at once show the temper in which the Spaniards responded to the youthful and gallant confidence of Charles. Olivarez, a grandee of Spain—a haughtier race far than any king, out of Spain—though he had the right to remain covered in the presence of his own sovereign, invariably took off his hat in presence of the prince of Wales!

Thus far, in point of fact, whatever obvious objections there might be to Buckingham's scheme, it had been really successful; the pride and the fine spirit of honour of the Spaniard had been touched precisely as he anticipated. But if he had done good by accident, he was speedily to undo it by his selfish wilfulness.

Instead of taking any advantage of the generous confidence of the prince, the Spaniards gave way upon some points which otherwise they most probably would have insisted upon. The pope, indeed, took some advantage of the prince's position, by adding some more stringent religious conditions to the dispensation; but, on the whole, the visit of the prince had done good, and the dispensation was actually granted and prepared for delivery when Gregory XV. died. Urban VIII., who succeeded him, anxious once more to see a catholic king in England, and judging from Charles' romantic expedition that love and impatience would probably work his conversion, found some pretexts for delaying the delivery of the dispensation, and the natural impatience of Charles was goaded into downright anger by the artful insinuations of Buckingham, who affected to feel certain that Spain had been insincere from the very first. Charles at length grew so dissatisfied that he asked permission to return home, and asked it in such evident ill-humour, that Philip at once granted it without even the affectation of a desire for any prolongation of the visit. But the princes parted with all external friendship, and Philip had a monument erected on the spot at which they bade each other adieu.

That the craft of Urban would speedily have given way before the united influences of James and Philip there can be no doubt, and as little can there be of the loyal sincerity of the Spaniard. Why then should Buckingham, it may be asked, overset when so near its completion the project he had so greatly exerted himself to advance? We have seen that his object in suggesting the journey to the prince was one of purely selfish policy. He then was selfish with respect to future benefit to himself. His sowing discord between Charles and the Spaniard was equally a selfish procedure. His dissolute and airy manners disgusted that grave court, and his propensity to debauchery disgusted that sober people. He insulted the pride of their proud nobility in the person of Olivarez, the almost omnipotent prime minister of Spain; and when by all these means he had worn out his welcome in Spain, and perceived that even respect to the prince could not induce the Spaniards to endure himself, he resolved to break off the amity between the prince and Philip, and succeeded as we have seen. When Buckingham was taking leave of Spain he had the wanton insolence to say to the proud Olivarez, "With regard to you, sir, in particular, you must not consider me as your friend, but must ever expect from me all possible enmity and opposition." To this insolent speech, the grandee, with calm greatness, merely replied that he very willingly accepted the offer of enmity so obligingly made.

On their return to England both Charles and Buckingham used all their

influence with the king to get him to break off all further negotiating the Spanish match, Charles being actuated by a real though erroneous belief of the insincerity of the Spaniard, and Buckingham, by a consciousness that he could expect nothing but ruin should the infanta, after being stung by so much insult shown to herself and her country, become queen of England. In want of money, and looking upon the Spanish match as a sure means by which to get the palatinate restored without going to war, James was not easily persuaded to give up all thought of a match he had had so much at heart and had brought so near to a conclusion. But the influence of Buckingham was omnipotent in parliament, and his insolence irresistible by the king; the Spanish match was dropped, enmity to the house of Austria was henceforth to be the principle of English polity, and a war was to be resorted to for the restoration of the palatinate. It was in vain that the Spanish ambassador endeavoured to open James' eyes. The deluded monarch was entirely in the hands of the haughty duke, and moreover, from growing physical debility, was daily growing less fit to endure scenes of violent disputation.

The earl of Bristol, who throughout this strange and protracted affair had acted the part of both an honest and an able minister, would most probably have made such representations in parliament as would have overcome even Buckingham; but he had scarcely landed in England, ere, by the favourite's influence, he was arrested and carried to the Tower. The king was satisfied in his heart that the minister was an honest and an injured man; but though he speedily released him from the Tower, Buckingham only suffered him thus far to undo his involuntary injustice on condition that Bristol should retire to the country and abstain from all attendance on parliament!

From Spain the prince turned to France in search of a bride. He had been much struck by the loveliness of the princess Henrietta, and he now demanded her hand; negotiations were accordingly immediately entered into on the same terms previously granted to Spain, though the princess could bring no dowry like that of the infanta.

James, in the meantime, found himself, while fast sinking into the grave, plunged into that warlike course which during his whole life he had so sedulously, and at so many sacrifices of dignity and even of pretty certain advantage, avoided.

The palatinate, lying in the very midst of Germany, possessed by the emperor and the duke of Bavaria, and only to be approached by an English army through other powerful enemies, was obviously to be retaken by force only at great risks and sacrifices. But the counsels of Buckingham urged James onward. Count de Mansfeldt and his army were subsidized, and an English army of two hundred horse and twelve thousand foot was raised by impressment. A free passage was promised by France, but when the army arrived at Calais it was discovered that no formal orders had been received for its admission, and after vainly waiting for such orders until they actually began to want provisions, the commanders of the expedition steered for Zealand. Here, again, no proper arrangements had been made for the disembarkation; a sort of plague broke out among the men from short allowances and long confinement in the close vessels, nearly one half of the troops died, and Mansfeldt very rightly deemed the remainder too small a force for so mighty an attempt as that of the reconquest of the palatinate.

A. D. 1625.—Long infirm, the king had been so much harrassed of late by the mere necessity of looking war in the face, that this awful loss of life and the complete failure of the hopes he had been persuaded to rest upon the expedition, threw him into a tertian ague. From the first attack he felt that his days were numbered; for when told, in the old English adage, that

"An ague in spring,
Is health to a king,"

he replied, with something of his old quaintness—"Hoot mon! Ye forget it means a *young* king."

He was right. Every successive fit left him still weaker, till he sank into the arms of death, on the 27th March, 1625, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, the fifty-eighth of his reign over Scotland, and the twenty-third of his reign over England.

Few kings have been less personally dignified, or less personally or royally vicious than James. As a husband, a father, a friend, master, and patron, he was unexceptionable save upon the one point of excessive facility and good nature. As a private man he would have been prized the more on account of this amiable though weak trait of character. But as a king it weakened him both at home and abroad, and would assuredly have conducted him to the scaffold, had puritans been as far advanced in their fanatic and mischievous temper, and in their political and misused power, as they were during the reign of his more admirable but less for tunate son.

CHAPTER L.

THE REIGN OF CHARLES I.

A. D. 1625.—The singular submissiveness with which James had been obeyed, even when his principles and practices were the most exorbitantly arbitrary, was well calculated to mislead his son and successor Charles I. into a very fatal mistake as to the real temper and inclination of his people. Authority had not as yet ceased to be obeyed, but it had for some time ceased to be respected. Even as early as the reign of Elizabeth, a sturdy and bitter spirit of puritanism had began to possess considerable influence both in parliament and among the people at large, and that spirit had vastly increased during the long reign of James I., whose familiar manners and undignified character were so ill calculated to support his claim to an almost eastern submission on the part of subjects towards their anointed sovereign.

But the real temper of the people was, as it seems to us, totally misunderstood both by Charles I. and his councillors. Charles had imbibed very much of his father's extravagant notion of the extent of the royal prerogative; and while the bitter puritans were ready to carry out their fanatical feelings to the extent of crushing alike the throne and the church, the king commenced his reign by the exaction of a *benevolence*, an arbitrary mode of raising money which had been denounced long before. The pecuniary situation of the king was, in fact, such as ought to have excited the sympathy and liberality of his subjects, and even the unconstitutional and arbitrary conduct of the king in issuing privy seals for a benevolence must not blind us to the *cause* of that conduct. In the reign of James, as we have seen, the cause of the prince palatine was unreasonably popular, and England had entered into a treaty to keep up the war on behalf of that prince. Bound by that treaty, Charles appealed to his parliament, which gave him only two subsidies, though well aware that sum would be quite unequal to the military demonstrations which both the cause of his brother-in-law and the credit of the English nation required at his hands.

An inefficient expedition to Cadiz plainly showed that, even with the aid of the forced *benevolence*, the king was very insufficiently supplied with money, and a new parliament was called. Warned by the experience he

now had, the king exerted himself to exclude the more obstinate and able of the opposition members from the new parliament. Something like what in later times has been called the *management* of parliament had already been tried in the reign of James. But the chief step now taken was arbitrarily to name the popular members of the late parliament sheriffs of counties, by which means they were effectually excluded from sitting in the new parliament. But the puritanical spirit was too widely spread, and, while the expedient of the king aggravated the excluded and their friends, the members who were returned proved to be quite as obstinate and unreasonable as their predecessors. The king and his friends and advisers fairly stated to parliament the great and urgent necessity of the crown; but in the face of the fact that those necessities were in a great measure created by the former enthusiasm of parliament and the people in favour of the palatine, the new parliament would only grant three subsidies, or something more than a hundred thousand pounds, a sum really paltry as compared to the king's need. It cannot be too emphatically impressed upon the reader, that here, at the very outset of the king's reign, the foundation of all its subsequent troubles was laid. Measures over which the king had had no control made a vigorous and offensive course of action imperative upon him; but the parliament, while looking to him for that course, doled out the sinews of war with a paltry and inefficient spirit, that left the king no choice save that between disgrace abroad or arbitrary conduct at home. Charles, unfortunately, looked rather at the abstract nature and privileges of his royalty than at the power and fierceness of real *popular* feeling which he had to combat or to elude. He openly authorized commissioners to sell to the catholics a dispensation from all the penal laws especially enacted against them; he borrowed large sums of money from the nobility, many of whom lent them with great reluctance; and he levied upon London, and upon other large towns, considerable sums, under the name of ship-money, for the equipment and support of a fleet. Wholly to justify this conduct of the king is no part of our business or desire; but again, and emphatically, we say, that the chief blame is due to the niggardly and unpatriotic conduct of the parliament; an unjust extortion was the natural and inevitable result of a no less unjust and unprincipled parsimony.

War being declared against France, the haughty Buckingham, who was as high in favour with the dignified and refined Charles as he had been with the plain and coarse James, was intrusted with an expedition for the relief of Rochelle, which at that time was garrisoned by the oppressed protestants and besieged by a formidable army of the opposite persuasion. Buckingham's talents were by no means equal to his power and ambition. He took not even the simplest precaution for securing the concert of the garrison that he was sent to relieve, and on his arrival before Rochelle he was refused admittance, the beseiged very naturally suspecting the sincerity of a commander who had sent no notice of his intention to aid them. This blunder was immediately followed up by another no less glaring and capital. Denied admittance to Rochelle, he disregarded the island of Oleron, which was too weak to have resisted him and abundantly well provided to have subsisted his force, and sailed for the isle of Rhé, which was strongly fortified and held by a powerful and well-provisioned garrison. He sat down before the castle of St. Martin's with the avowed intention of starving the garrison into submission; but abundant provisions were thrown into the fortress by sea, and the French effected a landing in a distant part of the island. All that mere courage could do was now done by Buckingham, who, however, lost nearly two-thirds of his army, and was obliged to make a hurried retreat with the remainder. His friends, quite truly, claimed for him the praise of personal courage, he having been the very last man to get on shipboard. But mere courage is but a

CHARLES I. AND ARMOR BEARER.

small part of the quality of a great general; probably there was not a private soldier in his whole force who was not personally as brave as Buckingham himself—certainly there could have been but few of them who would have failed more disastrously and disgracefully in the main objects of the expedition.

The failure of this expedition could not but increase the mischievous hints between the king and parliament. The latter, without considering the dilemma in which their own illiberal conduct had placed the king, loudly exclaimed against those certainly very arbitrary measures to which they themselves had compelled him. Duties called tonnage and poundage had been levied, and for refusal to pay them many merchants had had their property seized by the officers of the customs. The parliament now called those officers to account, alledging that tonnage and poundage had been illegally demanded, and the sheriff of London was actually sent to the Tower for having officially supported the king's officers. To these circumstances of ill feeling the more zealous puritans added religious grievances, and every day produced some new proof that a very large proportion of the nation was infected with a feeling of intolerance and bigotry that could not but prove ruinous to both church and state.

A. D. 1629.—Alarmed at the zeal and obstinacy with which the popular members seemed determined to prosecute the tonnage and poundage question, the king determined at least to postpone the discussion; and when the question was brought forward, Sir John Finch, the speaker, rose and informed the house that the king had given him a command to adjourn it. This intelligence, instead of alarming the popular members, infuriated them. Sir John Finch was forcibly held in the speaker's chair, which he was in the act of vacating, by two members named Valentine and Hollis, and thus compelled to sanction by his presence a short resolution which condemned tonnage and poundage as being contrary to law, and all persons concerned in collecting those duties as guilty of high crimes, and denounced Arminians and papists as capital enemies to the state.

This scene of violence and passion on the part of the commons was followed by the king's committal to prison of Sir Miles Hobart, Sir Peter Hayman, the learned Selden, with Coriton, Strode, and Long, on charges of sedition. At this period Charles seems to have acted rather upon passionate and perplexed impulse than upon any settled and defined principle, even of a despotic character. He had scarcely sent these members to prison upon his own authority, when he set them free again without further punishment. To other members he was just as inconsistently severe. Hollis, Valentine, and Sir John Elliot, were summoned before the court of the king's bench to answer for their violent conduct in the house of commons. They pleaded, and it should seem quite reasonably, too, that the house of commons being a superior court to the king's bench, the latter could not take cognizance of an alledged offence committed in the former. The judges, however, treated this plea with contempt; the three persons above named were found guilty in default of appearance and condemned to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure, to pay fines of from five hundred to a thousand pounds each, and to give security for their future conduct. The arbitrary severity of this sentence had a doubly ill effect; it exalted in the public mind men whose own rash anger would otherwise have been their most efficient opponent, and it added to the unpopularity of the king just at the precise moment when nothing but a cordial and friendly expression of public opinion was at all likely to have been effectually serviceable to him in his contest with the obstinate and envenomed party—men who denied him the means of performing those duties which the popular outcry had mainly contributed to impose upon him.

So entirely had Buckingham obtained the ascendancy over the mind of

Charles, that the favourite's disgraceful failure in the Rochelle expedition, though it caused a loud and general indignation in the nation, did not seem to injure him with the king. Another expedition for the relief of Rochelle was determined upon, and the command was bestowed upon Buckingham. His brother-in-law, the earl of Denbigh, had failed in an attempt to raise the siege. Buckingham, naturally anxious to wipe off the disgrace of two failures, exerted himself to the utmost to make the new expedition under his own command a successful one. To this end he went to Portsmouth and personally superintended the preparations. He was at this moment decidedly the most unpopular man in the kingdom—denounced on all hands as the betrayer and at the same time the tyrant of both king and country. The libels and declamations which were constantly circulated found a ready echo in the breast of one Felton, an Irish soldier of fortune. By nature gloomy, bigoted, and careless of his own life, this man had been rendered desperate by what appears to have been very unjust treatment. He had served bravely at St. Rhé, where his captain was killed, and Buckingham, whether in caprice or mere indolence, had refused to give Lieutenant Felton the vacant place. This personal injury aggravated his hatred to the duke as a public enemy, and he determined to assassinate him. Having traveled to Portsmouth, this resolute and violent man contrived to approach the duke as he was giving some orders, and struck him with a knife over the shoulder of one of the surrounding officers. The duke had only strength enough to say, "the villian has killed me," when he fell dead upon the spot. In the confusion that ensued the assassin might easily have escaped, for the blow was so sudden that no one saw by whom it was struck. But the assassin's hat had fallen among the astounded spectators and was found to contain some of the strongest lines of a very violent remonstrance which the house of commons had voted against the duke's conduct; and while some persons were remarking that no doubt the villain must be near at hand, and would be recognised by the loss of his hat, Felton deliberately stepped forward and avowed his crime. When questioned he positively denied that any one had instigated him to the murder of the duke. His conscience, he said, was his only adviser, nor could any man's advice cause him to act against his conscience; he looked upon the duke as a public enemy, and therefore he had slain him. He maintained the same constancy and self-complacency to the last, protesting even upon the scaffold that his conscience acquitted him of all blame. A melancholy instance of the extent to which men can shut their eyes to their own wickedness in their detestation of the real or imputed wickedness of others.

A. D. 1639.—Charles received the tidings of the assassination of his favourite and minister with a composure which led some persons to imagine that the duke's death was not wholly disagreeable to the too indulgent master over whom he had so long and so unreasonably exerted his influence. But this opinion greatly wronged Charles; he, as a man, wanted not sensibility, but he possessed to a remarkable extent the valuable power of controlling and concealing his feelings.

The first consequence of the cessation of the pernicious counsel and influence of Buckingham was the king's wise resolution to diminish his need of the aid of his unfriendly subjects, by concluding peace with the foreign foes against whom he had warred under so many disadvantages and with so little glory. Having thus freed himself from the heavy and constant drain of foreign warfare, the king selected Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards earl of Strafford, and Laud, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, to aid him in the task of regulating the internal affairs of his kingdom; a task which the king's own love of prerogative and the obstinate ill-humour and disaffection of the leading puritans rendered almost impracticable.

Unfortunately, Laud, who had great influence over Charles, was by no means inclined to moderate his propensity to arbitrary rule. Tonnage and poundage were still levied on the king's sole authority; papists were still compounded with as a regular means of aiding the king's revenue; and the custom-house officers were still encouraged and protected in the most arbitrary measures for the discovery and seizure of goods alledged to be liable to charge with the obnoxious and illegal duties. These errors of the king's government were seized upon by popular declaimers, and the violence of libellers provoked the king and Laud to a most arbitrary extension of the always too extensive powers of the high commission and star-chamber courts, the sentences of which upon all who were accused of opposing the government were truly iniquitous, and in precisely the same degree impolitic. This court, though really authorised by no law, inflicted both personal and pecuniary severities, which to us who are accustomed to the regular and equitable administration of law cannot but be revolting. For instance, a barrister of Lincoln's Inn, named Prynne, a man of considerable talent, though of a factious and obstinate temper, was brought before this arbitrary court, charged with having attacked and abused the ceremonies of the church of England. Burton, a divine, and Bastwick, a physician, were at the same time charged with a similar offence; and these three gentlemen of liberal professions, for libels which now, if punished at all, would surely not cost their authors more than two months' imprisonment, were condemned to be placed in the pillory, to have their ears cut off, and to pay each a fine of five thousand pounds to the king.

The impolicy of this and similar severe sentences was the greater, because there were but too many indications already of extensive and determined disaffection to the crown. Refused the really requisite pecuniary assistance by his parliament, the king continued to levy *ship-money*, and against this tax an especial and determined opposition was raised; though it ought to be observed that it had often been levied in former reigns, not because of so reasonable a motive as the factious refusal of parliament to provide for the necessities of the state, but in sheer despotic preference on the part of sovereigns to act on their own will rather than on that of parliament. The puritans and the popular leaders in general, however, made no allowance for the king's really urgent and distressing situation.

Among the most determined opponents of the ship-money was Mr. John Hampden, a gentleman of some landed property in the county of Buckingham. The moral character of this gentleman was, even by those whom his political conduct the most offended or injured, admitted to be excellent; but his very excellence as a private man served only to make him the more mischievous as a public leader. If, instead of lending himself to the support of that bitter and gloomy party whose piety not seldom approached to an impious familiarity, and whose love of liberty degenerated into a licentiousness quite incompatible with good government, John Hampden had thrown the weight of his own high character into the scale against the insanity of genius as displayed by Vane, and the insanity of hate to all above them and contempt of all below them which was manifested by nineteen-twentieths of the puritan or republican army, how sternly, how justly, and how efficiently might he not have rebuked that sordid parliament which so fiercely and capriciously complained of the king's extortion, while actually compelling him to it by a long and obstinate parsimony, as injurious to the people as it was insulting to the sovereign! But he took the opposite course. Being rated at twenty shillings for his Buckinghamshire estate, he refused payment, and caused the question between himself and the crown to be carried into the exchequer court. For twelve days the ablest lawyers in England argued

this case before the whole of the judges, all of whom, with the exception of four, decided in favour of the king's claim.

Without entering into the intricacies of legal argumentation, we must briefly remark, that all the writers who have treated of this celebrated case appear to us to have bestowed very undeserved praise upon Hampden, and quite to have misunderstood or misrepresented the case as between the king and the people at large. Was it the king's duty to support the peace of the kingdom and the dignity of the crown? By so much as he might have fallen short of doing so, by so much would he have fallen short of the fulfilment of his coronation oath. But parliament, the power of which was comparatively recent and in itself to a very considerable extent a usurpation, denied him the necessary supplies. An odious and insolent tyranny, surely, to impose responsibility, yet deny the means of sustaining it! The king, then, was thus driven, insolently and most tyrannously driven, to the necessity of choosing between a crime and an irregularity; between perjury, violation of his coronation oath, and a direct levy of that money which he could not obtain through the indirect and constitutional means of parliament.

It is quite idle to dwell upon the irregularity of the king's mode of levying money without charging, primarily, that irregularity to the true cause, the shameful niggardliness of parliament. Then the question between Charles and the sturdy patriot, Hampden, becomes narrowed to this point—were the twenty shillings levied upon Hampden's property an unreasonable charge for the defence and security of that property? No one, we should imagine, will pretend to maintain that, and therefore the refusal of Hampden to pay the tax—unaccompanied as that refusal was by a protest against the vile conduct of parliament—evidenced far more of the craftiness and factious spirit of his party than of the sturdy and single-minded honesty which the generality of writers so tenaciously affect to attribute to the man.

We have dwelt the longer upon the pecuniary disputes between Charles and his narrow-minded parliament, because the real origin of all the subsequent disorders was the wanton refusal of the parliament to provide for the legitimate expenses of the state. Later in order of time the disputes became complicated, and in the course of events the parliament became better justified in opposition, and the king both less justified and less moderate; but even in looking at those sad passages in English history which tell us of royal insincerity, and of Englishmen leagued under opposing banners, and upon their own soil spilling each other's blood, never let the reader forget that the first positive injustice, the first provocation, the first *guilt*, belonged to parliament, which practised tyranny and injustice while exclaiming aloud for liberty.

CHAPTER LI.

THE REIGN OF CHARLES I. (*continued*).

A. D. 1640.—Though there was a most bitter spirit existing against the church of England, and the press teemed with puritan libels as vulgar and silly as they were malicious, Charles, a sincere friend to the church, most unhappily saw not the storm-cloud that hovered over him. Instead of concentrating his energies, his friends, and his pecuniary resources, to elude or smite down the gloomy and bitter puritans of England, and to awaken again the cheerful and loyal spirit of his English yeomanry, he most unwisely determined to introduce episcopacy into Scotland. An order was given for reading the liturgy in the principal church of Edinburgh, which so provoked the congregation, that the very women joined

in an attack on the officiating minister, and the place of public worship was profaned by furious and disgusting imprecations. Long inured to actual warfare with England, and always jealous of a nation so much wealthier and more powerful than themselves, the Scotch gladly seized upon the attempt to introduce episcopacy among them as a pretext for having recourse to arms, and the whole of that disaffected and warlike population was instantly in a state of insurrection. Even now, could the king have been induced to perceive the real inveteracy and determination of the Scottish hatred of episcopacy, he might have escaped from this portion of his embarrassments with but little worse evil than some diminution of his cherished notion of the absolute supremacy of anointed sovereigns. A negotiation was resorted to, and a treaty of peace quickly succeeded a mere suspension of arms, each party agreeing to a disbandonment of their forces. Unhappily, neither party was quite earnest in desiring peace; the king could not give up his long cherished ideas of their absolute monarchy, and the rigid Scottish presbyterians were not a jot more inclined to yield up any portion of their entire freedom and self-government in matters of religion. The negotiations and treaties were in consequence marked by mutual insincerity; mutual charges of bad faith were made, and both Charles and his Scottish people speedily resumed their hostile attitude.

The dispute in which the king had thus needlessly and unwisely involved himself seriously increased his difficulties. Although he still continued to levy ship-money and other arbitrary taxes, he was dreadfully distressed for money; and the disaffected of England saw, with scarcely dissembled pleasure, that their cause was virtually being secured by the disaffection of Scotland. It was while the people were in this ominous temper that Charles, having exhausted all other means, even to forced loans from his nobility, was obliged to call a parliament and make one more appeal for pecuniary aid. But this parliament was even less than the former one inclined to aid the king. He had been refused aid for the ordinary expenses of the kingdom, and he was still less likely to be fairly treated when he, in terms, demanded aid to quell and chastise the Scottish rebels whose principles were so near akin to those of the English puritans, who now were numerically powerful enough to constitute themselves the national purse-holders. Instead of the aid he asked for, the king received nothing but remonstrance and rebuke, on the score of the means by which, when formerly refused aid by parliament, he had supplied himself. Finding the parliament quite impracticable, the king now dissolved it. But the mere dissolution of this arbitrary and unjust assembly could not diminish the king's necessities, and he soon called another parliament—that fatal one whose bitter and organised malignity pursued him to his death. The puritan party was preponderant in this parliament, and so systematic and serried were the exertions of those resolute and gloomy men, that they at once felt and indicated their confidence of success at the very commencement of the session. Instead of granting the supplies which the king demanded, they passed at once to the impeachment of the earl of Strafford, the faithful minister and the personal friend of the king. Strafford at a former period had to a certain moderate extent acted with the puritans; but they resented his opposition to their more insolent proceedings so deeply, that nothing but the unfortunate nobleman's blood could appease their malignity.

It was well known that Charles required no one to urge him to support the prerogative of the crown to its fullest legal extent, *at least*; and it was equally well known that Laud was of a far more arbitrary turn than Strafford, and had fully as much influence with the king. But Strafford, as we have said, had given deep offence to the puritans, and deep and deadly

was their revenge. He was solemnly impeached of high treason before the peers. His defence was a perfect model of touching and manly eloquence. With a presence of mind not to be surpassed, he took up and refuted each accusation in the exact order in which it had been made; and he concluded by assuring the peers that he would not have troubled them so long, had he not felt the defence of his life to be a sacred duty towards his children, "pledges of a dear saint now in heaven." But neither the cogent logic of his defence, nor the unimpeached excellence of his private character, could avail aught against the political fury of the time. He was pronounced guilty by both houses of parliament, and his death was clamoured for with an eagerness that reflects but little credit upon the English character at that period. There was but one thing that could have saved the earl of Strafford, and it is with pain that we record that that one thing was sadly absent—a just firmness of character on the part of the king.

On a fair and careful examination of the proceedings against Strafford, we can only discover one serious fault that was committed by that minister; he allowed his personal attachment to the king to induce him to incur ministerial responsibility for measures which, both as minister and private man, he greatly disapproved of. But this great fault was one bearing no proportion to the dread penalty of death; moreover, however faulty Strafford on this point was towards himself and the nation, he had committed no fault against the king. Contrariwise, he had given the utmost possible proof of personal and loyal feelings; and Charles, in abandoning a minister whose chief fault was that of being too faithful to his sovereign, acted a part so unchivalric, so totally unworthy of his general character, that we scarcely know how to speak of it in terms sufficiently severe. A truly futile apology has been attempted to be made for Charles' abandonment of his too devoted minister. That ill-fated nobleman, while confined in the Tower, heard of the clamour that was artfully and perseveringly kept up by his enemies, and in a moment of unwise exaltation he wrote to the king and advised him to comply with the sanguinary demand that was made. The advice was unwise, but, such as it was, it ought to have had the effect of only increasing the king's resolution to save such a man and such a minister from destruction. But Charles took the advice literally *au pied de la lettre*, and signed the warrant for the execution of, probably, after his queen, the most sincerely devoted friend that he possessed. "Put not your trust in princes!" was the agonized commentary of Strafford upon this most shameful compliance of the king; and he submitted to his undeserved execution with the grave and equable dignity which had marked his whole course. From this unjust murder of the king's friend and minister, the parliament passed to a very righteous and wise attack upon two of the most iniquitous of the king's courts. The high commission court, and the court of star-chamber were unanimously abolished by act of parliament.

While the protestants of England were divided into churchmen and puritans, and while the latter were busily engaged in endeavouring to throw discredit upon the church, papacy saw in these disputes a new temptation for an attack upon protestantism as a whole. The king's finances were well known to be in such a state as must necessarily prevent him from anything like vigour in military operations; and the papists of Ireland, aided and instigated by foreign emissaries, resolved upon a general massacre of their protestant fellow-subjects. A simultaneous attack was made upon these latter; no distinction was made of age or of sex; neighbour rose upon neighbour, all old obligations of kindness were forgotten, all old animosities, how trifling soever their origin, were terribly remembered, and upwards of forty thousand persons were inhumanly slaughtered. The king made every exertion to suppress and pun-

ish this infamous massacre, and, feeling that the chief obstacle to his success lay in his crippled finances, he once more appealed to his English parliament for a supply. But not even the massacre of their protestant fellow-subjects could alter the factious temper of the puritans; they not only refused the aid he asked, upon the absurd plea that England was itself in too much danger to spare any aid to Ireland, but even added insult to injustice by insinuating that the king had himself fomented the disturbances in Ireland; as though the unfortunate monarch had not already too numerous claims on his impoverished finances!

A. D. 1641.—The attachment of the king to the church was well known, and both he and his opponents well knew that on the support and affection of the church rested the chief hope of preserving the monarchy. The puritan party, therefore, determined to attack the monarchy through the church, and thirteen bishops were accused of high treason, in having enacted canons for church government without the authority or consent of the parliament. The opposition, or, as they are commonly called, "the popular members," at the same time applied to the peers to exclude the prelates from speaking and voting in that house; and the bishops, with more discretion than dignity, deprecated the puritan animosity by ceasing to attend their duty in the house of lords. The king was thus, at the very moment when he most required aid in parliament, deprived of the talents and the votes of precisely those peers of parliament upon whose assiduity and devotion he had the most dependance.

Posthumous blame is both cheap and easy. The writer, sitting calmly in his closet, can easily and safely point out the errors of the great men of a bygone age; it is a nobler and more necessary task to ascertain and hold up to view the circumstances that rendered those errors excusable, at least, if not actually inevitable. Goaded, insulted, and straitened as Charles was, he would have possessed something more than human firmness if he had not at length deviated into rashness. His most devoted friend slain, the prelates of his church silenced, and himself made a mere cipher, except as to the continuance of a vast and fearful responsibility, he resolved to try the effect of severity; and he gave orders to the attorney-general, Herbert, to accuse before the house of peers, Lord Kimbolton, together with the prominent commoners, Hollis, Hampden, Pym, Strode, and Sir Arthur Haslerig, of high treason in having endeavoured to subvert the laws and government of the kingdom, to deprive the king of his regal power, and to substitute for it an arbitrary and tyrannical authority, injurious to the king and oppressive to his liege subjects. Thus far we are by no means unprepared to approve of the king's proceedings, for surely the conduct of the accused persons had been marked by all the tendency attributed to it in the terms of the accusation. But, unfortunately, Charles, instead of allowing the proceedings to go forward with the grave and deliberate earnestness of a great judicial matter, was so wilful or so ill-advised as to take a personal step, which, had it been successful, would have exposed him to the imputation of a most unconstitutional tyranny, and which, in being unsuccessful, exposed him to that ridicule and contempt which, injurious to any man under any circumstances, could be nothing less than fatal to a king who was in dispute with a majority of his people, and who had already seen no small portion of them in actual battle array against his authority.

On the very day after the attorney-general had commenced justifiable proceedings against these factious leaders, the king entered the house of commons, without previous notice and without attendance. On his majesty's first appearance, the members to a man respectfully stood up to receive him, and Lenthal, the speaker, vacated his chair. His majesty seated himself, and, after looking sternly round for some moments, said, that understanding that the house had refused or neglected to give up five

of its members whom he had ordered to be accused of high treason, he had personally come there to seize them, a proceeding to which he was sorry to be compelled. Perceiving that the accused were not present, he called upon the speaker to deliver them up; when that officer, with great presence of mind and justice, replied that he was the mere organ and servant of that house, and that he had neither eyes to see, nor ears to hear, nor lips to utter, save what that house commanded. Finding that he could in no other respect gain by a procedure in which he was so great a loser in dignity, his majesty, after sitting silent for some moments longer, departed from the house. He now proceeded to the common council of the city, and made his complaint of the conduct of the house of commons. On his road he was saluted by cries of "privilege," not unmixed with still more insulting cries from many of the lower sort, and his complaint to the common council was listened to in a contemptuous and ominous silence. Irritated and alarmed at this new proof of the unpopularity of his proceedings, he departed from the court, and as he did so was saluted by some low puritan with the seditious watchword of the Jews of old—"To your tents, O Israel!"

It is utterly inconceivable how a sovereign possessed of Charles' good sense, and aware, as from many recent occurrences he needs must have been, of the resolved and factious nature of the men to whom he was opposed, could have compromised himself by so rash and in every way unadvisable a proceeding as that which we have described. In truth, he had scarcely returned to the comparative solitude of Windsor before he himself saw how prejudicial this affair was likely to be to his interests, and he hastened to address a letter to parliament, in which he said that his own life and crown were not more precious to him than the privileges of parliament. This virtual apology for his direct and personal interference with those privileges was rendered necessary by his previous precipitancy, but this ill-fated monarch now ran into another extreme. Having offended parliament, his apology to parliament was necessary, nay, in the truest sense of the word, it was dignified; for a persistence in error is but a false dignity, whether in monarch or in private man. But here his concession should have stopped. His offence was one against good manners, but the offence with which Pym and the members were charged was one of substance, not of form. Their offence was not in the slightest degree diminished or atoned for by the king's folly; yet, as though there had been some close logical connection between them, he now informed the house that he should not farther prosecute his proceedings against its accused members! Could inconsequence or want of dignity go farther, or be more fatally shown? If, while apologizing to the house for his unquestionable offence against its privileges, he still had calmly and with dignity, but sternly and inexorably, carried on his proceedings against the accused members, it is quite within the pale of probability that he would have saved himself from an untimely end, and his country from the stigma of a most barbarous murder. The opposite conduct, though in no wise efficient in softening the stern hearts of his enemies, taught them the fatally important truth that their king knew how to yield, and that if unwisely rash in a moment of irritation, he could be no less unwisely abject in a moment of calculation or timidity. It was a fatal lesson; and from this moment, in spite of any seeming and temporary advantages, Charles of England was virtually a dethroned monarch and a doomed man.

There was a deep art, beyond what was at first apparent, in the insolent insinuation of the popular declaimers that the king had himself fomented the recent horrors in Ireland. The awful massacre among the protestants of that country had naturally raised a new horror and dread of papacy in the minds of the protestants of England. The artful popular leaders took advantage of this very natural feeling, and worked upon it as might

promise best to aid their own ambitious and blood-thirsty views. The ignorant and the timid were taught to believe that the massacre of the protestants, though the deed of bigoted papists, was far enough from being disagreeable to the king and his friends, who would probably cause similar proceedings in England unless due power and means of prevention were placed in time in the hands of parliament, which was constantly represented as an *integer* that necessarily loved and watched over, instead of what it really was, an *aggregate* composed of various dispositions and rates of talent, having but one common bond of union, a hatred of all authority save that of the aggregate in question, and having a deference for no opinion save that of each individual member of that aggregate. Treated as Charles had been almost from the first day of his reign, it must be clear to the most superficial observer, that nothing but his fortresses and his troops remained to him of the substance of monarchy. The parliament now determined to deprive him of these. They had seen that he could yield, they calculated upon a passionate resistance to their first exorbitancy and insolence of demand; but they doubted not that the vacillation of the king's mind would begin long ere the resolute obstinacy of their own would terminate. The result but too well proved the accuracy of their reasoning. The people were skilfully worked up into an ecstacy of horror of the designs and power of the papists, and thus urged to petition that the Tower, the fortresses of Hull and Portsmouth, and the fleet, should be committed to the hands of officers in the confidence of parliament. Demands so indicative of suspicion, so insultingly saying that the king would place such important trusts in hands unfit to use them, were, as the opposition had anticipated, warmly resented at first, and then unwisely complied with.

Emboldened by this new concession, the popular party affected new and increased fears of the designs of the Irish papists, and demanded that a new militia should be raised and trained, the commanders as well as the merely subaltern officers of which should be nominated by parliament. Charles now, when too late, perceived that even to concede safely requires judgment; and being urged to give up the command of the army for a limited space of time, he promptly replied, "No! not even for a single hour!" Happy for himself and his kingdom had it been if he had earlier known how to say "No," and to abide by it not only with firmness but also with temper.

A. D. 1642.—In making this demand parliament had completely thrown off the mask; and as the very extremity to which the king was driven supplied him in this one case with the firmness which in general and by his natural temper he so sadly wanted, it at once became evident that the disputes between the king and his loyal subjects on the one side, and the puritans and their only too numerous and enthusiastic dupes on the other, could only be decided by the saddest of all means, a civil war. On either side appeals to the people were printed and circulated in vast numbers, and, as usual in such cases, each side exaggerated the faults of the other, and was profoundly silent as to its own faults, whether as to past conduct or present views. The king's friends, being for the most part of the more opulent ranks, assumed the title of the cavaliers, while the puritan, or rebel party, from their affected habit of wearing their hair closely cut, were called roundheads, and in a short time the majority of the nation ranked under the one or the other appellation, and everything portended that the civil strife would be long, fierce and sanguinary.

In addition to the train-bands assembled under the command of Sir John Digby, the king had barely three hundred infantry and eight hundred cavalry, and he was by no means well provided with arms. But, in spite of all the exertions of the puritans, there was still an extensive feeling of

loyalty among the higher and middle orders; and as the king with his little army marched slowly to Derby and thence to Shrewsbury, large additions were made to his force, and some of the more opulent loyalists afforded him liberal and most welcome aid in money, arms, and ammunition

On the side of the parliament similar preparations were made for the impending struggle. When the important fortress of Hull was surrendered into their hands, they made it their depôt for arms and ammunition. and it was held for them by a governor of their own appointment, Sir John Hotham. On the plea of defending England from the alledged designs of the Irish papists, great numbers of troops had been raised; and these were now openly enlisted and officered for the parliament, and placed under the command of the earl of Essex, who, however, was supposed to be anxious rather to abridge the power of the existing monarch than actually to annihilate the monarchy, which, doubtless, had from the very first been the design of the leaders of the popular party. So great was the enthusiasm of the roundheads, that they in one day enlisted above four thousand men in London alone.

Tired of the occupation of watching each others' manœuvres, the hostile troops at length met at Edge-hill, on the borders of the counties of Warwick and Stafford. A furious engagement took place, which lasted several hours; upwards of five thousand men fell upon the field, and the contending armies separated, wearied with slaying yet not satiated with slaughter, and each claiming the victory.

The whole kingdom was now disturbed by the incessant marching and countermarching of the two armies. Neither of them was disciplined, and the disorders caused by their march were consequently great and destructive. The queen, whose spirit was as high as her affection for her husband was great, most opportunely landed from Holland with a large quantity of ammunition and a considerable reinforcement of men, and she immediately left England again to raise farther supplies. In the manœuvring and skirmishes which were constantly going on, the king, from the superior rank and spirit of his followers, had for some time a very marked advantage; but the parliamentarians, so far from being discouraged, actually seemed to increase in their pretensions in proportion to the loss and disgrace they experienced in the field. That the king was at this time sincere in his expressed desire to put a stop to the outpouring of his subjects' blood appears clear from the fact, that on obtaining any advantage he invariably sent pacific proposals to the parliament This was especially the case when he lay in all security in the loyal city of Oxford, whence he conducted a long negotiation, in which the insolence of the leaders of the other party was so great and conspicuous, that even the most moderate writers have blamed the king, as having carried his desire for pacific measures to an extreme, injurious alike to his dignity and to the very cause he was anxious to serve.

But if he bore somewhat too meekly with the insolence of his opponents in the cabinet, the king in his first campaign of the disastrous civil war was abundantly successful in the field, in spite of the savage severity of his opponents, who treated as traitors the governors of those strong places which from time to time were opened to their sovereign.

Cornwall was thoroughly subjected to the king; at Stratton-hill, in Devonshire, a fine army of the parliamentarians was routed; and at Roundway-down, near Devizes, in Wiltshire, another great victory was gained over them by the royal troops, who were again successful in the still more important battle of Chalgrave-field, in Buckinghamshire. The important city of Bristol was taken by the royalists, and Gloucester was closely invested. Thus far all looked in favour of the royal cause during the first campaign, and at its close great hopes of farther success were

founded upon the fine army that was raised for the king in the north of England by the loyal and high-hearted marquis of Newcastle. Nor was it the loss only of battles and strong-holds that the parliamentarians had now to deplore.

John Hampden, who had made so sturdy, although, in our opinion, so ill-founded an opposition to the ship-money, while acting with the perverse men whose conduct made that undoubted extortion inevitable, took the field with the parliamentarians at the head of a well-appointed troop which chiefly consisted of his own tenants and neighbours. On several occasions he displayed great courage, and it being proposed to beat up the quarters of the king's gallant relative, Prince Rupert, Hampden was foremost in the attack. When the parliamentary troops were subsequently mustered Mr. Hampden was missed, and it was then remarked that he had been seen, contrary to his usual custom, to leave the field before the fight was ended, and it was noticed, too, that he was leaning forward on his saddle-bow as if exhausted and in pain. The fears thus excited were soon realized; he had been severely wounded. The king would have sent his own surgeon to endeavour to save this inflexibly honest though mistaken foe; but the ill-fated gentleman was injured beyond human remedy, and died soon after the action.

This loss on the parliamentary side was even more than balanced by the death of the royalist officer, Lucius Cary, Lord Falkland, one of the purest characters that grace our national history. As a statesman he had opposed the errors of the king with all the boldness and inflexibility of Hampden, but with a grace and moderation of which Hampden's stern and severe nature was incapable. But though Lord Falkland ardently desired liberty for the subject, he was not prepared to oppress the sovereign; and the moment that the evil designs of the popular leaders were fully developed, the gallant and accomplised nobleman took his stand beside his royal master. Learned, witty, elegant, and accomplished, he was indignant and disgusted at the evident desire of the popular leaders to deluge their country in blood, rather than stop short of the full accomplishment of their ambitious and evil designs. From the commencement of the civil war he became possessed by a deep and settled melancholy, the more remarkable from contrast with his natural vivacity. He neglected his person, his countenance became anxious and haggard, and he would remain in silent thought for hours, and then cry, as if unconsciously, "Peace! peace! Let our unhappy country have peace!" On the morning of the battle of Newbury he told his friends that his soul was weary of the world, and that he felt confident that ere nightfall he should leave them. His sad prediction was accomplished; he was mortally wounded by a musket ball in the abdomen, and it was not until the following morning that his mourning friends rescued his body from amid the meaner slain.

The first campaign being ended, the king made vigorous preparations for a second. As it was evident that the very name of a parliament had a great influence upon the minds of many, and as all negotiation with the old parliament sitting at Westminister led only to new insult, the king wisely determined to call another parliament at Oxford, where he had his quarters. The peers being for the most part firmly loyal, the king's upper house was well filled, but his lower house had not more than a hundred and forty members, being scarcely half the number that was mustered by the rebellious house of commons. But the king's members were mostly men of wealth and influence, and thus they had it in their power to do the king the chief service he really required, that of voting him supplies. Having done this they were dismissed with thanks and never again called together.

But any supplies which the king could procure from what may almost

be called individual loyalty were but small in comparison to those which the factious parliamentarians could command by the terror which they could strike into nearly every district of the country. As if to show at once their power in this way, and the extent to which they were prepared to abuse it, they issued an arbitrary command that all the inhabitants of London and the surrounding neighbourhood should substract one meal in every week from their accustomed diet, and pay the full price of provision thus saved as a contribution to the support of what these impudent and ambitious men affected to call the public cause. The seditious Scots at the same time sent a large supply of men to the parliamentarians, who also had fourteen thousand men, under the earl of Manchester, ten thousand under the earl of Essex, and eight thousand and upwards under Sir William Waller. And though this force was numerically so much superior to the king's, and, by consequence, so much more onerous, the parliamentary troops were, in fact, far better supplied with both provision and ammunition than the royalists; the majority of men being so deluded or so terrified by the parliamentarians that an *ordinance* of parliament was at all times sufficient to procure provisions for the rebel force, when the king could scarcely get provisions for money.

A. D. 1644.—Though, in the ordinary style used in speaking of military affairs we have been obliged to speak of the termination of the first campaign, at the period when the contending parties went into winter quarters, hostilities, in fact, never wholly ceased from the moment when they first commenced. Even when the great armies were formally lying idle a constant and most destructive partizan warfare was carried on. The village-green became a battle-field, the village-church a fort; now this, now that party plundered the peasantry, who in their hearts learned to curse the fierceness of both, and pray that one or the other might be so effectually beaten as to put a stop at once and forever to scenes which had all the ghastly horrors of war without any of its glory, and all its present riot and spoilation without even the chance of its subsequent gain. Whether cavalier or roundhead were triumphant the peaceable denizen was equally the sufferer; and when the war-cry and the blasphemy rang through the village-street, and re-echoed through the trees that waved above the graves of the long generations of the former occupants of the village, what mattered it whether cavalier cheered or roundhead prostituted the words of the book of life—were they not *English* accents that issued from the passion-curled lips of both parties?

That the system of terrorism which the parliamentarians acted upon had very much to do with prolonging this unnatural contest seems indisputable. Counties, and lesser districts, even, as soon as they were for a brief time freed from the presence of the parliamentary forces, almost invariably and unanimously declared for the king. Nay, in the very towns that were garrisoned by the parliamentarians, including even their strong-hold and chief reliance, London, there was at length a loud and general echo of the earnest cry of the good Lord Falkland, "Peace! peace! Let our country have peace!" From many places the parliament received formal petitions to this effect; and in London, which at the outset had been so furiously seditious, the very women assembled to the number of upwards of four thousand, and surrounded the house of commons, exclaiming, "Peace! give us peace! or those traitors who deny us peace, that we may tear them to pieces." So furious were the women on this occasion, that, in the violence used by the guards, some of these wives and mothers who wished their husbands and sons no longer to be the prey of a handful of ambitious men were actually killed upon the spot!

But they who had so joyously aided in sowing the whirlwind were not yet to cease to reap the storm. War, to the complete destruction of the altar and the throne, was the design of the self-elected and resolved

rulers, and it was in vain that their lately enthusiastic dupes now cried aloud and in bitter misery for the blessings of peace.

Before we proceed to speak of the second campaign of this sad war, we must introduce to the attention of the reader a man who henceforth fixed the chief attention of both parties, and whose character, even in the present day, is nearly as much disputed as his singular energy and still more singular and rapid success were marvelled at in his own time.

Oliver Cromwell was the son of a Huntingdonshire gentleman who, as a second son of a respectable but not wealthy family, was himself possessed of but a small fortune, which he is said to have improved by engaging in the trade of a brewer. At college, and even later in life, Oliver Cromwell was remarkable rather for dissipation than for ability, and the very small resources that he inherited were pretty nearly exhausted by his excesses, long before he had any inclination or opportunity to take part in public affairs. On reaching mature manhood, however, he suddenly changed his course of life, and affected the enthusiastic speech and rigid conduct of the puritans, whose daily increasing power and consequence his shrewd glance was not slow to discover.

Just as the disputes between the king and the popular party grew warm, Oliver Cromwell represented in parliament his native town of Huntingdon, and a sketch left of him by a keen observer who saw his earliest exertions in that capacity, represents a man from whom we should but little expect the energy, talent, and success of the future "PROTECTOR" Cromwell. Homely in countenance, almost to actual ugliness, hesitating in speech, ungainly in gesture, and ill clad in a sad coloured suit "which looked as it had been made by some ill country tailor," the future statesman and warrior addressed the house amid the scarcely suppressed whispers of both friends and foes, who little dreamed that in that uncouth, ill nurtured, and slovenly-looking person they saw the vast and terrible genius who was to slay his sovereign, knead all the fierce factions of Englishmen into one trampled and submissive mass, and, while wielding a most usurped and lawless authority over the English nation at home, so direct her energies abroad as to make her name stand fully as high among the astounded and gazing nations as ever it had been carried or maintained by the most fortunate and valiant of the lawful sovereigns of England.

As a mere senator Cromwell would probably never have succeeded in making himself a great name; he required to command rather than to advise, to act rather than to argue. Gifted with an iron frame, the body and mind, with him, aided each other, and he who stammered out confused no-meanings to the half wearied and half wondering senate, thought clearly and brightly as the lightning flash, and shouted his vigorous conceptions with the dread vehemence of thunder, amid the fury and the clank of the battle, and as he guided his war-steed through carnage towards carnage more terrible still.

It is to this day a mooted point whether Cromwell was wholly deluded or wholly a deluder; or whether he was partly the one and partly the other. To us it seems that there was nothing natural in his character, as developed by history, save his mental and bodily energy, his profound sagacity, his decision and his master-passion—ambition. He saw, no doubt, poor men become rich, and mean men powerful, as riches and power are estimated in the petty affairs of obscure country towns, and he saw that they achieved their personal aggrandizement by a supple compliance with the cant and grimace of the day. He had suffered both in reputation and fortune by his free if not profligate life, and it is probable that he at the outset adopted the outward appearance of another way of thinking with no deeper or more extensive design than that of saving himself from the inevitable ill consequences of poverty. Once arrived in parliament, whether conducted thither by mere accident or skilful intriguing,

a single glance must have shown even a far less sagacious person than he was, that the puritans would, sooner or later, be incomparably the most powerful party in the state. Joining with them from interest, aping their manners from necessity, he would from mere habit continue to ape them long after he could afford to be more open in his conduct. But the frequent profanity of his remarks, and the occasional coarseness and jollity of his "horse-play" among his soldier-saints, appear to us to savour very much of unconscious and uncontrollable breakings forth of the old Adam of the natural man; fever fits of the natural heart and temper that were too strong for the artificial training of resolved hypocrisy. Such, upon repeated and most impartial examination, appears to us to have been the real character of Cromwell.

Though forty-four years old before he drew a sword, Cromwell at the very outset of the rebellion showed himself what has been emphatically called a born soldier. Stalwart though clumsy in frame, a bold and a good rider, and—as most men of any respectibility of that time were—a perfect master of the ponderous sword then in use, he was the very man for a partizan captain of heavy cavalry. His troops was almost entirely composed of the sons of respectable farmers and yeomen, and as they were deeply tinctured with the religious feeling of puritanism, and filled to overflowing with the physical daring of well-born and well-nurtured Englishmen, his assumed sympathy with them in the former respect and his genuine equality or superiority in the latter, shortly gave him the most unbounded power of leading them into any danger that human beings could create, and through or over any obstacles that human prowess and daring could surmount.

Indefatigable, active, patient of fatigue, Cromwell speedily attracted the notice of the parliamentary leaders, who bestowed praise and distinction upon him none the less cheerfully because as yet he did not affect to aim at anything higher than the character of a bold, stern, and active partizan captain, who was ever ready with sword in hand and foot in stirrup when the enemy's night quarters were to be beaten up, a convoy seized, or any other real though comparatively obscure service was to be rendered to the *good cause*. Such was the estimate Cromwell's commanders formed of him; such the estimate he wished them to form of the man who was one day to dictate to the proudest and to laugh to scorn the wiliest among them!

The too famous and disastrous battle of Long Marston Moor, as it was the first great military calamity of the king, so it was the first great occasion upon which Cromwell had the opportunity (which he so well knew how to seize) of openly and signally displaying himself. A junction had been formed between the Scotch army and the English parliamentary forces, and this combined host invested York. This city, both from its own wealth and from its situation as the capital of the northern counties, was too important to the royal cause to be lost without a struggle; and Prince Rupert and the marquis of Newcastle joined their forces in order to raise the seige of the ancient city. The opposing forces, in number about fifty thousand, met on Long Marston Moor, and a long and obstinate contest ensued. The right wing of the royalist troops, commanded by Prince Rupert, was broken and driven off the field by the highly trained cavalry under Cromwell, who, after having dispersed the royalists' right wing, promptly galloped back to the field, and very materially aided in putting to flight the main body of the royalists under the marquis. The result of this hard day's fighting was the capture by the parliamentarians of the whole of Rupert's admirable train of artillery, and a loss of men, reputation, and self-confidence, from which it may safely be averred that the royalists never recovered.

The successes of the parliamentarians made them all the haughtier in

their pretensions and all the more unsparing in their resolves. Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, had for a long time been confined in the Tower; his devotion to his master being the only crime with which he could be justly charged, except the kindred crime of still warmer devotion, if possible, to the rights and supremacy of the church of England. This eminent man was therefore brought to trial by his bitter enemies, the puritans, condemned, and executed. As if to set a peculiar and characteristically puritanical mark upon this dastardly act of vulgar and ignorant vengeance, the now dominant power ordered the abolition—by what they called law—of the church of England liturgy on the very day of the execution of the learned and energetic prelate whose devotion to his duty was indomitable. By this act of abolition the English church was reduced, as regarded power in the state, to the same level as the newest, meanest, and most insane of numerous petty sects into which conceit, or ignorance, or sheer knavery had by this time split the puritans; and the Scottish rebel army appropriately enough joined the London rebel citizens in giving public thanks for an alteration of which not one of them could have pointed out a substantial advantage, while its instant and perspective disadvantage might have been perceived by a tolerably educated child. But faction loves a change—even though it certainly be not for the better, and probably may prove to be for the worse!

A. D. 1645.—Though the royalists, as related above, were seriously injured and depressed by the result of the battle of Long Marston Moor, neither the king nor his friends despaired of ultimate success. While the parliamentarians exerted themselves to crush the royalists whenever the next general action should ensue, the king and his friends made equally strenuous efforts to redeem their fortune and character on the like contingency. A variety of counter-marching and mere partizan skirmishing took place during the earlier months of the year 1645, and at length, on the 14th of June of that year, the main strength of the two parties met near Naseby, a village in Northamptonshire. The right wing of the royal army was commanded by the gallant and impetuous Rupert, the left wing by Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and the main body by the lord Astley, while a choice force was commanded, as a reserve, by the king in person. The left wing of the parliamentarians was commanded by Ireton, who had married Cromwell's daughter, the right wing by Cromwell himself, whose gallant and skilful charges at Long Marston Moor were not forgotten, and the main body by generals Fairfax and Skippon. The parliamentary left wing was so hotly charged by the impetuous and dashing Rupert, that it was fairly broken and driven through the streets of Naseby. But this success was rendered of comparatively little advantage, for Rupert lost so much time in attempting to seize Ireton's artillery that Cromwell, meanwhile, broke the royal horse under Sir Marmaduke Langdale, beyond all the efforts of that officer for its re-formation. While the cavalry on either side was thus occupied, the infantry were hotly engaged, and so much to the advantage of the royal side that the battalions of the parliament were actually falling back in disorder. The whole fate of the day now mainly depended upon which side should first see its cavalry return. If Rupert, instead of employing himself in seizing or spiking artillery, had at this time returned and made one of his fearfully impetuous charges upon the flank of the faltering roundheads, whom the best efforts of Fairfax and Skippon could scarcely keep from falling into a rout, the fortune of that day, and most probably the issue of the whole struggle, would have been in favour of the king. But the marvellous good fortune of Cromwell attended him; he returned to the field with his iron troopers elated with their success over Sir Marmaduke Langdale's division, and charged the flank of the main body of the royalists so fiercely as to throw them into hopeless and irremediable confusion. Ru-

pert now returned with his cavalry and joined the king's reserve, but the fate of the day was sealed; not even the gallantry of that able commander could lead the reserve to the support of the beaten and fugitive host of the royalists, and the king was obliged to fly from the field, leaving his artillery and valuable baggage, as well as five thousand prisoners, in the hands of the victorious parliamentarians.

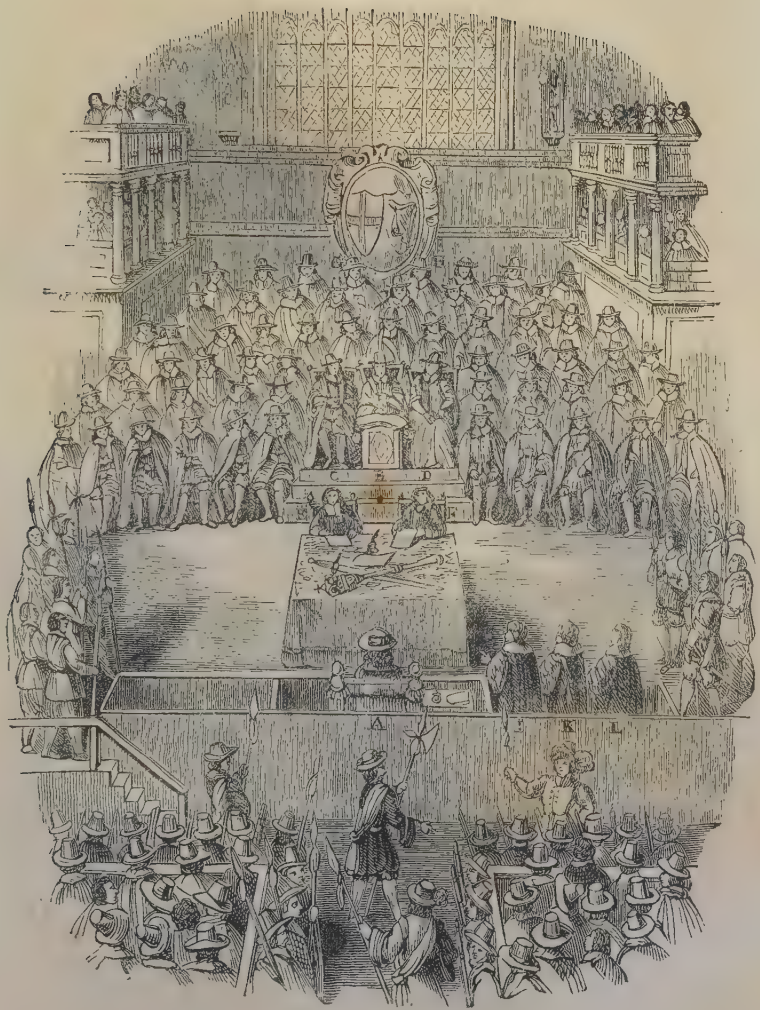
Nor did the advantages to the victor end even there. The defeat of the king and the magnitude of the losses he had sustained greatly aided the parliamentarians in reducing the chief fortified places in the kingdom. Bristol, Bridgewater, Chester, Sherborne, and Bath fell into their hands; Exeter was closely invested by Fairfax, and held out gallantly, but at length was obliged to surrender at discretion, all the western counties being so completely cleared of the king's troops that there was not the slightest chance of its being relieved.

In all the aspects of his fortune Charles had found the city of Oxford loyal and devoted. As well became that city of science and learning, it had constantly shown itself "glad in his prosperity and sad in his sorrow," and thither he retreated in his present misfortune, well knowing that there he would be loyally received, and hoping that even yet he might by negotiation retrieve some of the sad loss he had experienced in the field. But the unfortunate king was closely pursued by Fairfax, at the head of a victorious army eager for yet farther triumph over the defeated sovereign; and as the parliamentarians loudly expressed their intention of laying siege to Oxford, and were abundantly supplied with everything requisite for that purpose, Charles had several, and very cogent reasons for not abiding there. That the loyal inhabitants of Oxford would defend him to the utmost, Charles had no room to doubt; but neither could there be any doubt that the well known loyalty of the city would, on that very score, be most signally punished by the parliamentarians. Moreover, Charles had a most justifiable and well-grounded horror of falling into the hands of the English puritans, from whom, especially now that they were full and freshly flushed with victory, he might fear every insult, even to the extent of personal violence. Reasoning thus, and believing that the Scottish army was less personally and inveterately hostile to him, Charles took what proved to be the fatal resolution, of delivering himself into the hands of the Scots. To their eternal disgrace, they received him as a distressed king only to treat him as a malefactor and a prisoner. They worried and insulted him with sanctimonious remonstrances and reflections, by every possible neglect of the respectful ceremonials due to a sovereign; they reminded him of and imbittered his misfortunes; and, to complete the infamy of their conduct, they added gross venality to faithlessness and disloyalty, and literally sold him to the rebellious English parliament for the sum of two hundred thousand pounds!

With this atrocious act the Scots returned to their country, laden with ill-earned wealth, but laden also with the execration of all good men, and with the contempt even of those bold bad men to whom they had basely sold the unfortunate prince. Wholly and helplessly in the power of his foes, Charles had no course left to so honourable a mind as his, but to absolve his still faithful followers and subjects from the duty of farther striving in his behalf, and to trust for the safety of even his life to the mercy of men

> "Whose mercy was a nickname for the rage
> Of tameless tigers hungering for blood."

But if the rebellious parliamentarians were triumphant over their king, they had yet to deal with a more formidable enemy. The parliament had been made unanimous in itself and with the army by the obvious and pressing necessity for mutual defence, as long as the king was in the field and at the head of an imposing force. But now that the fortune of



TRIAL OF CHARLES I.

war and the base venality of the Scotch had made Charles a powerless and almost hopeless captive, the spoilers began to quarrel about the disposition of the spoil; and they who had united to revolt from their lawful monarch were ready with equal eagerness and animosity to cabal against each other. There is a sure retributive curse attendant upon all needless and groundless dissent—its destitution of a real and an abiding bond of union. The civilians of the parliamentary party were, for the most part, presbyterians, who were eager enough to throw off all allegiance to the king and all submission and respect to the church of England, but who were not the less inclined to set up and exact respect, both from lay and clerical authorities of their own liking. The fanaticism of the army took quite another turn; they were mostly independents, who thought, with Dogberry, that "reading and writing come by nature," and were ready to die upon the truth of the most ignorant trooper among them being qualified to preach with soul-saving effect to his equally ignorant fellow. The independents, armed and well skilled in arms, would under any conceivable circumstance have been something more than a match for the mere dreamers and declaimers of parliament; but they had a still further and decisive advantage in the active and energetic, though wily and secret, prompting and direction of Cromwell, who artfully professed himself the most staunch independent of them of all, and showed himself as willing and able, too, to lead them to the charge and the victory upon the well-fought field. He was, in appearance, indeed, only second in command under Fairfax, but, in reality, he was supreme over his nominal commander, and had the fate of both king and kingdom completely in his own hands. He artfully and carefully fomented the jealousy with which the military looked upon their own comparative powerlessness and obscurity after all the dangers and toils by which they had, as they affected to believe, permanently secured the peace and comfort of the country.

Without appearing to make any exertion or to use any influence, the artful intriguer urged the soldiery so far, that they openly lost all confidence in the parliament for which they had but too well fought, and set about the consideration and redress of their own grievances as a separate and ill-used body of the community. Still, at the instigation of Cromwell, a rude but efficient military parliament was formed, the principal officers acting as a house of peers, and two men or officers from each regiment acting as a house of commons, under the title of the "agitators of the army." Of these Cromwell took care to be one, and thus, while to all appearance he was only acting as he was authorized and commanded by his duty to the whole army, he in fact enjoyed all the opportunity that he required to suggest and forward measures indispensable to the gratification of his own ambition.

While Cromwell was thus wickedly but ably scheming, the king, forlorn and seemingly forgotten, lay in Holmby castle, strictly watched, though, as yet, owing to the dissensions that existed between the army and the parliament, not subjected to any farther indignities. From this state of comparative tranquillity the unhappy Charles was aroused by a *coup de main*, highly characteristic alike of the boldness and shrewdness of Cromwell. He demonstrated to his confidants of the army that the possession of the king's person must needs give a vast preponderance to any of the existing parties. The royalists, it was obvious, would at the order of the king rally round him, even in conjunction with the parliament, which by forming such a junction could at any moment command the pardon of the king, when the army, besides other difficulties, would be placed in the disadvantageous position of fighting against all branches of the government, including even that one to whose will and authority it owed its own existence. As usual, his arguments were successful, and Cornet Joyce, who at the breaking out of the rebellion had been only a tailor, was dis-

patched with five hundred cavalry to seize the king's person at Holmby castle. Though strictly watched, the king was but slenderly guarded, for the parliament had no suspicion of the probability of any such attempt on the part of the army. Cornet Joyce, therefore, found no difficulty in obtaining access to the king, to whom he made known the purport of his mission. Surprised at this sudden determination to remove him to the head-quarters of the army, the king, with some anxiety, asked Joyce to produce his commission for so extraordinary a proceeding, and Joyce, with the petulence of a man suddenly and unexpectedly elevated, pointed to his troops, drawn up before the window. "A goodly commission," replied Charles, "and written in fair characters;" he then accompanied Joyce to Triplo-heath near Cambridge, the head-quarters of the army. Fairfax and other discerning and moderate men had by this time begun to see the danger the country was in from the utter abasement of the kingly power, and to wish for such an accommodation as might secure the people without destroying the king. But Cromwell's bold seizure of his majesty had enabled him to throw off the mask; the violent and fanatical spirit of the soldiery was wholly subjected to him, and on his arrival at Triplo-heath, on the day after the king was taken thither by Joyce, Cromwell was by acclamation elected to the supreme command of the army.

Though, at the outset, the parliament was wholly opposed to the exorbitant pretensions of the army, the success of Cromwell's machinations rendered that opposition less unanimous and compact every day, and at length there was a considerable majority of parliament, including the two speakers, in favour of the army. To encourage this portion of the parliament, the head-quarters of the army were fixed at Hounslow-heath; and as the debates in the house daily grew more violent and threatening, sixty-two members, with the two speakers, fled to the camp at Hounslow, and formally threw themselves, officially and personally, upon the protection of the army. This accession to his moral force was so welcome to Cromwell, that he caused the members to be received with a perfect tumult of applause; and he ordered that the troops, twenty thousand in number, should move upon London to restore these fugitives to the place which they had voluntarily ceded and the duties they had timorously fled from.

While the one portion of the house had fled to the protection of the soldiers, the other portion had made some demonstrations of bringing the struggle against the pretensions of the army to an issue in the field. New speakers were chosen in the place of the fugitives, orders were given to enlist new troops, and the train-bands were ordered to the defence of the lines that enclosed the city. But when Cromwell with twenty thousand trained and unsparing troops arrived, the impossibility of any hastily organized defence being available against him became painfully evident. The gates were thrown open, Cromwell restored the speakers and the members of parliament, several of the opposite members were arbitrarily expelled the house, the mayor of London, with three aldermen and the sheriffs, were committed to the Tower, other prisons were crowded with citizens and militia officers, and the city lines were levelled, the more effectually to prevent any future resistance to the sovereign will and pleasure of the army, or, rather, of its master-spirit, Cromwell

CHAPTER LII.

THE REIGN OF CHARLES I. (CONCLUDED).

The king on being seized by the army was sent as a prisoner to his palace at Hampton court. Here, though closely watched, he was allowed

the access of his friends and all facilities for negotiating with parliament. But, in truth, the negotiating parties had stood upon terms which almost necessarily caused distrust on the one hand and incincerity on the other. Completely divested of power as Charles now was, it seems probable enough that he would promise more than he had any intention of performing, while the leading men on the other side could not but feel that their very lives would depend upon his sincerity from the instant that he should be restored to liberty and the exercise of his authority. Here would have been quite sufficient difficulty in the way of successful negotiation; but, besides that, Cromwell's plans were perpetually traversing the efforts of the king when his majesty was sincere, while Cromwell's active espionage never allowed any flagrant insincerity to escape detection. The king at length perceived the inutility of negotiation, and made his escape to the Isle of Wight. Here he hoped to remain undisturbed until he could either escape to the continent or receive such succours thence as might enable him, at least, to negotiate with the parliament upon more equal terms, if not actually to try his fortune anew in the field. But Colonel Hammond, the governor of the Isle of Wight, though he in some respects treated the unfortunate king with humanity, made him prisoner, and after being for some time confined in Carisbrook castle, the unfortunate Charles was sent in custody to his royal castle of Windsor, where he was wholly in the power of the army.

Cromwell and those who acted with him saw very plainly that the mere anxiety of the parliament to depress the prætorian bands which themselves had called into evil and gigantic power, was very likely to lead to an accommodation with the king, whose own sense of his imminent danger could not fail to render him, also, anxious for an early settlement of all disputes. The artful leaders of the army faction, therefore, now encouraged their dupes and tools of the lower sort to throw off the mask; and rabid yells for the *punishment* of the king arose on all sides. Peace and security had hitherto been the cry; it was now changed to a cry for vengeance. From Windsor the unhappy king was conveyed to Hurst-castle, on the coast of Hampshire, and opposite to the Isle of Wight, chiefly, it should seem to render communication between him and the parliamentary leaders more dilatory and difficult. But the parliament, growing more and more anxious for an accommodation in precise proportion as it was rendered more and more impracticable, again opened a negotiation with the ill-treated monarch, and despite the clamours and threats of the fanatical soldiery, seemed upon the very point of bringing it to a conclusion, when a new *coup de main* on the part of Cromwell extinguished all hope in the bosoms of the loyal and the just. Perceiving that the obstinacy of the parliament and the unhappy vacillation of the king could no longer be relied upon, Cromwell sent two regiments of his soldiery, under the command of Colonel Pride, to blockade the house of commons. Forty-one members who were favourable to accommodation were actually imprisoned in a lower room of the house, a hundred and sixty were insolently ordered to go to their homes and attend to their private affairs, and only about sixty members were allowed to enter the house, the whole of those being furious and bigoted independents, the pledged and deadly enemies of the king, and the mere and servile tools of Cromwell and the army. This parliamentary clearance was facetiously called "Pride's purge," and the members who had the disgraceful distinction of being deemed fit for Cromwell's dirty work, ever after passed under the title of "the rump."

With a really ludicrous impudence this contemptible assembly assumed to itself the whole power and character of the parliament, voted that all that had been done towards an accommodation with the king was illegal, and that his seizure and imprisonment by "the general"—so Cromwell

was now termed, *par excellence*—were just and praiseworthy. All moderation was thrown to the winds, and as the actual private murder of the king was thought likely to disgust the better men even among the fanatical soldiery, a committee of "the rump" parliament was formed to digest a charge of high treason. It would seem that the subtlest casuist would be puzzled to make out such a charge against a king; and especially in an age when monarchy in England was so newly and so imperfectly limited. But "the rump" was composed of men who knew no difficulty of the moral sort. The king, most rightfully, and supported by the most illustrious of his nobles and the wealthiest and most loving of his gentry, had drawn the sword to reduce to order and peace a rabid and greedy faction, which threatened his crown and tore the vitals of his country. And this justifiable, though sad and lamentable exertion of force, after all milder means had failed, "the rump" now charged against the king as treason; a treason of a kind never before dreamed of, a levying war against his parliament! Surely, the unhappy Charles had now but too much reason to regret that he had not by a just severity to Lord Kimbolton and his five co-accused fire-brands, crushed this venomous parliament while yet he had the power to do so!

As there was now no longer, thanks to "Pride's purge," a chance of further negotiation, it was determined that the hapless king should be brought from Hurst-castle to Windsor. Colonel Harrison, a half insane and wholly brutal fanatic, the son of a butcher, was entrusted with this commission; chiefly, perhaps, because it was well understood that he would rather slay the royal captive with his own hand than allow him to be rescued. After a brief stay at Windsor, the king was once again removed to London, and his altered appearance was such as would have excited commisseration in the breasts of any but the callous and inexorable creatures in whose hands he was. His features were haggard, his beard long and neglected, his hair blanched to a ghastly whiteness by sufferings that seemed to have fully doubled his age; and the boding melancholy that had characterised his features, even in his happier days, was now deepened down to an apparent yet resigned sadness that was painful to all humane beholders.

Sir Philip Warwick, an old and broken man, but faithful and loyal to the last, was the king's chief attendant; and he and the few subordinates who were allowed to approach the royal person were now brutally ordered to serve the king without any of the accustomed forms; and all external symbols of state and majesty were, at the same time, withdrawn with a petty yet malignant carefulness.

Even these cruelties and insults could not convince the king that his enemies would be guilty of the enormous absurdity of bringing their sovereign to a formal trial. Calm, just, and clear-sighted himself, he could not comprehend how even his fanatical and boorish enemies could, in the face of day, so manifestly bid defiance not only to all law and all precedent, but also to the plainest maxims of common sense. But though almost to the very day of his trial the king refused to believe that his enemies would dare to try him, he did believe that they intended to assassinate him, and in every meal of which he partook he imagined that he saw the instrument of his death.

A. D. 1648.—In the meantime, the king's enemies were actively making preparations for the most extraordinary trial ever witnessed in England. These preparations were so extensive that they occupied a vast number of persons from the sixth to the twentieth of January. As if the more fully to convince the king of their earnestness in the matter, Cromwell and the rump, when they had named a high court of justice, consisting of a hundred and thirty-three persons, ordered the duke of Hamilton, whom they had doomed to death for his unshaken loyalty to his sovereign, to be ad-

mitted to take leave of the king at Windsor. The interview was a harrowing one. The duke had ever been ready to pour out his blood like water for his sovereign; even now he felt not for himself, but, moved to tears by the sad alteration in the person of Charles, threw himself at the royal victim's feet, exclaiming, "My dear master!" "Alas!" said the weeping king, as he raised up his faithful and devoted servant, "Alas! I have, indeed, been a dear master to you!" Terrible, at this moment, must have been the king's self-reproaches for the opportunities he had neglected of putting down the wretches who now had his faithful servant and himself in their power!

Of the persons named to sit in the high court of justice, as this shamefully unjust and iniquitous coterie was impudently termed, only about seventy, or scarcely more than one half, could be got together at any one time during the trial. Low citizens, fanatical members of the rump, and servile officers of the army, composed the majority of those who did attend, and it was before this wretched assembly that the legitimate sovereign of the land, now removed from Windsor to St. James, was placed to undergo the insulting mockery of a trial.

The court, "the high court of justice" thus oddly constituted, met in Westminster-hall. The talents and firmness of Charles were even now too much respected by Cromwell and the shrewder members of "the rump" to allow of their opposing this miserable court to him without the ablest procurable aid; Bradshaw, a lawyer of considerable ability, was therefore appointed president, and Coke, solicitor for the people of England, with Steel, Aske, and Dorislaus for his assistants.

When led by a mace-bearer to a seat within the bar, the king seated himself with his hat on, and looked sternly around him at the traitors who affected to be his competent judges. Coke then read the charge against him, and the king's melancholy countenance was momentarily lighted up with a manly and just scorn as he heard himself gravely accused of having been "the cause of all the bloodshed which had followed since the commencement of the war!"

When Coke had finished making his formal charge, the president, Bradshaw, addressed the king, and called upon him to answer to the accusation which he had heard made against him.

Though the countenance of Charles fully expressed the natural and lofty indignation that he felt at being called upon to plead as a mere felon before a court composed not merely of simple commoners, but, to a very great extent, of the most ignorant and least honourable men in their ranks of life, he admirably preserved his temper, and addressed himself to his task with earnest and grave argument. He said that, conscious as he was of innocence, he should rejoice at an opportunity of justifying his conduct in every particular before a competent tribunal, but as he was not inclined to become the betrayer instead of the defender of the constitution, he must at this, the very first stage of the proceedings, wholly and positively repudiate the authority of the court before which he had been as illegally brought, as the court itself was illegally constituted. Where was there even the shadow of the upper house? Without it there could be no just tribunal, parliamentary or appointed by parliament. He was interrupted, too, for the purposes of this illegal trial just as he was on the point of concluding a treaty with both houses of parliament, a moment at which he surely had a right to expect anything rather than the violent and unjust treatment that he had experienced. He, it could not be denied, was the king and fountain of law, and could not be tried by laws to which he had not given his authority; and it would ill become him, who was entrusted with the liberties of the people, to betray them by even a formal and tacit recognition of a tribunal which could not possibly possess any other than a merely usurped power.

Bradshaw, the president, affected much surprise and indignation at the king's repudiation of the mock court of justice which, he said, received its power and authority from the source of all right, the people. When the king attempted to repeat his clear and cogent objection, Bradshaw rudely interrupted and despotically overruled him. But, if silenced by clamour, the king was not to be turned aside from his course by the mere repetition of a bold fallacy. Again and again he was brought before this mock tribunal, and again and again he baffled all attempts at making him, by pleading to it, give it some shadow of lawful authority. The conduct of the rabble without was fully worthy of the conduct of their self-constituted governors within the court. As the king proceeded to the court, he was assailed with brutal yells for what the wicked or deluded men called "justice." But neither the mob nor their instigators could induce him to plead, and the iniquitous court at length called some complaisant witnesses to swear that the king had appeared in arms against forces commissioned by parliament; and upon this fallacy of evidence, sentence of death was pronounced against him. We call the evidence a mere fallacy, because it amounted to nothing unless backed by the gross and monstrous assumption that the parliament could lawfully commission any forces without the order and permission of the king himself, and the no less glaring assumption that the king could act illegally in putting down rebellious gatherings of born subjects.

After receiving his sentence Charles was more violently abused by the rabble outside than he had even formerly been. "Execution" was loudly demanded, and one filthy and unmanly ruffian actually spat in his face, a beastly indignity which the king bore with a sedate and august pity, merely ejaculating, "Poor creatures, they would serve their generals in the same manner for a sixpence!"

To the honour of the nation be it said, these vile insults of the baser rabble were strongly contrasted by the respectful compassion of the better informed. Many of them, including some of the military, openly expressed their regret for the sufferings of the king and their disgust at the conduct of his persecutors. One soldier loudly prayed a blessing on the royal head, and the honest prayer being overheard by a fanatical officer, he struck the soldier to the ground. The king, more indignant at this outrage on the loyal soldier than he had been at all the unmanly insults that had been heaped upon himself, turned to the officer and sharply told him that the punishment very much exceeded the offence.

On returning to Whitehall, where he had been lodged during the mock trial, Charles wrote to the so-called house of commons, and requested that he might be allowed to see those of his children who were in England, and to have the assistance of Dr. Juxon, the deprived bishop of London, in preparing for the fate which he now clearly saw awaited him. Even his fanatical enemies dared not refuse these requests, but at the same time that they were granted he was informed that his execution would take place in three days.

The queen, the prince of Wales, and the duke of York were happily abroad; but the princess Elizabeth and the duke of Gloucester, a child not much more than three years old, were brought into the presence of their unhappy parent. The interview was most affecting, for, young as the children were, they but too well comprehended the sad calamity that was about to befal them. The king, among the many exhortations which he endeavoured to adapt to the understanding of his infant son, said, "My child, they will cut off my head, and when they have done that they will want to make you king. But now mark well what I say, you must never consent to be king while your brothers Charles and James are alive. They will cut off their heads if they can take them, and they will afterwards cut off your head, and therefore I charge you do not be made a

king by them." The noble little fellow, having listened attentively to all that his father said to him, burst into a passion of tears and exclaimed, "I won't be a king; I will be torn in pieces first."

Short as the interval was between the conclusion of the mock trial of the king and his murder, great efforts were made to save him, and among others was that of the prince of Wales sending a blank paper, signed and sealed by himself, accompanied by a letter, in which he offered permission to the parliament to insert whatever terms it pleased for the redemption of his father's life. But there was an under-current at work of which both the king and his attached friends were fatally ignorant. The real cause of the murder of Charles I. was the excessive personal terror of Oliver Cromwell. This we state on an indisputably legitimate deduction from an anecdote related by Cromwell himself; and the anecdote is so curious and so characteristic of Cromwell that we subjoin it. In truth, how broad a light does this anecdote throw on this most shameful portion of English history!

While the king was still at Windsor and allowed to correspond both with the parliament and his distant friends, it is but too clear that he allowed the vile character and proceedings of his opponent to warp his naturally high character from the direct and inflexible honesty which is proverbially and truly said to be the best policy. Vacillation and a desire to make use of subterfuge were apparent even in his direct dealings with the parliament, and would have tended to have prolonged the negotiations even had the parliament been earnest in its wish for an accommodation at a far earlier period than it really was. But it was in his private correspondence, especially with the queen, that Charles displayed the real insincerity of much of his public profession. Seeing the great power of Cromwell, and to a considerable extent divining that daring and subtle man's real character, Charles had not only wisely but even successfully endeavoured to win Cromwell to his aid. There was, as yet, but little probability that even if Charles himself were put out of the way, a high-hearted nation would set aside the whole family of its legitimate king, merely to give a more than regal despotism into the coarse hands of the son of a provincial brewer! At this period the grasping ambition of the future protector would, in the absence of all probability of illegitimately acquired sovereignty, have been satisfied with the trust, honours, wealth, and power which the gratitude of his sovereign could have bestowed on him. Cromwell, consequently, was actually pondering the propriety of setting up the king and becoming "viceroy over" him, when the startling truth was revealed to him, that the king was merely duping him, and intended to sacrifice him as a traitor when he should have done with him as a tool. Effectually served by his spies, Cromwell, who had already some grounds for suspecting Charles' real designs towards him, received information that on a certain night a man would leave the Blue Boar in Holborn for Dover, on his way to the continent, and that in the flap of his saddle a most important packet would be found, containing a voluminous letter from the king to the queen. On the night in question, Cromwell and Ireton, in the disguise of troopers, lounged into the Blue Boar tap, and there passed away the time in drinking beer and watching some citizens playing at shovel-board, until they saw the man arrive of whom they had received an exact description. Following the man into the stable they ripped open the saddle and found the packet, and, to his dismay and rage, Cromwell read, in the hand-writing of Charles, the monarch's exultation at having tickled his vanity, and his expressed determination to raise him for a time, only to crush him when the opportunity should occur. From that moment terror made Cromwell inexorable; he saw no security for his own safety except in the complete destruction of the king. Hence the indecent and determined trial and

sentence; and hence, too, the absolute contempt that was shown for all efforts at preventing the sentence from being executed.

Whatever want of resolution Charles may have shown in other passages of his life, the time he was allowed to live between sentence and execution exhibited him in the not unfrequently combined characters of the christain and the hero. No invectives against the iniquity of which he was the victim escaped his lips, and he slept the deep calm sleep of innocence, though on each night his enemies, with a refinement upon cruelty more worthy of fiends than of men, assailed his ears with the noise of men erecting the scaffold for his execution.

When the fatal morning at length dawned, the king at an early hour called one of his attendants, whom he desired to attire him with more than usual care, as he remarked that he would fain appear with all proper preparation for so great and so joyful a solemnity. The scaffold was erected in front of Whitehall, and it was from the central windows of his own most splendid banqueting room that the king stepped on to the scaffold on which he was to be murdered.

When his majesty appeared he was attended by the faithful and attached Dr. Juxon, and was received by two masked executioners standing beside the block and the axe. The scaffold, entirely covered with fine black cloth, was densely surrounded by soldiers under the command of Colonel Tomlinson, while in the distance was a vast multitude of people. The near and violent death that awaited him seemed to produce no effect on the king's nerves. He gazed gravely but calmly around him, and said, to all to whom the concourse of military would admit of his speaking, that the late war was ever deplored by him, and was commenced by the parliament. He had not taken up arms until compelled by the warlike and illegal conduct of the parliament, and had done so only to defend his people from oppression, and to preserve intact the authority which had been transmitted to him by his ancestors. But though he positively denied that there was any legal authority in the court by which he had been tried, or any truth in the charge upon which he had been condemned and sentenced, he added that his fate was a just punishment for his weakly and criminally consenting to the equally unjust execution of the earl of Strafford. He emphatically pronounced his forgiveness of all his enemies, named his son as his successor, and expressed his hope that the people would now return to their duty under that prince; and he concluded his brief and manly address by calling upon all present to bear witness that he died a sincere protestant of the church of England.

No one heard this address without being deeply moved by it, and even Colonel Tomlinson, who had the unenviable task of superintending the murder of his prince, confessed that that address had made him a convert to the royal cause.

The royal martyr now began to disrobe, and, as he did so, Dr. Juxon said to him, "Sire! there is but one stage more, which, though a turbulent and troublesome one, is still but a short one; it will soon carry you a great way; it will carry you from earth to heaven, and there you shall find, to your great joy, the prize to which you are hastening, a crown of glory."

"I go," replied the king, "where no disturbance can take place, from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown."

"You exchange," rejoined the bishop, "a temporal for an eternal crown—a good exchange."

Charles, having now completed his preparations, delivered his decorations of St. George to Dr. Juxon, and emphatically pronounced the single word "Remember!" He then calmly laid his head upon the block, and it was severed from his body at one blow; the second executioner immediately held it up by the hair, and said, "Behold the head of a traitor!"

Thus, on the 30th of January, 1649, perished Charles I., in the forty-ninth year of his age, and the twenty-fourth of his reign. He was not executed but murdered; he was guilty of no crime but weakness or vacillation of judgment; his greatest misfortune was his want of the stern energy of a Henry VIII. or an Elizabeth; such an energy exerted at the beginning of his reign would have enabled him to crush the traitorous, and would have warranted and enabled him subsequently to increase and systematize the liberties of his country, without danger of subjecting it to the rude purification of a civil war.

The blood of the royal martyr had scarcely ceased to flow, before the lately furious multitude began to repent of the violence which their own vile shouts had assisted. But repentance came too late; more than the power of their murdered monarch had now fallen into sterner hands.

With that suspicion which "ever haunts the guilty mind," Cromwell and his friends attached much mysterious importance to the "Remember" so emphatically pronounced by Charles on delivering his George to Dr. Juxon, and that learned and excellent man was authoritatively commanded to give an account of the king's meaning, or his own understanding of the word. To the inexpressible mortification of those base minds, the doctor informed them that the king only impressed upon him a former and particular request to deliver the George to the prince of Wales, and at the same time to urge the command of his father to forgive his murderers!

CHAPTER LIII.

THE COMMONWEALTH.

Whatever might have been Cromwell's original views, his military successes, the vast influence he had obtained over the army, and, perhaps, still more than either of these, the base and evident readiness of the parliament to truckle to his military power and meet him even more than half way in his most unjust and exorbitant wishes, opened a prospect too unbounded and tempting for his ambition to resist. But policy, as well as the circumstances of the time, made it incumbent upon Cromwell, in the first instance, to exalt still higher his character for military skill and daring. Ireland had a disciplined host in arms for the royal cause under the duke of Ormond, and large multitudes of the native Irish were at the same time in open revolt under the restless and daring O'Neal Cromwell procured the command of the army appointed to put down both these parties, and fully succeeded. How mercilessly he used his victory we have related under the proper head.

A. D. 1650.—On the return of Cromwell to England his pocket parliament formally returned him the thanks which, except for his needless and odious cruelty, he had well merited. A new opportunity at the same moment presented itself for the aggrandizement of this bold and fortunate adventurer. The Scots, who had basely sold Charles I. into the hands of his enemies, were now endeavouring to make money by venal loyalty, as they had formerly made it by venal treason. They had invited Charles II. into Scotland, where that gay young prince speedily found that they looked upon him rather as a prisoner than as their king.

The grossness of their manners, and the rude accommodation with which they furnished him, he could probably have passed over without much difficulty, for, young as Charles II. was, he had already seen more of grossness and poverty than commonly comes within the knowledge of the great. But Charles was frank as he was gay; and the austere manners and long and unseasonable discourses which they inflicted upon

him did not annoy him more than their evident determination to make him at the least affect to agree with them. As, however, the Scots were his only present hope, Charles did his utmost to avoid quarreling with them; and however they might annoy him while among them, whatever might be their ultimate views respecting him, certain it is that they raised a very considerable army, and showed every determination to reinstate him in his kingdom.

Even merely as being Presbyterians the Scotch were detested by Cromwell and his independents; but now that they had also embraced the cause of "the man Charles Stuart," as these boorish English independents affected to call their lawful sovereign, it was determined that a signal chastisement should be inflicted upon them. The command of an army for that purpose was offered to Fairfax, but he declined it on the honourable ground that he was unwilling to act against Presbyterians. Cromwell had no such scruple, and he immediately set out for Scotland with an army of sixteen thousand men, which received accessions to its numbers in every great town through which it marched. But notwithstanding even the military fame of Cromwell, and his too well known cruelty to all who dared to resist him and were unfortunate enough to be vanquished, the Scots boldly met his invasion. But boldness alone was of little avail against such a leader as Cromwell, backed by such tried and enthusiastic soldiers as his; the two armies had scarcely joined battle when the Scots were put to flight, their loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners being very great, while the total loss of Cromwell did not exceed forty men.

As Cromwell after this battle pursued his course northward, with the determination not only to chastise, but completely and permanently to subdue the Scots, the young king, as soon as he could rally the Scottish army, took a resolution which showed him to have an intuitive knowledge of military tactics. Making a detour to get completely clear of any outlying parties of Cromwell's troops, he commenced a forced march into England, the northern counties of which lay completely open and defenceless. The boldness of this course alarmed a portion of the Scottish army, and numerous desertions took place from the very commencement of the march southward; but as Charles still had a numerous and imposing force, there was every reason to believe that long ere he should reach London the great object of his expedition, the gentry and middle orders would flock to him in such numbers as would render altogether out of the question any resistance on the part of the parliament, especially in the absence of Cromwell and the flower of the English troops. But the bold manœuvre of the young prince was doomed to have none of the success which it so eminently deserved. Before his progress was sufficient to counterbalance in the minds of his subjects the terror in which they held Cromwell, that active commander had received news of the young king's manœuvre, and had instantly retrograded in pursuit of him, leaving Monk, his second in command, to complete and maintain the subjection of the Scotch.

There has always appeared to us to be a striking resemblance, which we do not remember to have seen noticed by any other writer, between the Cromwellian and the Bonapartean systems. To compare the battles of Cromwell to the battles of Bonaparte would be literally to make mountains of molehills; yet the principles of these two commanders seem to us to have been the same, and to be summed up in two general maxims, *march rapidly*, and *attack in masses*. The phrases are simple enough in themselves, yet no one who has studied a single battle-map with even the slightest assistance from mathematical science, can fail to perceive the immense, we had almost said the unbounded, powers of their application. On the present occasion the celerity of Cromwell was the destruction of the young king's hopes. With an army increased by the terror of his name to nearly forty thousand men, Cromwell marched southward so rap-

idly, that he absolutely shut up the forces of Charles in the city of Worcester ere they had time to break from their quarters and form in order of battle in some more favourable situation. The irresistible cavalry of Cromwell burst suddenly and simultaneously in at every gate of the town; every street, almost every house became the instant scene of carnage; the Pitchcroft was literally strewed with the dead, while the Severn was tinged with the blood of the wounded; and Charles, after having bravely fought as a common soldier, and skilfully, though unsuccessfully, exerted himself as a commander, seemed to have no wish but to throw himself upon the swords of his enemies. It was with difficulty that his friends turned him from his desperate purpose, and even when they had done so it appeared to be at least problematical whether he would be able to escape. Accident, or the devotion of a peasant, caused a wain of hay to be overturned opposite to one of the gates of the city in such wise that Cromwell's mounted troops could not pass, and, favoured by this circumstance, Charles mounted a horse that was held for him by a devoted friend, and sought safety in flight.

The triumph of Cromwell was completed with this battle of Worcester, but his vengeful desire was not yet laid to rest; and under his active and untiring superintendance prodigious exertions were made to capture the young king, whose difficulties, in fact, only commenced as he escaped from the confusion and the carnage of Worcester. Almost destitute of money and resources of every kind, and having reason to fear an enemy, either on principle or from lucre, in every man whom he met, Charles was obliged to trust for safety to disguise, which was the more difficult on account of his remarkable and striking features. Three poor men, named Penderell, disguised him as a woodcutter, fed him, concealed him by night, and subsequently aided him to reach wealthier though not more faithfully devoted friends. While with these poor men, Charles in the day-time accompanied them to their place of labour in Boscobel wood. On one occasion, on hearing a party of soldiers approach, the royal fugitive climbed into a large and spreading oak, where, sheltered by its friendly foliage, he saw the solders pass and repass, and quite distinctly heard them express their rude wishes to obtain the reward that was offered for his capture. Thanks to the incorruptible fidelity of the Penderells and numerous other persons who were necessarily made acquainted with the truth, Charles, though he endured great occasional hardship and privation and was necessarily exposed to constant anxiety, eluded every effort of his almost innumerable pursuers, urged on though they were to the utmost activity by the malignant liberality with which Cromwell promised to reward the traitor who should arrest his fugitive king. Under different disguises, and protected by a variety of persons, the young king went from place to place for six weeks, wanting only one day, and his adventures and hair-breadth escapes during that time read far more like romance than the history of what actually was endured and survived by a human being persecuted by evil or misguided men. At the end of this time he was fortunate enough to get on board a vessel which landed him safely on the coast of Normandy; an issue to so long and varied a series of adventures which is more remarkable when it is considered that forty men and women, of various stations, circumstances, and dispositions, were during that terrible season of his flight, necessarily made acquainted with the secret, the betrayal of which would have made any one of them opulent for life, and infamous forever.

Cromwell, in the meantime, after having achieved what he called the "crowning mercy" of the victory of Worcester, made a sort of triumphal return to London, where he was met with the pomp due only to a sovereign, by the speaker and principal members of the house of commons

and the mayor and other magistrates of London in their state habits and paraphernalia.

General Monk had been left in Scotland with a sufficient force to keep that turbulent people in awe; and both their presbyterianism and the imminent peril in which Charles' bold march of the Scottish army had placed Cromwell himself and that "commonwealth" of which he was now fully determined to be the despot, had so enraged Cromwell against that country, that he seized upon his first hour of leisure to complete its degradation, as well as submission. His complaisant parliament only required a hint from him to pass an act which might have been fitly enough entitled "an act for the better punishment and prevention of Scottish loyalty." By this act royalty was declared to be abolished in Scotland, as it had previously been in England, and Scotland itself was declared to be then annexed to England as a conquest and a province of "the commonwealth." Cromwell's hatred of the Scotch, however, proceeded no farther than insult; fortunately for them, Monk, who was left as their resident general or military governor, was a prudent and impartial man, free from all the worst fanaticism and wickedness of the time; and his rigid impartiality at once disposed the people to peace, and intimidated the English judges who were entrusted with the distribution of justice in that country, from being guilty of any injustice or tyranny to which they might otherwise have been inclined. England, Scotland, and Ireland—where Ireton and Ludlow had completed the very little that Cromwell had left undone—were thus effectually subjected to a parliament of sixty men, many of whom were the weakest, as many more of them were the wickedest, the most ignorant, and the most fanatical men that could have been found in England even in that age. So says history, if we look at it with a merely superficial glance. But, in truth, the hats which covered the heads of those sixty men had fully as much concern as the men themselves in the wonderfully rapid and complete subjugation of three countries, two of which had never been otherwise than turbulent and sanguinary, and the third of which had just murdered its sovereign and driven his legal successor into exile. No; it was not by the fools and the fanatics, carefully weeded out of the most foolish and fanatical of parliaments, that all this great though evil work was done. Unseen, save by the few, but felt throughout the whole English dominion, Cromwell dictated every measure and inspired every speech of that parliament which to the eyes of the vulgar seemed so omnipotent. His sagacity and his energy did much, and his known vindictiveness and indomitable firmness did the rest; those who opposed failed before his powers, and their failure intimidated others into voluntary submission. The channel islands and the Scottish isles were easily subdued on account of their proximity; the American colonies, though some of them at the outset declared for the royal cause, numbered so many enthusiastic religious dissenters among their populations, that they, too, speedily submitted to and followed the example and orders of the newly and guiltily founded "Commonwealth" of England.

While all this was being achieved, the real government of England was in the hands of Cromwell, though, in form, there was a council of thirty-eight, to whom all addresses and petitions were presented, and who had, nominally, the managing of the army and navy, and the right and responsibility of making war and peace. The real moving-principle of this potent council was the mind of Cromwell. And, while we denounce the flagrant hypocrisy of his pretensions to a superior sanctity, and his traitorous contempt of all his duties as a subject, impartial truth demands that we admit that never was ill-obtained power better wielded. Next after the petty and cruel persecution of individuals, nominally on public grounds but really in revenge of private injuries, a political speculator would infallibly and very naturally predict that a poor and, comparatively speaking

low-born private man, like Cromwell, being suddenly invested with so vast a power over a great and wealthy nation, would make his ill-acquired authority an infamous and especial scourge in the financial department. But, to the honour of Cromwell be it said, there is no single period in our history during which the public finances have been so well managed, and administered with so entire a freedom from greedy dishonesty and waste, as during this strange man's strange administration. It is quite true that the crown revenues and the lands of the bishops were most violently and shamefully seized upon by this government, but they were not, as might have been anticipated, squandered upon the gratification of private individuals. These, with a farther levy upon the national resources that amounted to only a hundred and twenty thousand pounds per month, supplied the whole demands of a government which not only maintained peace in its own commonwealth and dependencies, but also taught foreigners that, under whatever form of government, England still knew how to make herself feared, if not respected.

Holland, by its protection of the royal party of England, had given deep offence to Cromwell, who literally, "as the hart panteth for cool waters," panted for the blood of Charles II. "Whom we have injured we never forgive," says a philosophic satirist; and Cromwell's hatred of Charles II. was a good exemplification of the sad truth. Hating Holland for her generous shelter of the royalists, Cromwell eagerly seized upon two events, which might just as well have happened in any other country under the heaven, as a pretext for making war upon that country.

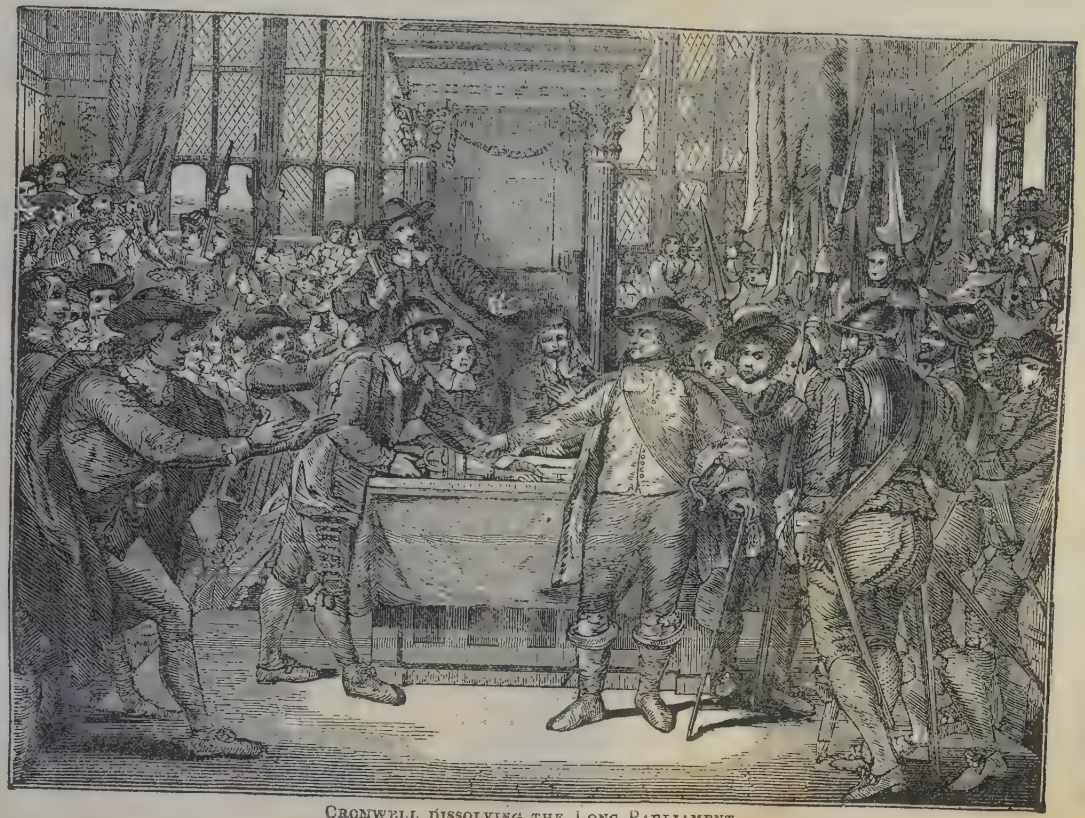
The circumstances to which we allude were these. At the time of the mock trial that preceded the shameful murder of the late king, Doctor Dorislaus, the reader will remember, was one of the "assistants" of Coke, the "solicitor for the people of England." Under the government of the "commonwealth" this mere hireling was sent as its envoy to Holland. A royalist whose own fierce passions made him forget that it is written "vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord," and who would see no difference between the ruffian who actually wields the instrument, and the more artful but no less abominable ruffian who instigates or hires the actual assassin, put Dorislaus to death. No sane man of sound Christian principles can justify this act; but how was Holland concerned in it? The same man with the same opportunity would doubtless have committed the same act in the puritan state of New-England: and to make a whole nation answerable in their blood and their treasure for the murderous act of an individual who had taken shelter among them was an absurdity as well as an atrocity. The other case which served Cromwell as a pretext for declaring war against Holland was, that Mr. St. John, who was subsequently sent on an embassy to Holland, received some petty insult from the friends of the prince of Orange! But, alas! it is not alone *usurped* governments that furnish us with these practical commentaries on the fable of the wolf and the lamb!

The great naval commander of this time was Admiral Blake. Though he did not enter the sea service until very late in life, he was a perfect master of naval tactics, and his daring and firmness of character could not be surpassed. When the war was declared against Holland he proceeded to sea to oppose the power of the Dutch admiral, Von Tromp. The actions between them were numerous and in many cases tolerably equal, but the general result of the war was so ruinous to the trading interests of the Dutch, that they anxiously desired the return of peace. But though it was chiefly the personal feeling and personal energy of Cromwell that had commenced this war, his hitherto patient and obsequious tools, the parliament, now exerted themselves to prolong the war at sea, hoping thus to weaken that power of the army, wielded by Cromwell, which of late they had felt to a scarcely tolerable degree.

But effectual resistance on the part of the parliament was now wholly out of the question; they had too well done the work of the usurper, who was probably not ill-pleased that their present petty and futile attempt at opposing him gave him a pretext for crushing even the last semblance of their free will out of existence. But though he had fully determined upon a new and decisive mode of overruling them, Cromwell initiated it with his usual art and tortuous procedure. He well knew that the commons hated the army, would fain have disbanded it, if possible, and would on no account do aught that could increase either its power or its well-being; on the other hand, he was equally aware that the soldiers had many real grievances to complain of, and also entertained not a few prejudices against the commons. To embroil them in an open quarrel, and then, seemingly as the merely sympathizing redresser of the wronged soldiery, to use them to crush the parliament was the course he determined upon.

A. D. 1653.—Cromwell, with that rugged but efficient eloquence which he so well knew how to use, urged the officers of the army no longer to suffer themselves and their men to labour under grievances unredressed and arrears unpaid, at the mere will and pleasure of the selfish civilians for whom they had fought and conquered, but remonstrate in terms which those selfish persons could not misunderstand, and which would wring justice from their fears. Few things could have been suggested which would have been more entirely agreeable to the wishes of the officers. They drew up a petition—if we ought not rather to call it a remonstrance—in which, after demanding redress of grievances and payment of arrears, they taunted the parliament with having formerly made fine professions of their determination so to remodel that assembly as to extend and insure liberty to all ranks of men, and with having for years continued to sit without making a single advance towards the performance of these voluntary pledges. The house acted on this occasion with a spirit which would have been admirable and honourable in a genuine house of commons, but which savoured somewhat of the ludicrous when shown by men who, consciously and deliberately, had, year after year, been the mere and servile tools of Cromwell and his prætorians. It was voted not only that this petition should not be complied with, but also that any person who should in future present any such petition should be deemed guilty of high treason, and a committee was appointed immediately to prepare an act in conformity to this resolution. The officers presented a warm remonstrance upon this treatment of their petition; the house still more warmly replied; and it was soon very evident that both parties were animated by the utmost animosity to each other. Cromwell now saw that his hour for action had arrived. He was sitting in council with some of his officers when, doubtless in obedience to his own secret orders, intelligence was brought to him of the violent temper and designs of the house. With well acted astonishment and uncontrollable rage he started from his seat, and exclaimed that the misconduct of these men at length compelled him to do a thing which made the hair to stand on end upon his head. Hastily assembling three hundred soldiers he immediately proceeded to the house of commons, which he entered, covered, and followed by as many of the troops as could enter. Before any remonstrance could be offered, Cromwell, stamping upon the ground, as in an ecstacy of sudden passion, exclaimed, "For shame! Get ye gone and give place to honester men! you are no longer a parliament, I tell ye you are no longer a parliament." Sir Harry Vane, a bold and honest man, though a half insane enthusiast, now rose and denounced Cromwell's conduct as indecent and tyrannical.

"Ha!" exclaimed Cromwell, "Sir Harry! Oh! Sir Harry Vane! the Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane!" Then turning first to one prominent member of this lately servile parliament and then to another, he



CROMWELL DISSOLVING THE LONG PARLIAMENT.

dealt out in succession the titles of glutton, drunkard, adulterer, and whoremonger. Having given this, probably, very just description of the men by whose means he had so long and so tyrannically governed the suffering nation, he literally turned "the rump" out of the house, locked the doors, and carried away the key in his pocket.

A servile parliament being the most convenient of tools for the purposes of despotism, Cromwell, when he had thus summarily got rid of "the rump," very soon proceeded to call a new parliament, which, if possible, surpassed even that in the qualities of brutal ignorance and ferocious fanaticism. A practice had now become general of taking scriptural words, and in many cases, whole scriptural sentences or canting imitations of them, for Christian names; and a fanatical leather-seller, who was the leading man in this fanatical parliament, named Praise-God Barebones, gave his name to it. The utter ignorance displayed by the whole of the members of Barebones' parliament even of the forms of their own house, the wretched drivelling of their speeches, and their obvious incapacity to understand the meaning of what they were secretly and imperiously instructed to do, excited so much ridicule even from the very multitude, that the less insane among the members themselves became ashamed of their pitiable appearance. A small number of these, with the concurrence of Rouse, their speaker, waited upon Cromwell at Whitehall, and wisely tendered their resignation, which he willingly received. But many of this precious parliament were far from being convinced of their incapacity or willing to resign their authority. They determined not to be bound by the decision of the seceders, and proceeded to elect one of their number, named Moyer, as their speaker. Cromwell had but one way of dealing with this sort of contumacy, and he sent a party of guards, under the command of Colonel White, to clear the parliament house. On this occasion a striking instance occurred of the mingled cant and profanity which then so disgustingly abounded in common conversation. Colonel White, on entering the house and seeing Moyer in the chair, addressed him and asked what he and the other members were doing there.

"Seeking the Lord," replied Moyer, in the cant of his tribe.

"Then," replied the colonel, with a profane levity still more disgusting than the other's cant, "you had better go seek him elsewhere, for to my certain knowledge he has not been here these many years."

Having now fully ascertained the complete devotion of the military to his person, and sufficiently accustomed the people at large to his arbitrary and sudden caprices, Cromwell, whose clear and masculine sense must have loathed the imbecility and fanaticism of the late parliament, boldly proceeded to dispense with parliaments altogether, and to establish a pure and open military government, of which he was himself at once the head, heart, and hand. The formation of the new government was highly characteristic of Cromwell's peculiar policy. Through his usual agents he induced the officers of the army to declare him protector of the commonwealth of England; and that there might be no misunderstanding as to the substantial royalty of the office thus conferred on him, the appointment was proclaimed in London and other chief towns with the formality and publicity usual on proclaiming the accession of a king.

The military officers having thus made Cromwell king in all but the mere name, he gratefully proceeded to make them his ministers, choosing his council from among the general officers, and allowing each councillor the then very liberal salary of one thousand pounds per annum.

Now that he was ostensibly, as for a long time before he had been virtually, at the head of affairs, the policy of Cromwell required that the army should be well taken care of. While there was yet any possibility of the people clamouring for a parliament, and of a parliament making

any show of resistance to his inordinate pretensions, the discontent of the army was a weapon of price to him. Now the case was completely altered, and instead of allowing the pay of the army to fall into arrears, he had every officer and man constantly paid one month in advance. Liberal in all that related to real public service, as the providing of arms, furnishing the magazines, and keeping the fleet in serviceable repair, he yet was the determined foe of all useless expense.

But though the iron hand of Cromwell kept the people tranquil at home, and maintained the high character of the nation abroad, he had not long obtained the protectorate ere he began to suffer the penalty of his criminal ambition. To the royalists, as the murderer of their former king, and as the chief obstacle to the restoration of their present one, he was of course hateful; and the sincere republicans, including not only Fairfax and many other men of public importance and character, but also a multitude of persons in all ranks of private life, and some of his own nearest and dearest connexions, saw in him only a worse than legitimate king. The consequence was, that numerous plots, of more or less importance and extent, were formed against him. But he was himself active, vigilant, and penetrating; and as he was profuse in his rewards to those who afforded him valuable information, no one was ever more exactly served by spies. He seemed to know men's very thoughts, so rapid and minute was the information which he in fact owed to this, in his circumstances, wise liberality. No sooner was a plot formed than he knew who were concerned in it; no sooner had the conspirators determined to proceed to action than they learned to their cost, that their own lives were at the disposal of him whose life they had aimed at.

With regard to the war in which the nation was engaged, it may be remarked, that all the efforts of the Dutch failed to save them from suffering severely under the vigorous and determined attacks of Blake. Defeated again and again, and finding their trade paralyzed in every direction, they at length became so dispirited that they sued for peace, and treated as a sovereign the man whom, hitherto, they had very justly treated as a usurper. In order to obtain peace, they agreed to restore considerable territory which, during the reign of Charles I., they had torn from the East India Company, to cease to advocate or advance the cause of the unfortunate Charles II., and to pay homage on every sea to the flag of the commonwealth.

While we give all due credit to Cromwell as the ruler under whom the Dutch were thus humbled, and make due allowance for the value of his prompt and liberal supplies to the admiral and fleet, we must not, either, omit to remember that the real humbler of the Dutch was the gallant Admiral Blake. This fine English seaman was avowedly and notoriously a republican in principle, and, being so, he could not but be opposed to the usurpation by Cromwell of a more than kingly power. But at sea, and with an enemy's fleet in sight, the gallant Blake remembered only his country, and cared nothing about who ruled it. On such occasions he would say to his seamen, "No matter into whose hands the government may fall, our duty is still to fight for our country."

With France in negotiation, as with Holland in open war, England under Cromwell was successful. The sagacious Cardinal Mazarine, who was then in power in France, clearly saw that the protector was more easily to be managed by flattery and deference than by any attempts at violence, and there were few crowned heads that were treated by France, under Mazarine, with half the respect which it lavished upon "Protector" Cromwell of England. This prudent conduct of the French minister probably saved much blood and treasure to both nations, for although Cromwell's discerning mind and steadfast temper would not allow of his sacrificing any of the substantial advantages of England to the

DEFEAT OF THE DUTCH FLEET BY BLAKE, ETC.

soothings and flatteries of the French minister, they, unquestionably, disposed him to docility and complaisance upon many not vitally important points, upon which, had they been at all haughtily pressed, he would have resisted even to the extremity of going to war.

Spain, which, in the reign of Elizabeth, and even later, had been so powerful as to threaten to unite all Europe in submission, had now become considerably reduced. But Cromwell, wisely, as we think, still considered it too powerful, and as far more likely than France to espouse the cause of Charles II., and thus be injurious to the commonwealth and the protector. Accordingly, being solicited by Mazarine to join in depressing Spain, he readily furnished six thousand men for the invasion of the Netherlands, and a signal victory was with this aid obtained over the Spaniards at Dunes. In return for this important service the French put Dunkirk, lately taken from the Spaniards, into his hands.

But the victory of Dunes was the least of the evils that the Spaniards experienced from the enmity of Cromwell. Blake, whose conduct in the Dutch war had not only endeared him to England, but had also spread his personal renown throughout the world, was most liberally and ably supported by the protector. Having sailed up the Mediterranean, where the English flag had never floated above a fleet since the time of the crusaders, he completely swept that sea of all that dared to dispute it with him, and then proceeded to Leghorn, where his mere appearance and reputation caused the duke of Tuscany to make reparation for divers injuries which had been inflicted upon the English traders there.

A. D. 1655.—The trading vessels of England, as, indeed, of all Europe an countries, had long suffered from the Tunisians and Algerines, and Blake now proceeded to call those barbarians to account. The dey of Algiers was soon brought to reason; but the dey of Tunis, directing the attention of Blake to the strong castles of Goletta and Porto Farino, bade him look at them and then do his worst. The English admiral instantly took him at his word, sailed into the harbour, burned the whole of the shipping that lay in it, and sailed triumphantly away in quest of the Spaniards. Arrived at Cadiz he took two galleons, or treasure-ships, of the enormous value of two millions of pieces of eight, and then sailed for the Canaries, where he burned and sunk an entire Spanish fleet of sixteen sail. After this latter action he sailed for England to refit, where he sank so rapidly beneath an illness which had long afflicted him, that he expired just as he reached home.

While Blake had been thus gallantly and successfully exerting himself in one quarter, another fleet under admirals Venables and Penn, carrying about four thousand land forces, left the British shores. The object of this expedition was to capture the island of Hispaniola, but the Spaniards were so well prepared and superior, that this object entirely failed. Resolved not to return home without having achieved something, the admirals now directed their course to Jamaica, where they so completely surprised the Spaniards, that that rich island was taken possession of by our troops without the necessity of striking a blow. So little was the value of the island—from which so much wealth has since been drawn—at that time understood, that its capture was not deemed a compensation for the failure as to Hispaniola, and both the admirals were sent to the Tower for that failure.

A. D. 1658.—But the splendid successes of Cromwell were now drawing to a close. His life, glorious as to the unthinking and uninformed it must have appeared, had from the moment of his accepting the protectorate, been one long series of secret and most harassing vexations. As we have already pointed out, both extremes, the republicans and the royalists, detested him, and were perpetually plotting against his authority and life. His own wife was thought to detest the guilty state in

which they lived; and it is certain that both his eldest daughter, Mrs Fleetwood, and his favourite child, Mrs. Claypole, took every opportunity of maintaining the respective principles of their husbands, even in the presence of their father. Mrs. Fleetwood, indeed, went beyond her husband in zeal for republicanism, while Mrs. Claypole, whom the protector loved with a tenderness little to have been expected from so stern a man, was so ardent in the cause of monarchy, that even on her death-bed she upbraided her sorrowing father with the death of one sovereign and the usurpation which kept his successor in exile and misery. The soldiery, too, with whom he had so often fought, were for the most part sincere, however erring, in their religious professions, and could not but be deeply disgusted when they at length perceived that his religious as well as republican professions had been mere baits to catch men's opinions and support. He was thus left almost without a familiar and confidential friend, while in the midst of a people to whom he had set the fearful example of achieving an end, although at the terrible price of shedding innocent blood.

Frequent conspiracies, and his knowledge of the general detestation in which his conduct was held, at length shook even his resolute mind and iron frame. He became nervous and melancholy; in whichever direction he turned his eyes he imagined he saw an enemy. Fairfax, whose lady openly condemned the proceedings against the king in Westminster Hall at the time of the mock trial, had so wrought upon her husband, that he allowed himself to league with Sir William Waller and other eminent men at the head of the presbyterian party to destroy the protector. With all parties in the state thus furious against him, Cromwell now, too, for the first time, found himself fearfully straightened for money. His successes against the Spaniards had been splendid, indeed, but such splendours were usually expensive in the end. With an exhausted treasury, and debts of no inconsiderable amount, he began to fear the consequence of what seemed inevitable, his falling in arrears with the soldiery to whom he owed all his past success, and upon whose good will alone rested his slender hope of future security. Just as he was tortured well nigh to insanity by these threatening circumstances of his situation, Colonel Titus, a zealous republican, who had bravely, however erroneously, fought against the late king, and who was now thoroughly disgusted and indignant to see the plebeian king-killer practising more tyranny than the murdered monarch had ever been guilty of, sent forth his opinions in a most bitterly eloquent pamphlet, bearing the ominous title of "Killing no Murder." Setting out with a brief reference to what had been done in the case of (what he, as a republican, called) *kingly* tyranny, the colonel vehemently insisted that it was not merely a right, but a positive duty to slay the plebeian usurper. "Shall we," said the eloquent declaimer, "shall *we*, who struck down the lion, cower before the wolf?"

Cromwell read this eloquent and immoral reasoning—immoral, we say, for crime can never justify more crime—and never was again seen to smile. The nervousness of his body and the horror of his mind were now redoubled. He doubted not that this fearless and plausible pamphlet would fall into the hands of some enthusiast who would be nerved to frenzy by it. He wore armour beneath his clothes, and constantly carried pistols with him, never travelled twice by the same road, and rarely slept more than a second night in the same chamber. Though he was always strongly guarded, such was the wretchedness of his situation that even this did not insure his safety; for where more probably than among the fanatical soldiery could an assassin be found? Alone, he fell into melancholy; in company, he was uncheered; and if strangers, of however high character, approached somewhat close to his person, it was in a tone

less indicative of anger than of actual and agonizing terror that he bade them stand off.

The strong constitution of Cromwell at length gave way beneath this accumulation of horrors. He daily became thinner and more feeble, and ere long was seized with a tertian ague, which carried him off in a week, in the ninth year of his unprincipled usurpation, and in the fifty-ninth of his age, on the third of September, 1659.

A. D. 1659.—Though Cromwell was delirious from the effects of his mortal illness, he had a sufficiently lucid interval to allow of his putting the crowning stroke to his unparalleled treason. This slayer of his lawful sovereign, this mere private citizen, who had only made his first step from extreme obscurity under pretence of a burning and inextinguishable hatred of monarchy, now, when on the very verge of death, had the cool audacity and impudence to name his son Richard as his successor—forsooth!—as though his usurped power were held by hereditary right, or as though his son and the grandson of a small trader were better qualified than any other living man for the office, on the supposition of its being elective! In the annals of the world we know of no instance of impudence beyond this.

But though named by his father to the protectorate, Richard Cromwell had none of his father's energy and but little of his evil ambition. Accustomed to the stern rule and sagacious activity of the deceased usurper, the army very speedily showed its unwillingness to transfer its allegiance to Richard, and a committee of the leading officers was assembled at Fleetwood's residence, and called, after it, the cabal of Wallingford. The first step of this association was to present to the young protector a remonstrance requiring that the command of the army should be intrusted to some person who possessed the confidence of the officers. As Richard was thus plainly informed that he had not that confidence, he had no choice but to defend his title by force, or to make a virtue of necessity and give in his resignation of an authority to the importance of which he was signally unequal. He chose the latter course; and having signed a formal abdication of an office which he ought never to have filled, he lived for some years in France and subsequently settled at Cheshunt, in Hertfordshire, where as a private gentleman he lived to a very advanced age, in the enjoyment of competence and a degree of happiness which was never for an instant the companion of his father's guilty greatness. The cabal of Wallingford, having thus readily and quietly disposed of Protector Richard, now saw the necessity of establishing something like a formal government; and the rump parliament, which Oliver Cromwell had so unceremoniously turned out of doors, was invited to reinstate itself in authority. But upon these thoroughly incapable men the experience of past days was wholly thrown away. Forgetting that the source of their power was the brute force of the army, their very first measures were aimed at lessening the power of the cabal. The latter body, perceiving that the parliament proceeded from less to greater proofs of extreme hostility, determined to send it back to the fitting obscurity of private life. Lambert with a large body of troops accordingly went to Westminster. Having completely surrounded the parliament house with his men, the general patiently awaited the arrival of the speaker, Lenthal, and when that personage made his appearance the general ordered the horses of the state carriage to be turned round, and Lenthal was conducted home. The like civility was extended to the various members as they successively made their appearance, and the army proceeded to keep a solemn fast by way of celebrating the annihilation of this disgraceful parliament.

But the triumph of the army was short. If Fleetwood, Lambert, and the other leading officers anticipated the possibility of placing one of themselves in the state of evil pre-eminence occupied by the late protector,

they had egregiously erred in overlooking the power and possible inclination of General Monk. This able and politic officer, it will be recollected, had been intrusted by Cromwell with the task of keeping Scotland in subservience to the commonwealth of England. He had an army of upwards of eight thousand veteran troops, and the wisdom and moderation with which he had governed Scotland gave him great moral influence and a proportionate command of pecuniary resources; and when the dismissal of the rump parliament by the army threw the inhabitants of London into alarm lest an absolute military tyranny should succeed, the eyes of all were turned upon Monk, and every one was anxious to know whether he would throw his vast power into this or into that scale.

But "honest George Monk," as his soldiers with affectionate familiarity were wont to term him, was as cool and silent as he was dexterous and resolute. As soon as he was made aware of the proceedings that had taken place in London he put his veteran army in motion. As he marched southward upon London he was met by messenger after messenger, each party being anxious to ascertain for which he intended to declare; but he strictly, and with an admirable firmness, replied to all, that he was on his way to inquire into the state of affairs and aid in remedying whatever might be wrong. Still maintaining this politic reserve, he reached St. Albans, and there fixed his head-quarters.

The rump parliament in the meantime had re-assembled without opposition from the Wallingford cabal, the members of which probably feared to act while in ignorance of the intentions of Monk, who now sent a formal request to the parliament for the instant removal to country-quarters of all troops stationed in London. This done, the parliament dissolved, after taking measures for the immediate election of new members.

Sagacious public men now began to judge that Monk, weary of the existing state of things, had resolved to restore the exiled king, but Monk still preserved the most profound silence until the assembling of a new parliament should enable him rapidly and effectually to accomplish his designs.

The only person who seems to have been in the confidence of this able man was a Devonshire gentleman named Morrice, who was of as taciturn and prudent a disposition as the general himself. All persons who sought the general's confidence were referred to Morrice, and among the number was Sir John Granville, who was the servant and personal friend of the exiled king, who now sent him over to England to endeavour to influence Monk. Sir John when referred to Morrice more than once replied that he held a commission from the king, and that he could open his business to no one but General Monk in person. This pertinacity and caution were precisely what Monk required; and though even now he would not commit himself by any written document, he personally gave Granville such information as induced the king to hasten from Breda, the governor of which would fain have made him a prisoner under the pretence of paying him honour, and settled himself in Holland, where he anxiously awaited further tidings from Monk.

The parliament at length assembled, and it became very generally understood that the restoration of the monarchy was the real intention of Monk; but so great and obvious were the perils of the time, that for a few days the parliament occupied itself in merely routine business, no one daring to utter a word upon that very subject which every man had the most deeply at heart. Monk during all this time had lost no opportunity of observing the sentiments of the new parliament, and he at last broke through his politic and well-sustained reserve, and directed Annesley, the president of the council, to inform the house that Sir John Granville was at its door with a letter from his majesty. The effect of these few words was electrical; the whole of the members rose from their seats and hailed

the news with a burst of enthusiastic cheering. Sir John Granville was now called in, the king's letter was read, and the proposals it made for the restoration of Charles were agreed to with a new burst of cheering. The gracious letter, offering an indemnity far more extensive than could have been hoped for after all the evil that had been done, was at once entered on the journals, and ordered to be published, that the people at large might participate in the joy of the house. Nothing now remained to obstruct the return of Charles, who, after a short and prosperous passage, arrived in London on the twenty-ninth of May, being the day on which he completed his thirtieth year. Everywhere he was received with the acclamations of assembled multitudes; and so numerous were the congratulatory addresses that were presented to him, that he pleasantly remarked, that it must surely have been his own fault that he had not returned sooner, as it was plain there was not one of his subjects who had not been long wishing for him! Alas! though good-humouredly, these words but too truly paint the terribly and disgracefully inconstant nature of the multitude, who are ever as ready to praise and flatter without measure, as to blame and injure without just cause.

CHAPTER LIV.

THE REIGN OF CHARLES II.

A. D. 1660.—Handsome, accomplished, young, and of a singularly cheerful and affable temper, Charles II. ascended his throne with all the apparent elements of a just and universal popularity, especially as the ignorance of some and the tyranny of others had by this time taught the people of England to understand the full value of a wise, regular, and just government. But Charles had some faults which were none the less mischievous because they were the mere excesses of amiable qualities. His good nature was attended by a levity and carelessness which caused him to leave the most faithful services and the most serious sacrifices unrewarded, and his gayety degenerated into an indolence and self-indulgence more fitted to the effeminate self-worship of a Sybarite than to the public and responsible situation of the king of a free and active people.

One of the first cares of the parliament was to pass an act of indemnity for all that had passed; but a special exception was made of those who had directly and personally taken part in the murder of the late king. Three of the most prominent of these, Cromwell, Bradshaw, and Ireton, were dead. But as it was thought that some signal and public obloquy ought to be thrown upon crime so enormous as theirs, their bodies were disinterred, suspended from the gallows, and subsequently buried at its foot. Others of the regicides were proceeded against, and more or less severely punished; but Charles showed no more earnestness in vengeance than in gratitude, and there never, probably, has been so little of punishment inflicted for crime so extensive and so frightful.

Charles, in fact, had but one passion, the love of pleasure; and so long as he could command the means of gratifying that, he, at the commencement of his reign especially, seemed to care but little how his ministers arranged the public affairs. It was, in some degree, happy for the nation that Charles was thus careless; for so excessive was the gladness of the nation's loyalty just at this period, that had Charles been of a sterner and more ambitious character he would have had little or no difficulty in rendering himself an absolute monarch. So evident was the inclination of the commons to go to extremes in order to gratify the king, that one of the ministers, Southampton, seriously contemplated requiring he enormous amount of two millions as the king's annual revenue, a evenue which would have made him wholly independent alike of hi

people and the law. Fortunately the wise and virtuous Lord Clarendon, attached as he was to the royal master whose exile and privations he had faithfully shared, opposed this outrageous wish of Southampton, and the revenue of the king was fixed more moderately, but with a liberality which rendered it impossible for him to feel necessity except as the consequence of the extreme imprudence of profusion.

But Charles was one of those persons whom it is almost impossible to preserve free from pecuniary necessity; and he soon became so deeply involved in difficulties, while his love of expensive pleasure remained unabated, that he at once turned his thoughts to marriage as a means of procuring pecuniary aid. Catherine, the infanta of Portugal, was at this time, probably, the homeliest princess in Europe. But she was wealthy, her portion amounting to three hundred thousand pounds in money, together with Bombay in the East Indies, and the fortress of Tangier in Africa; and such a portion had too many attractions for the needy and pleasure-loving Charles to allow him to lay much stress upon the infanta's want of personal attractions. The dukes of Ormond, Southampton, and the able and clear-headed Chancellor Clarendon endeavoured to dissuade the king from this match, chiefly on the ground of the infanta being but little likely to have children; but Charles was resolute, and the infanta became queen of England, an honour it is to be feared that she dearly purchased, for the numerous mistresses of the king were permitted, if not actually encouraged, to insult her by their familiar presence, and vie with her in luxury obtained at her cost.

As a means of procuring large sums from his parliament, Charles declared war against the Dutch. The hostilities were very fiercely carried on by both parties, but after the sacrifice of blood and treasure to an immense amount, the Dutch, by a treaty signed at Breda, procured peace by ceding to England the American colony of New-York. Though this colony was justly considered as an important acquisition, the whole terms of the peace were not considered sufficiently honourable to England, and the public mind became much exasperated against Clarendon, who was said to have commenced war unnecessarily, and to have concluded peace disgracefully. Whatever might be the private opinion of Charles, who, probably, had far more than Clarendon to do with the commencement of the war, he showed no desire to shield his minister, whose steadfast and high-principled character had long been so distasteful at court that he had been subjected to the insults of the courtiers and the slights of the king. Under such circumstances the fate of Strafford seemed by no means unlikely to become that of Clarendon, Mr. Seymour bringing seventeen articles of impeachment against him. But Clarendon perceiving the peril in which he was placed, and rightly judging that it was in vain to oppose the popular clamour when that was aided by the ungrateful coldness of the court went into voluntary exile in France, where he devoted himself to literature.

Freed from the presence of Clarendon, whose rebuke he feared, and whose virtue he admired but could not imitate, Charles now gave the chief direction of public affairs into the hands of certain partakers of his pleasures. Sir Thomas Clifford, Lord Ashley, afterwards earl of Shaftesbury, the duke of Buckingham, Lord Arlington, and the duke of Lauderdale, were the persons to whom Charles now intrusted his affairs, and from their initials this ministry was known by the title of the CABAL.

A. D. 1670.—The members of the cabal were undoubtedly men of ability; learning, wit, and accomplishment being absolute requisites to the obtaining of Charles' favour. But unhappily that was all—theirs' was the ability of courtiers rather than of ministers; they were better fitted to season the pleasures of the prince, than to provide for the security of the throne or the welfare of the people. The public discontent was, conse

quently, very great; it was but too deeply and widely felt that such a ministry was little likely to put an effectual check upon the profligate pleasures which made the English court at once the gayest and the most vicious court in all Europe.

Nor was it merely from the character of the ministry and the dissipated course of the king that the people felt discontented. The duke of York, the presumptive heir to the throne, though a brave and a high-minded man, was universally believed to be a very bigoted papist; and enough of the puritan spirit still remained to make men dread the possible accession of a papist king.

The alarm and uneasiness that were felt on this point at length reached to such a height that, in August of this year, as the king was walking in St. James' park, disporting himself with some of the beautiful little dogs of which he was quite troublesomely fond, a chemist, named Kirby, approached his majesty, and warned him that a plot was on foot against him. "Keep, sire," said this person, "within your company; your enemies design to take your life, and you may be shot even in this very walk."

News so startling, and at the same time so consonant with the vague fears and vulgar rumours of the day, naturally led to farther inquiries; and Kirby stated that he had his information from a Doctor Tonge, a clergyman, who had assured him that two men, named Grove and Pickering, were engaged to shoot the king, and that the queen's physician, Sir George Wakeling, had agreed, if they failed, to put an end to his majesty by poison. The matter was now referred to Danby, the lord treasurer, who sent for Doctor Tonge. That person not only showed all readiness to attend, but also produced a bundle of papers relative to the supposed plot. Questioned as to the manner in which he became possessed of these papers, he at first stated that they were thrust under his door, and subsequently that he knew the writer of them, who required his name to be concealed lest he should incur the deadly anger of the jesuits. The reader will do well to remark the gross inconsistency of these two accounts; it is chiefly by the careful noting of such inconsistencies that the wise see through the subtly-woven falsehoods which are so commonly believed by the credulous or the careless. Had the papers really been thrust beneath the man's door, as he at first pretended, how should he know the author? If the author was known to him, to what purpose the stealthy way of forwarding the papers?

Charles himself was far too acute a reasoner to overlook this gross inconsistency, and he flatly gave it as his opinion that the whole affair was a clumsy fiction. But Tonge was a tool in the hands of miscreants who would not so readily be disconcerted, and he was now sent again to the lord treasurer Danby, to inform him that a packet of treasonable letters was on its way to the jesuit Bedingfield, the duke of York's confessor. By some chance Tonge gave this information some hours after the duke of York had himself been put in possession of these letters, which he had shown to the king as a vulgar and ridiculous forgery of which he could not discover the drift.

Hitherto all attempts at producing any effect by means of these alledged treasonable designs had failed, and the chief manufacturer of them, Titus Oates, now came forward with a well-feigned unwillingness. This man had from his youth upward been an abandoned character. He had been indicted for gross perjury, and had subsequently been dismissed from the chaplaincy of a man-of-war for a yet more disgraceful crime, and he then professed to be a convert to papacy, and actually was for some time maintained in the English seminary at St. Omer's. Reduced to actual destitution, he seems to have fastened upon Kirby and Tonge, as weak and credulous men, whose very weakness and credulity would make them intrepid in the assertion of such falsehoods as he might choose to instil

into their minds Of his own motives we may form a shrewd guess from the fact that he was supported by the actual charity of Kirby, at a moment when he affected to have the clue to mysteries closely touching the king's life and involving the lives of numerous persons of consequence.

Though vulgar, illiterate, and ruffianly, this man, Oates, was cunning and daring. Finding that his pretended information was of no avail in procuring himself court favour, he now resolved to see what effect it would have upon the already alarmed and anxious minds of the people. He accordingly went before Sir Edmondbury Godfrey, a gentleman in great celebrity for his activity as a magistrate, and desired to make a deposition to the effect that the pope, judging the heresy of the king and people a sufficient ground, had assumed the sovereignty of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and had condemned the king as a heretic ; the death to be inflicted by Grove and Pickering who were to shoot him with silver bullets. The jesuits and the pope having thus disposed of the king, whom, according to this veritable deposition, they styled the black bastard, the crown was to be offered to the duke of York on the condition that he should wholly extirpate the protestant religion ; but if the duke refused to comply with that condition, then James, too, was to *go to pot*.

The mere vulgarity of this deposition might have led the people to imply its falsehood; for whatever might be the other faults of the jesuits, they were not, as educated men, at all likely to use the style of speech which so coarse and illiterate a wretch as Oates attributed to them. But popular terror not uncommonly produces, temporarily, at least, a popular madness ; and the at once atrocious and clumsy falsehoods of this man, whose very destitution was the consequence of revolting crimes, were accepted by the people as irrefragable evidence, and he was himself hailed and caressed as a friend and protector of protestantism and protestants! Before the council he repeatedly and most grossly contradicted himself, but the effect his statements had upon the public mind was such, that it was deemed necessary to order the apprehension of the principal persons named as being cognizant of this plot, among whom were several jesuits, and Coleman, secretary to the duke of York.

A singular circumstance now occurred, which gives but too much reason to fear that perjury was by no means the worst of the crimes to which Oates resorted to procure the success of his vile scheme. Sir Edmondbury Godfrey, the magistrate who first gave Oates importance by allowing him to reduce his lying statements into a formal and regular deposition, was suddenly missed from his house, and, after a lapse of several days, found barbarously murdered in a ditch at Primrose-hill, near London. No sooner was this known than the people came to the conclusion that Sir Edmondbury had been murdered by the jesuits, in revenge for the willingness he had shown to receive the information of Oates. But, looking at the desperate character of the latter, does it not seem far more probable that he caused the murder of the credulous magistrate, trusting that it would have the very effect which it did produce upon the credulous people? Be that as it may, the discovery of the deceased gentleman's body greatly increased the public agitation; the corpse was carried in procession by seventy clergymen, and no one who valued his personal safety ventured to hint that the murder might probably not have been the work of the detested jesuits.

From the mere vulgar, the alarm and agitation soon spread to the better-informed classes, and at length it was moved in parliament that a solemn fast should be appointed, that the house should have all papers that were calculated to throw a light upon the horrid plot, that all known papists should be ordered to leave London, and all unknown or suspicious persons forbidden to present themselves at court, and that the train bands of London and Westminster should be kept in constant readiness for action

The miscreant whose falsehoods had raised all this alarm and anxiety was thanked by parliament and recommended to the favour of the king, who conferred upon him a pension of twelve hundred pounds per annum, and a residence in Whitehall. Such reward bestowed upon such a character and for such "public services" naturally produced a rival for public favour, and a fellow named William Bedloe now made his appearance in the character of informer. He was of even lower origin and more infamous note than Oates, having been repeatedly convicted of theft. Being at Bristol and in a state of destitution, he at his own request was arrested and sent to London. When examined before the council he stated that he had seen the body of the murdered Sir Edmondbury Godfrey at the then residence of the queen, Somerset-house, and that a servant of the Lord Bellasis had offered him four thousand pounds to carry it off and conceal it! Improbable as the tale was it was greedily received, and the ruffians, Oates and Bedloe, finding that credit was given to whatever they chose to assert, now ventured a step farther, and accused the queen of being an accomplice in all the evil doings and designs of the jesuits. The house of commons, to its great disgrace, addressed the king in support of this scandalous attack upon his already but too unhappy queen; but the lords, with better judgment and more manly feeling, rejected the accusation with the contempt which it merited.

The conjunction of two such intrepid perjurers as Oates and Bedloe was ominous indeed to the unfortunate persons whom they accused; and it is but little to the credit of the public men of that day that they did not interfere to prevent any prisoner being tried upon their evidence as to the fabled plot, until the public mind should have been allowed a reasonable time in which to recover from its heat and exacerbation. No such delay was even proposed, and while cunning was still triumphant and credulity still agape, Edward Coleman, the duke of York's secretary, was put upon his trial. Here, as before the council, Oates and Bedloe, though inconsistent with each other, and each with himself, yet agreed in their main statements, that Coleman had not only leagued for the assassination of the king, but had even, as his reward for so doing, received a commission, signed by the superior of the jesuits, appointing him papal secretary of state of these kingdoms. Coleman, who behaved with equal modesty and firmness, denied all the guilt that was laid to his charge. But he could not prove a negative, and his mere denial availed nothing against the positive swearing of the informers. He was condemned to death; and then several members of both houses of parliament offered to interpose to procure him the king's pardon on condition that he would make a full confession. But the unfortunate gentleman was innocent, and was far too high-minded to save his life by falsely accusing himself and others. He still firmly denied his guilt, and, to the eternal disgrace of Charles, was executed.

The blood of Coleman satiated neither the informers nor the public. Pickering, Grove, and Ireland were next put upon their trial, condemned, and executed. That they were innocent we have no doubt; but they were jesuits, and that was sufficient to blunt all sympathy with their fate.

Hill, Green, and Berry were now charged with being the actual murderers of Sir Emondbury Godfrey. In this case the information, which was laid by Bedloe, was wholly irreconcilable with the evidence which was given by a fellow named Prance, and there was good evidence that was at variance with them both. But the prisoners were found guilty and executed, all three in their dying moments professing their innocence. As Berry was a protestant, this made some impression upon the minds of the more reasonable, but the public was not even yet prepared to be disabused.

Whitbread, provincial of the jesuits, and Gavan, Fenwick, Turner,

and Harcourt, brethren of the same order, were next tried. Besides Oates and Bedloe, a wretch named Dugdale appeared against these prisoners, and in addition to and in support of the incredible and monstrous assertions of Oates and Bedloe, he deliberately swore that there were two hundred thousand papists at that very moment ready to take arms. And yet the alledged leaders and instigators of this huge army of armed and malignant papists were daily being brought to trial, condemned, and butchered, under the guard of a score or two of constables! But reasoning could not possibly be of any avail in that veritable reign of terror, for even direct and sworn evidence in favour of the accused persons was treated with contempt. For instance, on this very trial *sixteen witnesses proved that they and Oates were together in the seminary of St. Omer's on the very day in which that ruffian's testimony had stated him to have been in London.* But these witnesses were papists—their evidence received not the slightest attention, and the unfortunate prisoners were condemned and executed, protesting in their last moments their entire innocence of the crimes laid to their charge.

Sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, was now brought to trial, but was more fortunate than the persons previously accused. The vile informers, it is true, swore with their accustomed and dauntless fluency; but to have convicted Sir George, would, under all the circumstances of the case, have inferred the guilt of the queen. The judge and jury were probably apprehensive that even the culpable and cruel indolence of Charles would not allow the prevalent villainy to proceed to that extent, and Sir George was honourably acquitted.

A. D. 1672.—For upwards of two years the horrible falsehoods of Oates had deluded the mind of the public, and shed the blood of the innocent. But he and his abominable associate were not yet weary of evil doing. Hitherto the victims had been chiefly priests and scholars, to whose title of jesuits the vulgar attributed everything that was most dangerous and terrible. But, as if to show that rank the most eminent and age the most reverend were as worthless in their eyes as the piety and learning of sincere, however erroneous, religionists, the informing miscreants now brought forward a last victim in the person of the earl of Stafford. The fiercest wild beast is not fiercer or more unreasoning than a deluded and enraged multitude. The cry against the venerable earl of Stafford was even louder than it had been against the former prisoners. Oates positively swore that he saw one of the jesuits who had lately been condemned, Fenwick, deliver to the earl of Stafford a commission signed by the general of the jesuits, constituting the earl paymaster-general of the jesuit or papal army. It was in vain that the venerable nobleman asserted his innocence, and pointed out the improbability of his feeble age being concerned in plots; he was condemned to be hung and quartered. Charles changed the sentence to beheading, and the earl suffered accordingly upon Tower-hill.

The parliament, which had now sat seventeen years, was dissolved, but a new one was called, which will ever be memorable on account of one law which it passed; we allude to the invaluable *habeas corpus* act. By this act the jailor who is summoned must have or produce the body of a prisoner in court and certify the cause of his detention, within three days if within twenty miles of the judge, and so on for greater distances; no prisoner to be sent to prison beyond the sea; every prisoner to be indicted the first term after commitment and tried in the next term, and no man to be recommitted for the same offence after being enlarged by court; heavy penalties upon any judge refusing any prisoner his writ of *habeas corpus*. Human wisdom could scarcely devise a more effectual safeguard to the subject than this act. On the other hand, it can never be perilous to the throne, because in times of sedition or violence parliament can

suspend the execution of this act for a short and definite time, at the end of which time this great safeguard of our liberties returns to its full force.

The criminal and disgraceful complaisance with which the government had allowed the perjured informers to flourish unchecked, caused a new plot-discoverer to present himself in the person of a worthy, named Dangerfield, whose previous life had been diversified by experience of the pillory, the scourge, the branding-iron, and a residence, as a convict, in the plantations. This fellow, in conjunction with a midwife of bad character, named Collier, came forward to denounce a plot, of which he alledged the existence, for removing the king and royal family and setting up a new form of government. This fellow took his information direct to the king and the duke of York, who weakly, if we must not rather say wickedly, supplied him with money, and thus patronized and encouraged him in his course. Determined to make the most of his fortune, Danger field deposited some writings of a most seditious character in the house of a military officer named Mansel. Having so placed the papers that they were certain to be discovered by any one searching the apartments, Dangerfield, without saying a word about the papers, went to the custom-house and sent officers to Mansel's to search for smuggled goods. There were no such goods there, as Dangerfield well knew, but, exactly as he had anticipated, the officers found the concealed papers, examined them, and felt it to be their duty to lay them before the council. Either Dangerfield was already suspected, or something in the papers themselves indicated forgery; for the council were so convinced that the documents were Dangerfield's own production, that they issued an order that a strict search should immediately be made in all places which he had been known to frequent. In the course of the search the house of the midwife Collier was visited, and there, concealed in a meal-tub, the officers found a paper which contained the whole scheme of the conspiracy to the most minute particulars. Upon this discovery the wretch, Dangerfield, was sent to Newgate, where he made a "confession," which probably was as false as the former statement that he had made, for he now represented that to the lying tale he had formerly told he had been instigated by the countess of Powis, the earl of Castlemain, and others. And though it was so much more probable that the miscreant had all along lied from his own invention and in his own greediness of gain, the earl and countess were actually sent to the Tower.

What has always made us attach deep blame and disgrace to Charles' conduct in allowing so many innocent lives to be sacrificed to the venal cruelty of informers, is the fact, that while the informers attributed plots to the jesuits, and stated the objects of those plots to be the setting up of the papist duke of York in the place of the king, Charles must necessarily have known that the jesuits were a mere handful, as compared to the protestants, and that the very last man whom either protestant or papist throughout England would have substituted for the easy, though profligate Charles, was James, duke of York. In Scotland James had made himself perfectly hated, and both the English parliament and the English people every year gave new and stronger proof of the dread with which they contemplated even the possibility of the succession of James. In the war with the Dutch he had shown himself a brave and skilful officer, but his gloomy temper, his stern, unsparing disposition, and the bigotry which he was universally known to possess, made courage and military conduct, however admirable in other men, in him only two terrors the more. Charles well knew this; so well, that when James one day warned him against exposing himself too much while so many plots and rumours of plots disturbed the general mind, Charles, as gayly as truly replied, "Tilly vally, James! There be none so silly as to shoot me in order to make you king!" This unpopularity of James led to more

than one attempt on the part of the house of commons to procure the exclusion of him from the throne on the ground of his being a papist. The new parliament had scarcely sat a week ere it renewed a bill, termed the exclusion bill, which the former house had voted, but which had not passed the upper house at the time of the dissolution of parliament. The party of the duke, though influential, was numerically weak out of doors; for besides those who hated him as a papist, and dreaded him as a stern disciplinarian, there were great numbers who hoped that the exclusion of the duke would procure the throne for the duke of Monmouth, the handsome and highly popular son of the king by one of his numerous mistresses, named Lucy Waters. But the influence of the king was powerful in the house, and after a long debate, not too temperately conducted upon either side, the exclusion bill was thrown out by a rather considerable majority.

With informers and "plots," libellous pamphlets had increased in number to an extent that could scarcely be credited. Each party seemed to think that the hardest words and the most severe imputations were only too mild for its opponents, and the hired libeller now vied in industry and importance with the venal and perjured informer.

An idle and profligate fellow, a sort of led captain in the pay of the king's profligate mistress, the duchess of Portsmouth, was employed to procure her the piquant libels which were occasionally published upon the king and the duke of York. This man not finding the existent libels sufficiently abusive, determined to surpass them, and he called to his aid a Scotchman named Everard. Between them they composed a most rancorous and scurrilous libel, which Fitzharris hastened to get printed. But the Scotchman, Everard, imagined that his Irish fellow-libeller, as a hanger-on of the king's mistress, could have had no possible motive for employing him but the wish to betray him. Indignant at the supposed design, Everard went and laid information before Sir William Waller, a justice of the peace, and Fitzharris was apprehended with a copy of the libel actually in his possession. Finding himself placed in considerable peril of the pillory, Fitzharris, who, be it observed, was an Irish papist, turned round upon the court, and stated, not without some appearance of truth, that he had been employed by the court to write a libel so foul and violent, that the exclusion party, to whom it would be attributed, would be injured in the estimation of all people of sober judgment. In order to render this tale still more palatable to the exclusionists, Fitzharris added to it that a new popish plot, more terrible than any former one, was in agitation under the auspices of the duke of York, whom he also accused of being one of the contrivers of the murder of Sir Edmondbury Godfrey. The king sent Fitzharris to prison; the commons, instead of looking with contempt upon the whole affair, voted that this hired libeller and led captain of a court harlot should be *impeached!* It was so obvious that the real intention of the commons was to screen Fitzharris from punishment altogether, that the lords very properly rejected the impeachment. An angry feeling sprung up between the two houses: and the king, to prevent the dispute from proceeding to any dangerous length, went down and dissolved parliament, with the fixed determination of never calling another.

Charles now, in fact, ruled with all the power and with not a little of the tyranny of an absolute monarch. He encouraged spies and informers, and imprisoned those who ventured to complain of his measures in a manner not only contrary to his former temper, but almost indicative, as was well remarked at the time, of reconciling the people to the prospect of his brother's accession by making his own rule too grievous to be endured. To those who held high-church principles, and professed his doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance, all the royal favour was shown; while the presbyterians and other sturdy opposers of his arbitrary

measures were in numerous cases deprived of their places and employments, and in some cases imprisoned in the bargain. The city of London, so powerful and so factious during the reign of Charles I., was now made to feel the king's resentment, being, for its leadership of the popular party, deprived of its charter, which was not restored until an abject submission had been made, and a most vexatious right conceded to the crown of interfering in the election of the city magistrates. Fitzharris, who had been so warmly sided with by the exclusionists, and who had been the chief cause of Charles' angry and final dissolution of parliament, was now by the king's order brought to trial before a jury, and, being pronounced guilty, executed! An abominable stretch of power; for however worthless and debauched a fellow he might be, his crime, venal as it was, amounted to but libellous writing, for even the publication was scarcely so much his own act as it was the act of the officers who arrested him.

The popular party now found the poisoned chalice commended to their own lips. Hitherto, while it seemed not improbable that the parliament and the "patriots" would obtain power over the king, the great and degraded host of spies and informers had aimed at the ruin of "papists" and "jesuits." But now that the king had as boldly as arbitrarily dispensed with even the shadow of parliamentary aid, and ruled as independently and almost as arbitrarily as an eastern prince, the spies and informers turned upon those who had formerly encouraged if not actually employed them, and "presbyterian" was now pretty nearly as dangerous a title as "papist" had been; "protestant preacher" scarcely more safe than "jesuit" had been heretofore. Charles and his ministry encouraged the informers, and the system of perjury lost none of its infamy and vileness; it merely aimed at a different class of victims.

A joiner of London, by name Stephen College, had made himself especially conspicuous during the heats and alarms of the anti-popery cries Loud of tongue, and somewhat weak of brain, this man, with more zeal than knowledge, had taken upon himself to advocate protestantism, which needed none of his aid, and to oppose popery, which such opposition as his could not possibly affect. He had attended the city members to Oxford armed with pistols and sword, had been in the habit of railing against the king, the duke of York and papacy, and, rather in derision than in distinction, had acquired the title of the protestant joiner. This weak man, whose flights were fitting matter for the ministering of the physician, rather than for the interference of the law, was selected by the ministry as a fit subject of whom to make an example. He was indicted and found guilty of sedition, and, to the disgrace of both king and ministers, executed.

A. D. 1683.—The increasing power and severity of Charles and his ministry struck a panic throughout the nation. The manner in which the city of London had been deprived of its charter, and the humiliating terms upon which that once powerful corporation had got its charter restored, soon caused the other corporations to surrender their charters voluntarily; and not only were considerable sums extorted for their restoration, but the king took care to reserve in his own hands the power of appointing to all offices of trust and profit. The patronage which was thus discreditably obtained was so enormous, that the power of the crown became overwhelmingly vast, and, with but a few exceptions, men agreed that resistance, even if justifiable, would now be useless and hopeless.

But there was a party of malcontents, weak as to number, but vigorous, influential, and bold; and absolute as Charles was, and unassailable as to most people his power must have seemed, his life, even, was, at this time, in a most imminent peril.

The soul of the malcontents was the earl of Shaftesbury. That highly-gifted but turbulent and plot-loving person had engaged with the duke of

Monmouth, the earl of Macclesfield, Lord William Russell, and several other noblemen, to raise nominally in favour of freedom, but really to dethrone Charles; exclude, if not slay James; and place the crown upon the head of the duke of Monmouth, the king's natural son. The earl of Macclesfield, Lord Brandon and others, were to effect a rising in Cheshire and Lancashire; Sir Francis Drake, Sir Francis Rowles, and Sir William Courtney were induced by Lord William Russell to head the insurrection in Devon, and generally in the west; and Shaftesbury, aided by Ferguson, a preacher of the independents, undertook to effect a general rising in the city of London, where the discontent and disloyalty, owing to the affair of the charter, were at the greatest height. Shaftesbury urged on the plot with all his energy, and it is most probable that the kingdom would have been plunged into all the confusion and horror of a civil war if the extreme eagerness of Shaftesbury had not been counteracted by the extreme caution of Lord William Russell, who, when everything was nearly ready for an outbreak, urged the duke of Monmouth to postpone the enterprise until a more favourable opportunity. The usually enterprising and turbulent Shaftesbury now became so prostrated by a sense of the danger in which he was placed by this postponement, that he abandoned his house and endeavoured to induce the Londoners to rise without waiting for the tardy co-operation of the provinces; but all his endeavours were unavailing, and in despair he fled to Holland, where he soon afterwards died broken-hearted and in poverty.

The conspirators, being thus freed from the turbulent Shaftesbury, formed a committee of six; Hampden, grandson to the Hampden who made so much opposition to the ship money, Algernon Sidney, Howard, Essex, and Lord William Russel; Monmouth being their grand leader and centre of correspondence, his chief adviser, however, being the duke of Argyle. There were numerous subordinates in this conspiracy; and it is affirmed, by the friends of the memory of Lord William Russell, that he and the leaders did not encourage and were not even perfectly cognizant of the more atrocious part of the plan of those conspirators who had agreed to assassinate the king on his way to Newmarket. We confess that it appears to us to be making a large demand indeed upon our credulity to suppose anything of the kind, but we have not space to go into the arguments which might be adduced in favour of the supposition that, however willing the chief conspirators might be to leave the horrible crime of assassination to subordinates, they were at least quite willing that such crime should be perpetrated to the profit of their main design.

The plan of the conspirators against the life of the king was to secrete themselves on a farm belonging to one of them, the Rye-house, situated on the road to Newmarket, overturn a cart there to obstruct the royal carriage, and then deliberately fire upon the king. After much consultation it was determined to carry this dastardly plot into execution on the king's return to Newmarket. About a week before the time at which his majesty was to do so, the house in which he resided at Newmarket took fire, and he was obliged to remove to London. This circumstance would merely have postponed the "fate" of his majesty, but in the course of the time that was thus lost to the conspirators, one of their number, named Keiling, found himself in danger of prosecution for having arrested the lord-mayor of London, and to save himself from the consequences he waited upon the king's ministers and revealed all that he knew of the plot against the king, and Colonel Rumsey and a lawyer named West joined him in becoming king's evidence. Monmouth and Grey escaped, Lord William Russell was apprehended and sent to the Tower, as shortly afterwards were Essex, Sidney, and Hampden, together with Lord Howard, who was found in a chimney. That ignoble nobleman, though fully as guilty as the rest, immediately agreed to save his own recreant life by be-

condling evidence against his former associates, who seemed more indignant and disgusted at that treachery than affected by the peril in which it placed them.

Colonel Walcot, an old republican officer, together with Stone and Rouse, were first put upon trial, and condemned upon the evidence of their former associates, Colonel Rumsey, and the lawyer, West.

Lord William Russell and Algernon Sidney were condemned chiefly on the evidence of Lord Howard. In the case of Sidney, however, the evidence of Howard was most unconstitutionally eked out by construing as treasonable certain writings, merely speculative, though of republican tendency, which were seized at his house. Both Russell and Sidney were condemned and executed. Hampden was more fortunate, and escaped with a fine of forty thousand pounds. Holloway, a merchant of Bristol, who had been engaged in this dastardly conspiracy, escaped to the West Indies; and Sir Thomas Armstrong, who was similarly situated, escaped to Holland. But so eagerly vindictive had Charles and his ministry by this time been rendered by the numerous plots, real and pretended, that both of those persons were brought over to England and executed. Lord Essex would also probably have been executed, but, being imprisoned in the Tower, he there committed suicide by cutting his throat.

Judging from the severity with which Charles proceeded on this occasion, it is but reasonable to presume he would either have carried his despotism to a frightful pitch, or have fallen a victim to the equally unjustifiable violence of some malcontent. But his naturally fine constitution was now completely broken up by his long and furious course of dissipation, and a fit of apoplexy seized him, from which he was but partially recovered by bleeding; he expired in the fifty-fifth year of his age and the twenty-fifth of his reign.

Much might be said in dispraise of Charles, both as man and monarch; but impartial justice demands that we should make a great allowance for the unfavourable circumstances under which the best years of his youth and manhood were spent. Poverty for months, so extreme that he and his followers were at times without a single coin, and owed their very food to the kindness of their hosts, was occasionally followed by a temporary plenty; and his companions were, for the most part, precisely the persons to encourage him in every extravagance to which so wretchedly precarious a life was calculated to induce him. Even the cruelty and despotism of his latter years visibly had their chief cause in the political villainy and violence of considerable bodies of his people. No such excuse can be made for his extravagant liberality to his numerous mistresses; and for the wholly cruel and mean treatment he bestowed upon his wife we know of no decorous epithet that is sufficiently severe.

That Charles was not *naturally* of a cruel, or even of a sufficiently severe turn, a remarkable proof is afforded by the story of a ruffian named Blood; a story so singular, that we think it necessary to give it by way of appendix to this reign. Blood, who had served in Ireland, had, or fancied that he had, considerable claims upon the government, and being refused satisfaction by the duke of Ormond, he actually waylaid and seized that nobleman on his return from an evening party in London, and would have hanged him but for the occurrence of a mere accident which enabled the duke to escape. A desperado of this sort could not fail to be in frequent trouble and distress; and he at length was reduced to such extreme straits, that with some of his associates he formed a plan for purloining the regalia from the jewel-house in the Tower. He contrived to ingratiate himself with the old couple who had charge of the valuable jewels, and took an opportunity to bind both the man and woman and make off with all the most valuable articles. Though fired at by the sentry he got clear as far as Tower-hill, where he was apprehended after a desperate

struggle. So enormous an outrage, it might have been anticipated, would be expiated only by the severest punishment; but the king not only forgave Blood, but even gave him a considerable annual pension to enable him to live without farther criminality. A rare proof of the native easiness of the king's temper! Though it must be added that the duke of Buckingham, who detested Ormond, was on that account supposed to have used his vast influence in favour of Blood.

CHAPTER LV.

THE REIGN OF JAMES II.

A. D. 1685.—The somewhat ostentatious manner in which the duke of York had been accustomed to go to mass, during the life of his brother, had been one great cause of the general dislike in which he was held. Even Charles, giddy and careless as he in general was, saw the imprudence of James' conduct, and significantly told him on one occasion that *he* had no desire to go upon his travels again, whatever James might wish. On ascending the throne, the very first act of James was one of an honest but most imprudent bigotry. Incapable of reading the signs of the times, or fully prepared to dare the worst that those signs could portend, James immediately sent his agent, Caryl, to Rome, to apologize to the pope for the long and flagrant heresy of England, and to endeavor to procure the re-admission of the English people into the communion of the catholic church. The pope was either less blind or more politic than James, and returned him a very cool answer. implying that before he ventured upon so arduous an enterprise as that of changing the professed faith of nearly his entire people, he would do well to sit down and calculate the cost. Even this grave and sensible rebuke did not deter James from exerting himself both by fear and favour to make proselytes of his subjects. Hated as he already was, such conduct could not fail to encourage conspiracies against him, and, accordingly, he had not been long seated upon the throne, when he found a dangerous rival in the duke of Monmouth. This illegitimate son of Charles II. had obtained, from the easy nature of his father, a pardon for his share in the Rye-house plot, which was fatal to so many better men; but had received his pardon only on condition of perpetual residence abroad. He remained in Holland during the whole remainder of his father's reign, but on the accession of James was dismissed by the prince of Orange. This dismissal was said to be at the direct solicitation of James, who bore a great hatred to Monmouth; if so, the act was as impolitic as it was mean. The duke now found refuge for a short time at Brussels, but here again the influence of James was brought to bear upon him; and Monmouth now, thoroughly exasperated, and relying upon the detestation in which James was held, resolved to make an attempt to oust him from the English throne. At this distance of time such a project on the part of Monmouth seems perfectly insane; but it will seem far less so if we make due allowance for the widely-spread and intense hatred which the people bore to James, and for the great popularity of Monmouth, whom many people believed to be the legitimate son of Charles, it being commonly affirmed that Charles had privately married Lucy Waters, the duke's mother.

The duke of Argyle, who, as well as Monmouth, had escaped the consequences of the Rye-house plot, now agreed to aid him; it was intended that Argyle should raise Scotland, while Monmouth was to take the lead in the west of England, where he was peculiarly popular.

Argyle promptly commenced his part of the affair by landing in Scotland, where he soon found himself at the head of an army of two thou-

sand five hundred men. He issued manifestos containing the usual mixture of truth and falsehood, but before his eloquence could procure him any considerable accession of force he was attacked by a powerful body of the king's troops. Argyle himself fought gallantly, and was severely wounded; but his troops soon gave way in every direction, and the duke was shortly afterwards seized, while standing up to his neck in a pool of water, and carried to Edinburgh. Here the authorities and populace, with the small spite of mean spirits, avenged themselves, by the infliction of every description of indignity, for the fright their brave though turbulent and imprudent prisoner had caused them. On his way to the place of execution he was jeered and insulted by the rabble; and the magistrates suspended to his neck a book containing an account of his former exploits. These insults, however, nothing affected the high spirit of Argyle, who contented himself with sarcastically telling his persecutors that he deemed it well that they had nothing worse to alledge against his character. He suffered with the same composure.

Monmouth, in the meantime, with scarcely more than a hundred followers, landed on the coast of Dorsetshire; and we may judge of the greatness of his popularity from the fact, that though he landed with so slender a retinue, he assembled upwards of two thousand men in four days. As he proceeded to Taunton he increased his force to six thousand, and could have had double that number, only that he was obliged after the first few days to refuse all but such as could bring their own arms with them.

At Bridgewater, Wells, and Frome he was joined by great numbers of young men, the sons, chiefly, of the better sort of farmers; and such was the enthusiasm that was now excited on his behalf, that James begun, and with good reason, to tremble for his throne. But Monmouth was essentially unequal to the vast enterprise that he had undertaken. Though he had much of his father's personal courage, he had still more of his father's levity and love of show and gayety. At every town in which he arrived he spent precious time in the idle ceremony of being proclaimed king, and thus frittered away the enthusiasm and hopes of his own followers, while giving time to James to concentrate force enough to crush him at a blow Nor did the error of Monmouth end here. Lord Gray was the especial favourite of the duke, and was *therefore* deemed the fittest man to be entrusted with the command of the insurgent cavalry; though it was well known that he was deficient in judgment, and strongly suspected that he was not overburdened with either courage or zeal. Fletcher of Saltoun, a brave and direct, though passionate and free-spoken man, strongly remonstrated with the duke upon this glaringly impolitic appointment, and finding his remonstrances productive of no effect, retired from the expedition in disgust. Even the loss of this zealous though stern friend did not move the duke, who continued his confidence to Gray—to repent when repentance could be of no avail.

While Monmouth had been wasting very precious time in these idle mockeries of royal pomp, James and his friends had been far otherwise and more usefully employed. Six British regiments were recalled from Holland, and three thousand regulars with a vast number of militia were sent, under Feversham and Churchill, to attack the rebels. The royal force took up its position at Sedgemoor, near Bridgewater. They were, or seemed to be, so carelessly posted, that Monmouth determined to give them the attack. The first onset of the rebels was so enthusiastic that the royal infantry gave way. Monmouth was rather strong in cavalry, and a single good charge of that force would now have decided the day in his favour. But Gray fully confirmed all the suspicions of his cowardice, and, while all were loudly calling upon him to charge, he actually turned his horse's head and fled from the field, followed by the greater number of his men. Whatever were the previous errors of the royal commanders,

they now amply atoned for them by the prompt and able manner in which they availed themselves of Monmouth's want of generalship and Gray's want of manhood. The rebels were charged in flank again and again, and being utterly unaided by their cavalry, were thrown into complete and irretrievable disorder, after a desperate fight of above three hours. It is due to the rebel troops to add, that the courage which they displayed was worthy of a better cause and better leaders. Rank after rank fell and died on the very spot on which they had fought; but, commanded as they were, valour was thrown away and devotion merely another term for destruction

But the real horrors of this insurrection only began when the battle was ended. Hundreds were slain in the pursuit; quarter, by the stern order of James, being invariably refused. A special commission was also issued for the trial of all who were taken prisoners, and Judge Jeffreys and Colonel Kirk, the latter a soldier of fortune who had served much among the Moors and become thoroughly brutalised, carried that commission into effect in a manner which has rendered their names eternally detestable.

The terror which these brutally severe men inspired so quickened the zeal of the authorities, and afforded so much encouragement to informers, whether actuated by hate or hire, that the prisons all over England, but especially in the western counties, were speedily filled with unfortunate people of both sexes and of all ages. In some towns the prisoners were so numerous, that even the ferocity of Jeffreys was wearied of trying in detail. Intimation was therefore given to great numbers of prisoners, that their only chance of mercy rested upon their pleading guilty; but all the unfortunate wretches who were thus beguiled into that plea were instantly and *en masse* sentenced to death by Jeffreys, who took care, too, that the sentence should speedily be executed.

The fate of one venerable lady excited great remark and commiseration even in that terrible time of general dismay and widely-spread suffering. The lady in question, Mrs. Gaunt, a person of some fortune, known loyalty, and excellent character, was induced by sheer humanity to give shelter to one of the fugitives from Sedgemoor. It being understood that the sheltered would be pardoned on condition of giving evidence against those who had dared to shelter them, this base and ungrateful man informed against his benefactress, who was inhumanly sentenced to death by Jeffreys, and actually executed. Kirk, too, was guilty of the most enormous and filthy cruelties, and it seemed doubtful whether Jeffreys and his stern master intended only to intimidate the people of England into submission, or actually and fully to exterminate them.

Monmouth, whose rash enterprise and unjustified ambition had caused so much confusion and bloodshed, rode from the fatal field of Sedgemoor at so rapid a pace, that at about twenty miles distance his horse fell dead beneath him. The duke had now of all his numerous followers but one left with him, a German nobleman. Monmouth being in a desolate part of the country, and at so considerable a distance from the scene of battle and bloodshed, entertained some hope that he might escape by means of disguise, and meeting with a poor shepherd, he gave the man some gold to exchange clothes with him. He and his German friend now filled their pockets with field peas, and, provided only with this wretched food, proceeded, towards nightfall, to conceal themselves among the tall fern which grew rankly and abundantly on the surrounding moors. But the pursuers and avengers of blood were not so far distant as the misguided duke supposed. A party of horse, having followed closely in his track, came up with the peasant with whom he had exchanged clothes, and from this man's information the duke was speedily discovered and dragged from his hiding-place. His miserable plight and the horrors of the fate that he but too correctly anticipated, had now so completely unmanned him, that he

burst into an agony of tears, and in the most humble manner implored his captors to allow him to escape. But the reward offered for his apprehension was too tempting, and the dread of the king's anger too great, to be overcome by the unhappy captive's solicitations, and he was hurried to prison. Even now his clinging to life prevailed over the manifest dictates of common sense, and from his prison he sent letter after letter to the king, filled with the most abject entreaties to be allowed to live. The natural character of James and the stern severity with which he had punished the rebellion of the meaner offenders, might have warned Monmouth that these degrading submissions would avail him nothing. But, in fact, his own absurdly offensive manner during his brief period of anticipative triumph would have steeled the heart of a far more placable sovereign than James. Monmouth's proclamations had not stopped at calling upon the people of England to rebel against their undoubtedly rightful sovereign; they had in a manner, which would have been revolting if the very excess of its virulence had not rendered it absurd, vilified the personal character of James; and while thus offending him as a man, had at the same time offered him the still more unpardonable offence of attacking his religion. James had none of the magnanimity which in these circumstances of personal affront would have found an argument for pardoning the treason, in order to avoid even the appearance of punishing the personality; and from the moment that Monmouth was captured, his fate was irrevocably sealed.

Bad as Monmouth's conduct had been, it is not without contempt that we read that James, though determined not to spare him, allowed him to hope for mercy, and even granted him an interview. Admitted to the presence of the king, Monmouth was weak enough to renew in person the abject submissions and solicitations by which he had already degraded himself in writing. As he knelt and implored his life, James sternly handed him a paper. It contained an admission of his illegitimacy, and of the utter falsehood of the report that Lucy Waters had ever been married to Charles II. Monmouth signed the paper, and James then coldly told him that his repeated treasons rendered pardon altogether out of the question. The duke now at length perceived that hope was at an end, rose from his suppliant posture, and left the apartment with an assumed firmness in his step and scorn in his countenance.

When led to the scaffold Monmouth behaved with a degree of fortitude that could scarcely have been anticipated from his previous abjectness. Having learned that the executioner was the same who had beheaded Lord William Russell, and who had put that nobleman to much agony, the duke gave the man some money, and good-humouredly warned him to be more expert in his business on the present occasion. The warning had an effect exactly opposite to what Monmouth intended. The man was so confused, that at the first blow he only wounded that sufferer's neck; and Monmouth, bleeding and ghastly with pain and terror, raised his head from the block. His look of agony still farther unnerved the man, who made two more ineffectual strokes, then threw down the axe in despair and disgust. The reproaches and threats of the sheriff, however, caused him to resume his revolting task, which at two strokes more he completed, and James, duke of Monmouth, was a lifeless corpse. Monmouth was popular, and therefore his fate was deemed hard. But his treason was wholly unjustifiable, his pretended claim to the crown as absurdly groundless as the claim of the son of a known harlot could be; and pity is far less due to his memory than to that of the unfortunate people whom he deluded into treason by his rashness, and delivered to the gallows by his incapacity and obstinacy. Saying nothing of the vast numbers who fell in actual fight or in the subsequent pursuit, for their fate was at the least comparatively enviable, upwards of twenty were hanged by the military;

and Jeffreys hanged eighty at Dorchester, and two hundred and fifty at Taunton, Wells, and Exeter. At other places still farther victims were made; and whipping, imprisonment, or ruinous fines were inflicted upon hundreds in every part of the kingdom. And all this misery, let us not forget, arose out of the rebellion, and the fraudulent as well as absurd pretensions of the duke of Monmouth.

As though the civil dissensions of the kingdom had not been sufficiently injurious, the most furious animosities existed on the score of religion. The more James displayed his bigotry and his zeal for the re-establishment, or, at the least, the great encouragement and preference of popery, the more zealously was he opposed by the popular preachers, who lost no opportunity of impressing upon the people a deep sense of the evils which they might anticipate from a return to the papal system. The terrors and the blandishments which the king by turns employed caused many persons of lax conscience to affect to be converted to papacy. Dr. Sharpe, a protestant clergyman of London, distinguished himself by the just severity with which he denounced these time-servers. His majesty was so much annoyed and enraged at the doctor's sermons that he issued an order to the bishop of London to suspend Sharpe from his clerical functions until farther notice. The bishop very properly refused to comply with this arbitrary and unconstitutional order. The king then determined to include the bishop in his punishment, and issued an ecclesiastical commission, giving to the seven persons to whom it was directed an unlimited power in matters clerical. Before the commissioners thus authorised, both the bishop and Dr. Sharpe were summoned, and sentenced to be suspended during the king's pleasure.

Though a bigot, James was undoubtedly a sincere one. He readily believed that all argument would end in favour of popery, and that all sincere and teachable spirits would become papist if full latitude were given to teaching.

In this belief he now determined on a universal indulgence of conscience, and a formal declaration informed the people that all sectaries should have full indulgence, and that nonconformity was no longer a crime. He again, too, sent a message to Rome offering to reconcile his people to the papal power. But the earl of Castlemain, who was now employed, met with no more success than Caryll had met with at an earlier period of the king's reign. The pope understood governing better than James, and better understood the actual temper of the English people. He knew that much might, with the aid of time, be done in the way of undermining the supports of the protestant church; while the rash and arbitrary measures of James were calculated only to awaken the people to watchfulness and inspire them with a spirit of resistance.

Not even Rome could discourage James from prosecuting his rash measures. He encouraged the jesuits to erect colleges in various parts of the country; the catholic worship was celebrated not only openly but ostentatiously; and four catholic bishops, after having publicly been consecrated in the king's chapel, were sent to exercise their functions of vicars apostolical throughout the kingdom.

But the king was not unopposed. He recommended Father Francis, a Benedictine monk, to the university of Cambridge, for the degree of master of arts. The university replied by a petition, in which they prayed the king to excuse them upon the ground of the father's religion. An endeavour was then made to terrify the university by summoning the vice-chancellor before the high commission court; but both that functionary and his university were firm, and Father Francis was refused his degrees.

The sister university of Oxford displayed the like conscientious and determined spirit The presidency of Magdalen college becoming vacant,

the king recommended for that lucrative and honourable situation a Dr. Farmer, who was a new and merely time-serving convert to papacy, and who, in other respects, was by no means the sort of character who would do honour to so high a preferment. The fellows respectfully but firmly refused to obey the king's mandate for the election of this man, and James showed his sense of the refusal by ejecting all but two of them from their fellowships.

A. D. 1688.—An increasing disaffection to the king was the inevitable consequence of his perseverance in this arbitrary course, many instances of which we might cite. But heedless alike of the murmurs of his own subjects and of the probable effect of those murmurs upon the minds of foreign princes, James issued a second declaration of liberty of conscience. As if to add insult to this evident blow at the established church, James ordered that this second declaration should be read by all clergymen at the conclusion of divine service. The dignitaries of the church of England now considered that farther endurance would argue rather lukewarmness for the church or gross personal timidity, than mere and due respect to the sovereign, and they determined firmly, though temperately, to resist at this point.

Accordingly, Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury, Lloyd, bishop of St. Asaph, Kenn. bishop of Bath and Wells, Turner, bishop of Ely, Lake, bishop of Chichester, White, bishop of Peterborough, and Trelawney, bishop of Bristol, drew up a respectful memorial to the king, in which they stated that their conscientious respect to the protestant religion as by law established would not allow them and their clergy to yield obedience to his mandate. The king treated this petition as something approaching to a treasonable denial of his rights. The archbishops and bishops were summoned before him at the council, and he sternly asked them if they ventured to avow their petition. The question remained for some time unanswered; but at length the prelates replied in the affirmative, and were immediately, on their declining to give bail, committed to the Tower on the charge of having uttered a seditious libel.

On the twenty-ninth of June in this year the trial of the bishops took place; and as it was evident that in defending the church the prelates were also, and at a most important crisis, boldly standing forward as the champions of the whole nation, the proceedings were watched with a most intense interest by men of every rank, and, save a few bigoted or interested papists, by men of every shade of religious opinion. The lawyers on either side exerted themselves greatly and ably; and two of the judges, Powel and Holloway, plainly declared their opinion to be in favour of the bishops. The jury, however, even now had grave doubts, and remained in deliberation during the entire night. On the following morning Westminster-hall was literally crowded with spectators anxious to know the result, and when the jury appeared and returned a verdict of "Not guilty," a mighty cheer arose within the hall, was taken up by the crowds outside, and passed from street to street, from town to country, and from village to village. James was at the time dining with Lord Faversham in the camp at Hounslow, ten miles from London. The cheers of the people reached even to this distance, and were re-echoed by the soldiers with a heartiness and loudness that actually alarmed James, who eagerly inquired what that noise could mean.

"It is nothing, sire," replied one of the attendants, "but the soldiers shouting at the acquittal of the bishops."

"And do you call *that* nothing!" replied James: "but it shall be all the worse for them all."

The shouts of the soldiers at the failure of James' arbitrary attempt against the bishops was, indeed, an ominous sign of the times. His efforts for Rome had been repudiated and discouraged by Rome; and now

even his very soldiery, upon whom alone he could rely for strength, testified their sympathy with the popular cause. But the infatuated monarch did not even yet know the full extent of his peril. Many of the leading men of the kingdom were in close though cautious correspondence with a foreign potentate, and the most extensive and formidable preparations were being made to hurl James from a throne which he had so signally proved himself unworthy to fill.

Mary, eldest daughter of James, was married to William, prince of Orange, who was at once the subtle and profound politician and the accomplished and tried soldier. To this able and protestant prince the malcontents of England, who now through James' incurable infatuation included all that was best and most honourable as well as most influential of the nation, turned their eyes for deliverance. He had long been aware of the discontents that existed in England, but kept up an appearance of perfect amity with the king, and even in his correspondence with the leading men of the opposition warily avoided committing himself too far, and affected to dissuade them from proceeding to extremities against their sovereign. But the ferment occasioned by the affair of the bishops encouraged him to throw off the mask; he had long been making preparations for such a crisis, and he now resolved to act. He had his preparations so complete, indeed, that in a short time after the acquittal of the bishops, he dropped down the canals and rivers from Nimeugen with a well stored fleet of five hundred vessels and an army of upwards of fourteen thousand men. As all William's preparations had been made on pretext of an intended invasion of France, he actually landed in England, at Torbay, without having excited the slightest alarm in the mind of James.

William now marched his army to Exeter and issued proclamations, in which he invited the people to aid him in delivering them from the tyranny under which they groaned; but such a deep and general terror had been struck into that neighbourhood by the awful scenes that had followed the affair of Monmouth, that even the numerous and well-appointed force of William encouraged but few volunteers to join him. Ten days elapsed, and William, contrasting the apathy of the people with the enthusiastic invitations he had received from many of the leading men of the country, began to despair, and even to consult with his officers on the propriety of re-embarking, and leaving so faithless a gentry and so apathetic a populace to endure the miseries which they dared not rise against. But at this critical moment he was joined by some men of great influence and note; his arrival and his force became generally known, and multitudes of all ranks now declared in his favour.

The movement once commenced, the revolution was virtually accomplished. Even the most favoured and confidential servants of James now abandoned him; and whatever might have been the faults of the unfortunate king, it is impossible not to feel deep disgust at the unnatural and ungrateful conduct of some of those who now coldly abandoned him in the moment of his deepest perplexity and need. Lord Churchill, for instance, afterwards duke of Marlborough, and undoubtedly one of the greatest generals England has ever possessed, acted upon this occasion with a most scandalous ingratitude. Originally only a page in the royal household, he had by the king's favour been raised to high command and lucrative honours. But now when his talents and his sword were most needed by the king, he not only deserted him, but also influenced several other leading characters to desert with him, including the duke of Grafton, an illegitimate son of Charles II.

But the most shameful desertion, and that which the most deeply pained and disgusted the unfortunate king, was that of the princess Anne, who had ever been his most favoured and, seemingly, his most attached daughter But this illustrious lady, and her husband, the prince of Den-

mark, now joined the rest in deserting the king, who in his too tardy sense of his helpless situation passionately exclaimed, "God help me! Even my own children desert me now."

Unable to rely upon his troops, seeing only enraged enemies among all ranks of his subjects, and so deserted by his court that he had scarcely the necessary personal attendance, he sent the queen, who had recently been confined of a son, over to Calais; and then, with only one attendant, Sir Edward Hales, a new convert to popery, whose fidelity to his unhappy master cannot be too highly applauded, he secretly left London, intending to follow the queen to France. He was recognised and stopped by the mob, but being confined at Rochester, he was so carelessly guarded, that he was able—probably from secret orders given by William, whom his detention would have embarrassed—to escape with his natural son, the duke of Berwick, and they arrived safely in France. He was well received by the French court, and encouraged to persevere in the intention he possessed, of at least making an endeavour to reconquer his kingdom.

But that kingdom had finally rejected him, and was even at that moment engaged in discussing the means of erecting a secure and free government upon the ruins of his most unwise, gratuitous, and absurd despotism.

CHAPTER LVI.

THE REIGN OF WILLIAM III.

A. D. 1689.—The most influential members of both houses of parliament, the privy council, with the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord mayor and other leading men, now debated upon the course that ought to be taken. King James was alive; he had not formally resigned his throne; no actual hostilities had taken place between him and his people, nor had he by arms or by law been formally deposed. But he had fled from the kingdom at the mere appearance of an invader, and on the bare, however well-founded, assumption of the hostility of his people and their concert with the invading power. A clearer case of constructive abdication it would not be easy to conceive, and both houses of parliament at once proceeded to vote that the king had abdicated.

But another and more difficult point now remained for consideration. Taking the king's abdication to be undisputed—who was to succeed him? Could he, because weary of the throne or unable to maintain himself upon it, *cut off the entail of the throne?* His queen was recently delivered of a son; that son, by the well known English law of succession, had right of inheritance prior to the princesses; ought he not, then, to be made king, and a regency appointed? But, if so, would not the paternity of James enable him to continue his despotism through his son when the latter should attain his majority? The point was a most important one, and as difficult of solution as it was important; but we have ever been of opinion that the leading statesmen of that day decided upon it very much in the spirit of the son of Philip, who cut the Gordian knot which he found himself unable to untie. The revolution was, undoubtedly, a necessary one, for James' tyranny was great and insensate; and it was a glorious one, inasmuch as it was accomplished without bloodshed. But these considerations, important as they are, must not prevent us from denouncing the injustice with which the leading men of England, finding themselves in great and grievous difficulty how to reconcile their own liberties and the rights of the infant son of the abdicated king, pronounced that son *suppositititious!* The most ridiculous tales were told and credited; it was even averred that the queen had never been pregnant at all, but that the child who was now pronounced supposititious had been conveyed to the apart-

ments of the queen from those of its real mother in a warming pan! But when men have determined upon injustice any pretext will serve their turn. The young prince, then, was pronounced illegitimate, and the throne being vacant it was then proposed to raise the princess of Orange, James' eldest daughter, to the throne as her hereditary right. But to this course there was an insuperable and unexpected obstacle. The high and stern ambition of the prince of Orange forbade him, in his own coarse but expressive phrase "to accept of a kingdom which he was to hold only by his wife's apron strings." He would either have the crown conferred upon himself, or he would return to his own country and leave the English to settle their own difficulties as they best might; and accordingly the crown was settled upon William and Mary and their heirs, the administration of affairs being vested in William alone.

Though the declaration of toleration issued by James had given such deep and general offence, it had done so only as it indicated the desire of James to deprive both the church of England and the dissenters of security from the inroads of papacy. Presuming from this fact that toleration would not in itself be disagreeable to the nation, William commenced his reign by an attempt to repeal the laws that commanded uniformity of worship. But the English, as has well been remarked, were "more ready to examine the commands of their superiors than to obey them;" and William, although looked upon as the deliverer of the nation, could only so far succeed in this design, as to procure toleration for such dissenters as should hold no private conventicles and should take the oaths of allegiance.

The attention of William, however, was very speedily called from the regulation of his new kingdom to the measures necessary for its preservation. James, as we have said, was received in France with great friendship; and Ireland, mainly catholic, still remained true to him. Having assembled all the force he could, therefore, James determined to make Ireland his *point d'appui*, and, embarking at Brest, he landed at the port of Kinsale on the 22d of May, 1689. Here everything tended to flatter his hopes. His progress to Dublin was a sort of triumph. Tyrconnel, the lord lieutenant, received him with loyal warmth and respect; the old army was not merely faithful but zealous, and was very easily increased by new levies to the imposing force of forty thousand men.

Some few towns in Ireland, being chiefly inhabited by protestants, had declared for King William, and among these was Derry, or Londonderry, and to this town James at once proceeded to lay siege. The military authorities would probably have been glad to have delivered the place up to their lawful sovereign; but a clergyman, Mr. George Walker, placed himself at the head of the protestant inhabitants of the town, and worked up their minds to such a pitch of enthusiasm that they resolved to hold out the place, until it should be relieved by William, or perish in the attempt. The enthusiasm spread to the very lowest and weakest of the population; and though famine and fever made fearful ravages, and such loathsome objects as cats and rats became coveted for food, the besieged still held out. This devotion was at length rewarded. A store-ship, heavily laden with provision, broke the boom which had been laid across the river, and the famished inhabitants of Derry received at once an abundant supply of provisions and a most welcome addition to their garrison of hale and fresh men. James, during this obstinate siege, had lost nine thousand of his troops, and as the aid now thrown into the town rendered his success more unlikely than ever, he withdrew his army in the night, and prepared to meet William, who in person was about to attack him.

A. D. 1690.—The hostile armies came in sight of each other upon the opposite sides of the river Boyne, which might easily have been forded but for ditches and old houses which rendered the banks defensible. To

this facility of ambush, in fact, the life of William very nearly became a sacrifice. As he rode out along his lines to reconnoitre his opponents and determine upon his plan of battle, a cannon was secretly pointed at him, and fired with such good aim that he was wounded in the shoulder, several of his staff being killed by his side.

On the following morning William commenced operations by cannonading the masking houses from which he had suffered so much annoyance, and then he led over his army in three divisions. They crossed the river without any considerable loss, formed in good order on the opposite side and an obstinate battle ensued. The Irish, as well as their French and Swiss allies, fought well and zealously, but they were inferior in cavalry; and the furious charges of William's cavalry, led on by himself, at length caused the Irish to retreat, and the mere mercenary Swiss and French very speedily followed. Perhaps the victory thus gained by William was in no slight degree owing to the fact of his having personally led on his troops, who were thus inspired with a zeal and courage which James should have lent to his troops by a similar personal devotion and daring. But though James' personal courage was beyond all question, and had been signally shown during the Dutch war in the reign of his brother, he on this occasion allowed the prudence of the sovereign to outweigh the impulses of the soldier. Posted on the hill of Dunmore, which commanded the scene of action, he gazed upon the eventful battle without even detaching a squadron of the horse which surrounded him to aid in repulsing the terrible cavalry charges of William. The defeat of the Irish army was as complete as might have been anticipated from this very opposite conduct of the opposing leaders. Of James' troops nearly fifteen hundred were killed and wounded, while William lost barely a third of that number. But he sustained a heavy loss, indeed, in the death of the brave and able duke of Schomberg, who was shot as he crossed the river, cheering on his men.

A. D. 1691.—Disastrous as the battle of the Boyne had proved to James, it did not altogether destroy his hopes. By great exertions he got an army again into condition for service, and it was now committed to the leadership of General St. Ruth, a man of known gallantry and conduct This army was met by that of the English at Aughrim; and the boggy nature of the ground in which St. Ruth had taken up an admirable position enabled him to repulse the English with great loss in several charges. But, though galled and weakened, they returned to the charge with inflexible resolution, and St. Ruth being killed by a cannon ball, his men fell into disorder, and retreated to Limerick with the loss of upwards of five thousand of their number.

William now proceeded to besiege Limerick, the garrison of which city, aided by the troops who had escaped from Aughrim, made a gallant and obstinate defence; but the English gained ground so rapidly that, to avoid the horrors which must have resulted from the place being taken by assault, the Irish leaders demanded a parley. William was neither bigoted nor cruel, and he offered no objection to the terms on which the garrison proposed to surrender. These terms were, that the catholics of Ireland should have that freedom of religion which they had enjoyed under Charles II., and that all Irish persons should be at liberty to remove with their families and property to any part of the world, excepting England and Scotland. Above fourteen thousand availed themselves of this latter stipulation, and were conveyed to France at the expense of the English government.

A. D. 1692.—William aspired to the distinction of being head of the protestant interests in Europe: hence the country was almost perpetually engaged in continental wars; and if it were not absolutely necessary to throw the energies of the English nation into the scale, it suited the king's

warlike disposition; for though he was by no means uniformly successful at the head of his troops, he possessed the necessary courage and fortitude, and was, beyond all doubt, a superior military commander. We shall not, however, enter the arena of his warlike achievements, as general of the allied armies, in the long and arduous struggle against the power and restless ambition of Louis XIV., but keep our attention fixed on those matters which more exclusively refer to England. Among these was the celebrated victory off La Hogue gained by the English and Dutch fleets, over the French. The latter consisted of sixty-three ships, and the confederate fleet of ninety-nine; but scarce one half could come to an engagement. The French fleet was entirely defeated, and driven to their own coast; and at La Hogue and other places, no less than twenty-one of their largest men-of-war were destroyed, within two or three days after the battle. Among the rest, the French admiral's ship, the *Rising Sun*, was set on fire, within sight of the army that was to have made a descent upon England. Not a single ship was lost on the part of the English. At this time William was in Holland; but as soon as the fleet arrived at Spithead, the queen sent £30,000 to be distributed among the sailors, and gold medals for the officers, in acknowledgment for this splendid and timely victory.

With the celebrated treaty of Limerick perished the last hope of James to regain his English dominion by the aid of Ireland. The king of France allowed him a considerable pension, and his daughter and English friends occasionally aided him to a considerable amount. He passed his time in study, in charity, and in religious duties; and even the poor monks of La Trappe, to whom he paid frequent visits, confessed themselves edified by the mildness of his manners and the humility of his sentiments. We especially dwell upon this behaviour of James, not only because it shows in a strong point of view how bad a king a good man may be; in other words, how much of a peculiar ability must be added to the greatest and best virtues of a private man to prevent a king from failing, to his own and his people's vast injury, in the fulfilment of the tremendous duties of the throne, but also because it goes to refute a cruel calumny which but too many historians have joined in perpetuating upon the memory of James.

Excited as men's minds were by the revolution, what could be more probable than that bigoted and ignorant admirers of the expelled James should resort to any means, however wicked, to assail William upon what they, as being still loyal to the absent king, must have viewed as a guiltily usurped throne. The dastardly crime of assassination was resorted to against William; and the vile crime of the foiled assassins, has, without the shadow of a proof, been attributed to the suggestion of James But, whether as man or monarch, every action of his life is opposed to the probability of this vile imputation. Tyrannous, arbitrary, and bigoted he was; but he was stern, direct, and sturdy. Even in his earlier days he would have resorted to open force, not to dastardly treachery; and after the treaty of Limerick had deprived him of all reasonable hope of recovering his kingdom, his mind evidently became impressed with a deep sense of the worthlessness of worldly prosperity and greatness. He became more a monk in spirit than many were who wore the monkish cowl; and so far, we think, was he from being willing to remove his successful rival by the hand of the assassin, that it may be doubted whether he did not deem the usurped greatness of that rival far more in the light of a curse than of a blessing.

James survived the extinction of his kingly hopes rather more than seven years. His ascetic way of life, acting upon a frame much enfeebled by previous struggles and chagrins, threw him into a painful and tedious disease, and he died on the sixteenth of September, 1700—his last

moments being spent in enjoining his son to prefer religion to all worldly advantages, however alluring. At his own especial request, made just before his death, James was interred, without any attempt at funeral pomp, in the church of the English Benedictines at Paris.

A. D. 1697.—In our desire to trace the royal exile, James, to the very close of his eventful and unfortunate career, we have somewhat outstepped the chronological march of our history.

Though an able politician, and though, at the commencement of his reign, sufficiently well inclined to use and preserve so much prerogative as could belong to the elected monarch of a people who had recently beheaded one sovereign and driven another into exile, William very soon grew weary of disputing with his cabinet. In truth, merely domestic politics were not William's forte. He had the mind and the expansive gaze of an emperor rather than the minute views of a king, and was calculated rather to rule nations than to watch over the comparatively small affairs of a single state. He saw how much the vast power of France required, for the welfare of Europe, to be kept in check; and he gladly, therefore, allowed his ministers to infringe upon his prerogative as to England, on condition of their affording him the means of regulating the disturbed balance of power in Europe. The history of his reign may be summed up in two words—war and funding. Aided by the real and original genius of Burnett, bishop of Sarum, William contrived that means of anticipating the taxes, of mortgaging the resources of the nation, which in creating the national debt has doubtless led to much evil, but which has also been the means of carrying England triumphantly through struggles under which it otherwise must have sunk, and to a pitch of wealth and greatness to which it could never have aspired, even in wish. The treaty of Ryswick at length put an end to the sanguinary and expensive war with France. It has been observed that the only benefit secured to England by that treaty was the formal recognition of William's sovereignty by the French king. But it should not be forgotten that England, in common with all the rest of Europe, was served and saved by the check given to the gigantic power and the overweening ambition of France.

With war the king's life may almost be said to have terminated. From boyhood he had been of a feeble constitution, and long inquietude of mind and exposure of body had now completely exhausted him. Being thrown from his horse he fractured his collar-bone. It was set, but he insisted upon being carried to his favourite residence, Kensington palace. The motion of the carriage disunited the fractured bone, and the pain and irritation caused fever and diarrhœa, which, in spite of all that Bidloe and other skilful surgeons could devise, terminated the king's life, in the thirteenth year of his reign and the fifty-second of his age. Even in his last moments the "ruling passion" was strong within him, and only two days before his death he held a long and anxious conference on the state of Europe with the earl of Albemarle, who had brought some important intelligence from Holland.

Cold and reserved in his manners, William was far from being an amiable man. But he was moderate in his private expenses, and so devoted to war and statesmanship that he had neither time nor inclination for private vices. As a sovereign he obtained his power by an entire disregard to the feelings and interests of his father-in-law, such as we cannot easily refrain from taking to be the evidence of a bad heart. But he used his power well, defending the honour and the interests of his subjects abroad, and doing as much for toleration and liberty at home as they deserved—for he did all that their own prejudices and jealousies would allow him.

CHAPTER LVII.

THE REIGN OF ANNE.

A. D. 1702.—William III. having survived his wife, by whom he left no issue, Anne, second daughter of James II., married to Prince George of Denmark, ascended the throne amid a general satisfaction, which one might reasonably have expected to be greatly checked by the remembrance of her extraordinary and unnatural treatment of her father in the darkest hour of his distress.

Anne, at the time of her accession, was in the thirty-eighth year of her age, pleasing in her person and manner, domestic in her habits, and, with the dark exception to which we have alluded, of amiable and excellent character.

One of the first acts of the queen was to send a message to the house of commons announcing her intention of declaring war against France; and this intention was warmly applauded by the house! Yet the reign of this queen has been very truly called the Augustan period of literature; so true it is that the ferocious instincts of mankind resist even the softening influence of letters. For war at that period England had none of that real necessity, that impulse of self-preservation as to either the present or the future, without which war is little, if at all, better than wholesale and legitimatized murder; but hatred of the French nation continued in full force, although the power of the French to be mischievous was already very greatly curtailed; and the Dutch and Germans not only joined England, but actually declared war against France on the very same day. Though such a combination of powers was strong enough to portend danger even to the wealthy and warlike France, the French king received the news without any apparent feeling, except that of mortification that the Dutch should venture to be hostile to him; and this feeling he expressed by saying, that, "as for those pedlars, the Dutch, they should be dearly taught to repent their impertinent presumption in declaring war against a king whose power they had formerly felt as well as dreaded."

Of the campaigns that followed this declaration of war we shall not even attempt to give the details. Even where the historian's pages have no limit but his own will, there is, probably, no portion of his labour less useful to his readers than his minute account of battles, sieges, marches, and countermarches, which must be unintelligible to all except military leaders, without the aid of maps so expensive that few readers can command them. But in the present case such details, besides being beyond the limits of our pages, are really unnecessary. Blenheim, Ramillies, Oudenard, and Malplaquet, were victories as useless as they were costly and decisive; they gratified the splendid ambition and the sordid avarice of Marlborough, but to England they were entirely unproductive of solid benefit.

It is a singular fact, and one not very creditable to the nation, that while enormous treasure was wasted in sanguinary and useless victories, and the most unbounded applause was bestowed upon the victors, one of the most important and splendid conquests ever made for England, was rewarded not merely by neglect, but by absolute and cruel insult. We allude to the capture of Gibraltar by Sir George Rooke. Sir Cloudesley Shovel and Sir George Rooke had been sent out to watch a fleet which the French were known to be equipping at Brest, and Sir George was further ordered to convoy some transport-ships to Barcelona, where the prince of Hesse made an unsuccessful attack. The troops having failed on this point were re-embarked, and the English commanders, anxious to

turn the expedition to some advantage, determined upon attacking Gibraltar, then in the possession of the Spaniards, who, deeming it impregnable by its own strength, kept it but inconsiderably garrisoned.

In truth, the situation of Gibraltar is such that it might well lead the Spaniards into an overweening opinion of its strength, the town standing upon a tongue of land which is defended on every side but that nearest to the Spanish territory by an inaccessible rock. Upon that side the prince of Hesse landed eighteen hundred men, and proceeded to summon the garrison. The governor paid no attention to this summons, and on the following day the fleet commenced a warm cannonading, by which the defenders of the south mole head were driven from their post. Captains Hicks and Jumper now led a numerous party, sword in hand, into the fortifications, but they had scarcely entered when the Spaniards sprung a mine, by which two lieutenants and a hundred men were killed and wounded. The remainder, gallantly headed by the captains named above, maintained their post in spite of the horrible explosion which had so fearfully thinned their numbers, and the rest of the seamen being now landed by Captain Whitaker, the mole and the town were taken by storm. When it is considered that Gibraltar has been of immense importance to England ever since, both in protecting our Mediterranean trade and serving as an outfitting and sheltering port for our navies destined to annoy an enemy, it seems incredible, but is, unfortunately, only too true, that parliament and the ministry, so lavish of rewards and praise to the costly and useless services performed elsewhere, refused Sir George Rooke even the formal honour of a vote of thanks, and he was shortly afterwards displaced from his command.

Philip IV., grandson of Louis XIV. of France, having been nominated king of Spain by the will of the late king, was placed upon the throne, and, as he was apparently agreeable to the majority of his subjects, and, besides, was supported by the power of France, all opposition to him would to ordinary minds have appeared hopeless. But Charles, son of the emperor of Germany, had formerly been nominated to the Spanish succession, and France herself had been a party to that nomination. Charles, therefore, encouraged by the promised support of the warlike inhabitants of the province of Catalonia, determined to assert his right. In this determination he was strengthened by England and Portugal, who supplied him with two hundred transports, thirty ships of war, and a force of nearly ten thousand men. Considerable as this force was, it yet was small when compared to the mighty resources of the Spanish king *de facto;* but in the judgment of military men, as well as in the popular opinion, the comparative smallness of Charles' force was amply compensated by the genius and romantic bravery of the commander of it, the earl of Peterborough, who gave Charles the aid of his vast fortune as well as his personal exertions.

The earl of Peterborough was one of the most extraordinary men of that age. Though very much deformed in person, he excelled in all military exercises. At fifteen he fought as a volunteer against the Moors in Africa, and in every action he was distinguished for daring and conduct. The great experience he had acquired, and the influence of his character upon the soldiery, were much and justly relied on to forward the cause of Charles. His very first action justified that reliance, as he took the strong city of Barcelona with its well provided garrison of five thousand men. Had the earl of Peterborough now been left to the promptings of his own high and chivalrous spirit, there is but little room to doubt that he would have achieved still more brilliant successes. But some petty intrigues, by which both Charles and the English government very weakly allowed themselves to be duped, led to the recall of the earl, whose command was transferred to Lord Galway. That nobleman soon

after came to a general action with the Spanish troops, commanded by the Duke of Berwick, who had taken up a position on the plains near the town of Almanza. For a time Charles' troops, consisting chiefly of Dutch and English infantry, seemed greatly to have the advantage. But in the very heat and crisis of the action, the Portuguese horse, which protected either flank of Charles' line, were seized with a sudden and disgraceful panic, and fled in spite of all the efforts that were made to rally them. The duke of Berwick immediately closed in upon the exposed flanks, and Galway, losing men at every step, had barely time to throw his army into a square and retire to a neighbouring eminence. Here they were comparatively free from the attacks of the enemy, but they were destitute of provisions and ignorant of the country; and as it was evidently the design as it was in the power of the enemy to starve them into submission, the officers reluctantly agreed to capitulate. A fine army of ten thousand men thus became prisoners of war; and Philip was more firmly than ever seated upon his throne, not a voice now being raised against him except in the still malcontent province of Catalonia.

We will now turn to the more important domestic events of this reign. Though the accession of James I. to the English throne had to a certain extent united England and Scotland, there was still an independent Scottish parliament. In practice this was often inconvenient and always dangerous; the votes of the Scottish parliament often ran counter to those of the English parliament, and it required no remarkable amount of political wisdom to foresee, that, under certain circumstances, such, for instance, as actually occurred in the reigns of George I. and George II., this difference might be fatal by strengthening the hands of a pretender and plunging the country into a civil war. Theoretically, the separate parliament of Scotland was ridiculously indefensible. Scotland and England being already united under one crown, how absurd it was that the parliament at Westminster, held perfectly competent to enact laws for Cumberland and Northumberland, became legislatorially incapable a few feet over the border! But so much more powerful are custom and prejudice than reason, that the first proposal to do away with this at once absurd and dangerous distinction was received as though it had been a proposal to abridge some dear and indefeasible liberty of the Scottish people. For once reason prevailed over idle or interested clamour, and both parliaments simultaneously passed an act appointing and authorizing commissioners, named by the queen, to draw up articles for the parliamentary union of the two kingdoms—that term being in itself an absurdity from the very day of the death of Queen Elizabeth.

The commissioners, quickened in their proceedings by the queen's desire for dispatch, speedily presented for the consideration of the two parliaments a series of articles, by which full provision was made for retaining in force all the existing laws of Scotland, except where alteration would manifestly benefit that country; the courts of session and other courts of Scottish judicature were also preserved, and, in fact, the main alteration was the abolition of the anomalous separate parliament of Scotland, and giving that country a representation in the parliament of Great Britain of sixteen peers and forty-five commoners. There was, both in Scotland and on the part of the tories in England, considerable opposition made to these really wise and necessary articles, but common sense and the influence of the crown at length prevailed, and the articles were passed into law by a great majority in both parliaments.

Hitherto the whig ministry, supported by the powerful influence of the duchess of Marlborough, had triumphed over all the efforts of the tories; but the duchess had been guilty of two capital mistakes, by which she now found her influence very greatly diminished. In the first place, forgetting that she owed her vast influence over the queen far more to her

personal complaisance and agreeableness than to her really considerable political talents, she became so proud of her power, that she relaxed in those personal attentions by which she had obtained it, and disgusted the queen by an offensive and dictatorial tone. While she thus periled her influence, she at the same time unwittingly raised up a rival to herself in the person of a Mrs. Masham, a poor relation of her own, whom she placed in a confidential situation about the queen's person, relying upon her gratitude, and expecting to find her not a dangerous rival, but a pliant and zealous tool. But Mrs. Masham speedily perceived that the queen was not only personally disgusted by the hauteur of the duchess, but also much inclined to the tory opinions; she consequently took up the party of Mr. Harley, afterwards Lord Oxford, who was personally in the queen's favour, and who was extensively and constantly intriguing for the ruin of the whigs. In conjunction with Mr. St. John, afterwards Lord Bolingbroke, and Sir Simon Harcourt, a lawyer of great abilities, and aided by the personal influence of Mrs. Masham, Harley doubted not that he should triumph over the whigs; and an event, trifling enough in itself, soon occurred to develope the queen's leaning towards the tories, and to encourage it by showing how extensively that party existed among the people.

A clergyman named Sacheverel had much distinguished himself by his sermons in favour of high-church principles and in condemnation of dissent and dissenters. Imaginative, impassioned, and possessed of that fluency which even men of good judgment so often mistake for eloquence, he soon became an oracle and a favourite with a very large party. Being appointed to preach on the fifth of November, at St. Paul's, he made use of the "gunpowder plot" as an argument from which to infer that any departure from the doctrine of non-resistance might lead to the most heinous and destructive wickedness, and that the existing toleration of dissenters was very likely to be ruinous to the church of England, which he declared to be as ill defended by its pretended friends, as it was fiercely attacked by its determined enemies. The lord mayor of that year, Sir Samuel Gerrard, no very accurate judge, it may be presumed, of either theological correctness or literary elegance, allowed the printed edition of this sermon to be dedicated to him. And here, probably, the whole affair would have ended and been forgotten, but for the injudicious meddling of the archbishop Dolben's son, who in his place in parliament made complaint of the sermon and read all the most violent paragraphs of it; a manifestly unfair proceeding, inasmuch as the same passages might have a different effect when read with or without their context. Instead of checking Mr. Dolben's officiousness by voting the matter unfit for their consideration, the committee voted the passages read to be seditious and scandalous libels; and Sacheverel was ordered to attend at the bar of the house, where he avowed the alledged libels, and plainly said that he gloried in having published them. Even this vain and silly exultation of a weak man, whom an almost equally weak opponent had thus suddenly dragged into the notoriety he coveted and would probably never have otherwise obtained, did not instruct the house that contempt and obscurity were the severest pains and penalties that could be inflicted upon such a man as Sacheverel; and a committee was appointed to draw up articles of impeachment against him, and Mr. Dolben was named manager on behalf of the commons of England.

The harmless declamation of a vain man was thus raised into a degree of fictitious importance which was really disgraceful to the people, and for three weeks all the public business of both houses of parliament was set aside on account of a trial which ought never to have commenced. The Lords sat in Westminster Hall, which was daily besieged by the principal rank, fashion, and beauty of the capital, the queen herself setting the example by attending as a private auditor of the proceedings.

Mr. Dolben, whose injudicious meddling had occasioned this mock-heroic farce, was assisted in his absurd prosecution by Sir Joseph Jekyll, Solicitor-general Eyre, the recorder, Sir Peter King, General Stanhope, Sir Thomas Parker, and Mr. Walpole; all gentlemen whose talents were degraded by so silly a business.

Dr. Sacheverel was defended by Sir Simon Harcourt, Mr. Phipps, and Drs. Friend, Smallridge, and Atterbury; and the trial, absurd as its origin was, produced a display of great talent and eloquence. Unfortunately the silly passion shown by the house of commons communicated itself to the people out of doors. Most serious riots took place, in which the rabble in their zeal for Dr. Sacheverel not only destroyed several dissenting meeting-houses, but also plundered the houses of several leading dissenters, and the disturbances at length grew so alarming that the queen published a proclamation against them. The magistrates now exerted themselves with some vigour; several ruffians were apprehended, and two convicted of high treason and sentenced to death, which sentence, however, was commuted.

While the populace was rioting without, the lords were trying Sacheverel. He was very ably defended, and he personally delivered an address, of which the composition was so immeasurably superior to that of his sermons, that it was generally supposed to have been written for him by Dr. Atterbury, afterwards bishop of Rochester; a man of great genius, but of a turn of mind which fitted him rather for the wrangling of the bar, than for the mild teaching and other important duties of the Christian ministry. A majority of seventeen votes condemned Sacheverel, but a protest was signed by thirty-four peers. Partly in deference to this protest and partly from fear that severity would cause dangerous renewals of the riotous conduct of Sacheverel's rabble friends, the sentence was extremely light, merely prohibiting the doctor from preaching for three years, and ordering his alledged libels to be burned by the common hangman, in presence of the lord mayor and the two sheriffs.

The warmth which the people in general had shown on behalf of the doctor showed so extensive a prevalence of tory principles, that the queen's secret advisers of that party thought that they might now safely recommend a dissolution of parliament. The queen complied, and a vast majority of tories was returned to the new parliament. Thus convinced of the correctness with which Harley had long assured her, that she might safely indulge her inclination to degrade the whig party, the queen proceeded accordingly. She began by making the duke of Shrewsbury lord chamberlain, instead of the duke of Kent. Soon afterwards the earl of Sunderland, son-in-law to the duke of Marlborough, was deprived of his office of secretary of state, which was conferred upon the earl of Dartmouth; the lord stewardship was taken from the duke of Devonshire and given to the duke of Buckingham, and Mr. Henry St. John was made secretary in lieu of Mr. Boyle. Still more sweeping alterations followed, until at last no state office was filled by a whig, with the single exception of the duke of Marlborough.

The parliament soon after passed a resolution warmly approving the course pursued by the queen, and exhorting her to discountenance and resist all such measures as those by which her royal crown and dignity had recently been threatened. From all this it was clear that the power of Marlborough, so long supported by the court intrigues of his duchess, was now completely destroyed by her imprudent hauteur. His avarice was well known, and it was very extensively believed that the war with France would long since have been brought to a conclusion if the pacific inclinations of the French king had not been constantly and systematically thwarted by the duke for the furtherance of his own ambitious schemes. And though the tory ministry continued the war, and

the almost entirely tory parliament recommended that it should be prosecuted with all possible vigour, the mortification and degradation of the lately idolized duke were aimed at by every possible means. Thus the thanks of the house of commons were refused to him for his services in Flanders, while they were warmly given for those of the earl of Peterborough in Spain, and the lord keeper in delivering them took occasion to contrast the generous nature of the earl with the greed and avarice of the duke.

As the expenses of the war increased, so the people grew more and more weary of their war mania. The ministry consequently now determined to take resolute steps for putting an end to it; and as it was obvious that the duke would use all the influence of his command to traverse their peaceable policy, they came to the resolution of proceeding against him in some one of the many cases in which he was known to have received bribes. Clear evidence was brought forward of his having received six thousand pounds per annum from a Jew for securing him the contract to supply the army with bread; and upon this charge the duke was dismissed from all public employments.

The poet Prior was now sent on an embassy to France, and he soon returned with Menager, a French statesman, invested with full powers to arrange the preliminaries of peace; the earl of Strafford was sent back to Holland, whence he had only lately been recalled, to communicate to the Dutch the preliminaries and the queen's approval of them, and to endeavour to induce the Dutch, also, to approve them. Holland at first objected to the inspection of the preliminaries, but after much exertion all parties were induced to consent to a conference at Utrecht. It was soon, however, perceived that all the deputies, save those of England and France, were averse to peace, and it was then determined by the queen's government to set on foot a private negotiation with France with a view to a separate treaty.

A. D. 1712.—Early in August, 1712, Viscount Bolingbroke, formerly Mr. St. John, was sent to Versailles, accompanied by Prior and the Abbé Gaultier, to make arrangements for the separate treaty. He was well received by the French court, and very soon adjusted the terms of the treaty. The interests of all the powers of Europe were well and impartially cared for; but the noblest article of the treaty was that by which England insisted upon the liberation of the numerous French protestants who were confined in prisons and galleys for their religious opinions.

A. D. 1713.—But while the ministry was thus ably and triumphantly conducting the foreign affairs of the nation, serious dissensions were growing up between Harley and Bolingbroke. These able statesmen had for a long time been most cordial in their agreement on all points of policy. But the daily increasing illness of the queen, and the probability, not to say certainty, that she would not long survive, brought forward a question upon which they widely differed. Bolingbroke, who had been suspected of being a strong jacobite, was for bringing in the pretender as the queen's successor; while Harley, now Lord Oxford, was as strongly pledged to the Hanoverian succession.

The whigs watched with delight and exultation the growth of the ill-disguised enmity between these two great supports of the tory party. The queen in vain endeavoured to compose their differences, and it is to be feared that the sufferings of the last months of her life was much increased by her anxieties on this account. She daily grew weaker, and was not only despaired of by her physicians, but was herself conscious that her illness would have a fatal termination.

A. D. 1714.—The queen at length sunk into a state of extreme lethargy, but by powerful medicines was so far recovered that she was able to walk

about her chamber. On the thirtieth of July she rose as early as eight o'clock. For some time she walked about, leaning upon the arm of one of her ladies, when she was seized with a fit of apoplexy, from which no medicines could relieve her, and she expired on the following morning, in the forty-ninth year of her age and the thirteenth of her reign.

Though Anne possessed no very brilliant talents, her reign was in the main prosperous and wise, and was wholly free from all approach to tyranny or cruelty. Literature and the arts flourished exceedingly under her; Pope, Swift, Addison, Bolingbroke, and a perfect galaxy of lesser stars, very justly obtain for this reign the proud title of the Augustan age of England.

CHAPTER LVIII.

THE REIGN OF GEORGE I.

A. D. 1714.—Anne having left no issue, by the act of succession the English crown devolved upon George, son of the first elector of Brunswick, and the princess Sophia, grand-daughter of James I.

The new king was now in his fifty-fourth year, and he bore the character of being a man of solid ability, though entirely destitute of all shining talents, and of even the appearance of any attachment to literature or the arts. Direct, tenacious of his purpose, and accustomed all his life to application to business, great hopes were entertained that his accession would, at the least, secure order and regularity in the conduct of public affairs. His own declaration was, "My maxim is to do justice, to fear no man, and never to abandon my friends."

As it was feared that the intriguing genius of Bolingbroke might have made some arrangements for an attempt on the throne on the part of the pretender, the friends of George I. had procured from him, as soon as it was tolerably certain that Anne could not survive, an instrument by which the most zealous and influential friends to his succession were added to certain great officers, as lords justices, or a commission of regency to govern the kingdom until the king should arrive.

As soon as the queen expired, the regency caused George I. to be proclaimed in all the usual places, the important garrison of Portsmouth was reinforced, and measures were taken at all the other ports and garrisons to defeat any attempts at invasion. The vigour and vigilance thus displayed prevented any outbreak or disturbance, if any such had ever been actually contemplated; and the regency felt confident enough to deprive Bolingbroke of his office of secretary of state, with every circumstance of insult. His office was given to the celebrated poet and essayist Addison, of whom a curious anecdote is related, very characteristic of the immense difference between the qualities of a scholar and those of a man of business. Mr. Secretary Addison, renowned as a classical and facile writer, was very naturally called upon to write the dispatch to announce the death of Queen Anne to her successor; and so much was he embarrassed by his anxiety to find fitting terms, that his fellow-councillors grew impatient, and called upon the clerk to draw out the dispatch, which he did in a few dry business-like lines, and ever after boasted himself a readier writer than the facile and elegant writer of the delightful papers in the *Spectator!*

On landing at Greenwich, George I. was received by the assembled members of the regency, attended by the life-guards under the duke of Northumberland. He immediately retired to his chamber, where he gave audience to those who had been zealous for his succession. From this moment the king showed a determined partiality to the whigs, which

gave great and general disgust; a feeling that was still farther increased by the headlong haste with which the whig ministers and favourites conferred all offices of trust and emolument upon their own partizans, in utter contempt of the merits and claims of those whom they ousted.

The greediness of the whigs, and the pertinacious partiality shown to that party by the king, threw a great part of the nation into a dangerous state of discontent, and there arose a general cry, accompanied by much tendency to actual rioting, of "Sacheverel for ever, and down with the whigs!"

Undeterred by the increasing number and loudness of the malcontents, the whig party, confident in their parliamentary strength and in the partiality of the king, commenced the business of the session by giving indications of their intention to proceed to the utmost extremes against the late ministers. In the house of lords they affected to believe that the reputation of England was much lowered on the continent by the conduct of the late ministers, and professed hopes that the wisdom of the king would repair that evil; and in the lower house they stated their determination to punish the alledged abettors of the pretender; a sure way of pleasing the king, and an artful mode of confounding together the supporters of the pretender, with loyal subjects of George I. who yet were honest enough to oppose so much of his system of government as appeared to be injurious or dangerous to the country and to himself.

Following up the course thus indicated, the ministers appointed a parliamentary committee of twenty persons, to examine papers and find charges against the late ministry; and shortly afterwards Mr. Walpole, as chairman of this committee, stated that a report was ready for the house, and moved for the committal of Mr. Matthew Prior and Mr. Thomas Harley; and those members, being present in their places, were immediately taken into custody by the sergeant at arms. Mr. Walpole then again rose to impeach Lord Bolingbroke of high treason. Before the house could recover from its astonishment, Lord Coningsby rose and said, "The worthy chairman of the committee has impeached the hand, I now impeach the head; he has impeached the scholar, I impeach the master; I impeach Robert, earl of Oxford and Mortimer, of high treason and other crimes and misdemeanors."

Lord Oxford was now completely abandoned by nearly all those who had seemed to be so much attached to him; a too common fate of fallen greatness.

Even among the whigs, however, there were some who disapproved of the extreme violence of the present proceedings. Sir Joseph Jekyl, for instance, pointing out an overstrained article that was charged against Oxford, handsomely said that it was his way to mete out equal justice to all men, and that as a lawyer he felt bound to say that the article in question did not amount to treason. But the heads of the faction would not patiently listen to such moderate and honourable language; and Mr. Walpole, in a tone and with a manner very improper to be used by one gentleman towards another, replied, that many members quite as honest as Sir Joseph, and better lawyers than he, were perfectly satisfied that the charge did amount to treason.

The humane and honest opposition of Sir Joseph Jekyl being thus sneered down, Lord Coningsby and the other managing whigs proceeded to impeach Lord Oxford at the bar of the house of lords, and to demand that he should immediately be committed to custody. Upon this latter point a debate arose in the house of lords, which was terminated by the earl himself, who said that he had all along acted upon the immediate orders of the late queen, and that, having never offended against any known law, he was wholly unconcerned about the life of an insignificant old man. He was consequently committed to the Tower, though the

celebrated Dr. Mead positively certified that his committal would endanger his life. The duke of Ormond and Lord Bolingbroke, against whom the proceedings were no less vindictively carried on, fled to the continent, upon which the earl marshal of England was ordered to erase their names and arms from the peerage list, and all their possessions in England were declared forfeit to the crown.

A. D. 1715.—The pretender, who had numerous friends in England and Scotland, looked with great complacency upon these violent proceedings, judging that the discontent they caused could not fail to forward his designs upon the crown; and while the king was intent upon alienating the affections of a large portion of his people in order to support a greedy faction, an actual rebellion broke out. Two vessels, with arms, ammunition, and officers, were sent from France to the coast of Scotland, and the pretender promised that he would speedily follow with a greater force. The earl of Mar was consequently induced to assemble his friends and vassals to the number of three hundred, and to proclaim the pretender. As the cause was popular, and no opportunity was lost of magnifying the force with which that prince was to arrive in Scotland, Mar soon found himself at the head of an army of ten thousand men. But while he was completing his preparations to march southward, the duke of Argyle at the head of only about six thousand men attacked him near Dumblain, and though at the close of the engagement both parties left the field, yet the loss inflicted upon Mar was so great as virtually to amount to defeat, and the injury thus done to the cause of the pretender was increased by the conduct of Simon, Lord Lovat. That restless and thoroughly unprincipled man held the castle of Inverness for the pretender, to whose forces it would at all times have served as a most important *point d'appui;* but Lord Lovat, changing with the changed fortune of his party, now basely surrendered the castle to the king.

The English ambassador in France, the accomplished and energetic Lord Stair, had so well performed his duty to the king, that he was able to send home the most timely and exact information of the designs of the pretender; and just as the rebellion was about to break out in England, several of the leading malcontents were seized by the ministry and committed to close custody. For one of these, Sir William Wyndham, his father-in-law, the duke of Somerset, offered to become security; but even that wealthy and powerful nobleman was refused. The rebellion was thus confined, in the west of England, to a few feeble and unconnected outbreaks; and at Oxford, where it was known that many young men of family were among the malcontents, all attempt was prevented by the spirited conduct of Major-general Pepper, who occupied the city with his troops, and positively promised to put to death any student, no matter what his rank or connections, who should dare to appear beyond the limits of his own college.

In the north of England the spirits of the malcontents were kept up, in spite of all the ill success that had hitherto attended their cause, by their reliance upon aid from the pretender in person. The earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Foster raised a considerable force, and being joined by some volunteers from the Scottish border, made an attempt to seize Newcastle, but the gates were shut against them, and, having no battering train, they retired to Hexham, whence, by way of Kendal and Lancaster, they proceeded to Preston. Here they were surrounded by nearly eight thousand men, under generals Carpenter and Wills. Some fighting ensued, but the cause of the rebels was now so evidently hopeless, that Mr. Foster sent Colonel Oxburgh, of the royal army, who had been taken prisoner, with proposals for a capitulation. General Wills, however, declined to hear of them, except as armed rebels, to whom he could show no other favour than to leave them to the disposal of government, instead

of giving them over to instant slaughter by his troops. The unhappy men were consequently obliged to surrender at discretion; some of their officers who had deserted from the royal army were immediately shot, the other officers and gentlemen were sent to London, and the common men thrown into the various prisons of Lancashire and Cheshire.

Had the pretender promptly joined the earl of Mar, and, joined by him, marched to effect a junction with the earl of Derwentwater, the event would probably have been very different; but having delayed his appearance in Scotland until his friends were thus overpowered in detail, common-sense should have dictated to him the folly of his carrying his attempt any farther for the present. But, alas! common-sense was precisely that quality which the Stuarts were least gifted with! At the very moment when the prisons of England were filled with his ill-fated and sacrificed adherents, he hurried through France in disguise, embarked at Dunkirk, and landed in Scotland with a train of six gentlemen! With this adequate force for the conquest of a great and powerful kingdom, he proceeded through Aberdeen to Feteresso, where he was joined by the earl of Mar and somewhat less than two-score other nobles and gentry. He now proceeded to Dundee, caused a frothy and useless declaration of his rights and intentions to be circulated, and then went to Scone with the intention of adding the folly of being crowned there to the folly of being proclaimed in all other places of note through which he had passed. Even the vulgar and the ignorant were by this time convinced of the utter hopelessness of his cause; and as he found that "few cried God bless him," and still fewer joined his standard, he quite coolly told his friends—who had sacrificed everything for him—that he had not the necessary means for a campaign, and then embarked, with his personal attendants, at Montrose—leaving his dupes to their fate. Such baseness, such boyish levity, joined to such cold selfishness, ought to have made even those who most firmly believed in the abstract rights of the pretender, rejoice that he was unable to obtain power in England; since so heartless a man must needs have made a cruel monarch.

The government had acted with vigour and ability in suppressing the rebellion; it now acted with stern unsparing severity in punishing those who had been concerned in it. The mere herd of rebels, to the number of more than a thousand, were transported to the colonies. Two-and-twenty officers were executed at Preston, and five at Tyburn, with all the disgusting accompaniments of drawing and quartering. The earls of Derwentwater, Nithisdale, and Carnwarth, and the lords Kenmuir, Nairne, and Widdrington were sentenced to death, as were Mr. Foster, Mr. Mackintosh, and about twenty other leading men.

Nithisdale, Foster, and Mackintosh were fortunate enough to escape from prison and reach the continent; Derwentwater and Kenmuir were executed upon Tower-hill, and met their fate with a decent intrepidity, which made the spectators forget their crime.

During all this time the earl of Oxford had remained in the Tower, unnoticed and almost forgotten. When the numerous executions had literally disgusted men with the sad spectacle of bloodshed he petitioned to be allowed to take his trial; rightly judging that, as compared to actual rebellion, the worst that was charged against him would seem comparatively venial, even to his enemies. He was accordingly arraigned before the peers in Westminster-hall, and some technical dispute arising between the lords and commons, the lords voted that he should be set at liberty.

A. D. 1721.—Passing over, as of no importance, the sailing from Spain of a fleet under the duke of Ormond, for the purpose of making a new attempt on England; the pretender's hopes from that expedition being disappointed by a storm which entirely disabled the fleet off Cape Finis-

terre; we come to a domestic event which originated in this year and reduced thousands of people from affluence to beggary.

The South Sea company, to which government was greatly indebted, was in the habit of contenting itself with five per cent. interest, on account of the largeness of its claim, instead of six per cent., which the government paid to all the other public companies to which it was indebted. A scrivener, named Blount, of more ability than principle, availed himself of this state of things to commence a deep and destructive part of the scheme. It was quite obviously to the advantage of the nation to pay five rather than six per cent. upon all its debts, as well as upon the one considerable debt that was due to the South Sea company; and, on the other hand, it was well worth the while of that wealthy company to add as much as possible to the already large amount upon which five per cent interest was punctually paid by the government. Blount put the case so plausibly on the part of the company, and so skilfully threw in the additional inducement to the government of a reduction of the interest from five to four per cent. at the end of six years, that the scheme seemed to be an actual reduction of one-sixth of the whole national burden immediately, and a reduction of a third at the end of six years. Every encouragement and sanction were consequently given to the plan by which the South Sea company was to buy up the claims of all other creditors of the government. Hitherto only the fair side of the scheme had been displayed; now came the important question, where was the South Sea company, wealthy as it might be, to find the vast sum of money necessary for rendering it the sole government creditor? Blount was ready with his reply. By a second part of his scheme he proposed to enrich the nation enormously by opening up a new, vast, and safe trade to the South Seas; and flaming prospectuses invited the public to exchange government stock for equal nominal amounts in the South Sea stocks—said to be vastly more valuable. The cunning of Blount and his fellow-directors was so well aided by the cupidity of the public, that when the books were opened for this notable transfer there was a positive struggle for the precedence; a consequent run took place for South Sea shares, which in a few days were sold at more than double their original value, and ere the end of the delusion, which was kept up for several months, the shares met with a ready sale at ten times their original cost! When we reflect that a thousand pounds thus produced ten thousand to the speculator, and a hundred thousand a million, we may judge how much excitement and eagerness prevailed. Enormous fortunes, of course, were made in the transfer and re-transfer of shares, and to those who sold out while the delusion was still at its height the scheme was a very El Dorado. But the great majority of the supposed fortunate possessors of South Sea stock were far too well pleased with their prospects to part with them, as they imagined it difficult to put a sufficient value upon their probabilities of vast and ever-increasing interest! Among this number was the poet Gay, who, though a scholar and a wit, was, nevertheless, in the actual business of life, as simple as a child. He was strongly advised by his friends to sell some stock which had been presented to him, and thus, while the stock was at its highest value, secure himself a competence for life. But no! like thousands more, he persisted in holding this precious stock; and all who did so found their scrip mere waste paper when the company was called upon to pay the very first vast and very genuine demand out of profits which were represented as being equally vast, but which had the slight defect of being wholly imaginary. Thousands upon thousands of families were by this artful and most vile scheme reduced to complete ruin, and nothing that has occurred in our own time—replete as it is with bubbles and swindling directors—is calculated to give us any adequate idea of the suffering, the rage, and the dismay that were felt in all parts of the king-

dom. The government did all that it consistently could to remedy the disastrous effects produced by individual knavery acting upon general cupidity and credulity. The chief managers of the scheme were deprived of the immense property they had unfairly acquired by it, and redresses as far as possible afforded to the sufferers; but in the almost infinite variety of transfers which had taken place, it inevitably followed that millions of property passed from the hands of those who speculated foolishly into the hands of those who were more sagacious and more wary, though not positively involved in the guilt of the deception; and for many years thousands had to toil for bread who but for this scheme would have been affluent, while thousands more enjoyed wealth not a jot more honestly or usefully earned than the gains of the veriest gambler.

So extensive were the sufferings and confusion created by this event, that the friends of the pretender deemed the crisis a fit one at which to bring forward his pretensions again. But, as was usual with that party, there was so much dissension among the leading malcontents, and their affairs were so clumsily conducted on the part of some of them, that the ministry got intelligence of the designs which were on foot, and suddenly ordered the apprehension of the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Orrery, the lords North and Grey, Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, Mr. Layer, and several other persons of less note. In the investigation that followed, sufficient legal evidence could be found only against the bishop of Rochester and Mr. Layer, though there could be no moral doubt of the guilt of the others. All, therefore, were discharged out of custody except the bishop, who was banished the kingdom, and Mr. Layer, who was hanged at Tyburn.

Scarcely less sensation was caused by an accusation which was brought against the earl of Macclesfield, of having sold certain places in chancery The house of commons impeached him at the bar of the house of lords, and a most interesting and well contested trial ensued, which lasted for twenty days. The earl was convicted, and sentenced to be imprisoned until he should pay a fine of thirty thousand pounds. He paid the money in less than two months; and his friends deemed him very hardly done by, inasmuch as it was proved on the trial that he had only sold such places as had been sold by former chancellors. To us, however, this seems but a very slender excuse for the offence; as a judge in equity he ought to have put a stop to so dangerous a practice and not have profited by it, especially as the honourable precedent of Chancellor Bacon was in existence to remind him that in chancery as elsewhere, "two blacks do not make a white." As to the fine, large as the sum seems, it was not at all too heavy; no small portion of it having been the produce of the offence for which it was imposed.

A. D. 1727.—From the very commencement of his reign George I. had shown at least as much anxiety for Hanover as for England, and having now been above two years prevented by various causes from visiting the electorate, he appointed a regency and set out for Hanover in a state of health that gave no reason to fear any ill result. The voyage to Holland and the subsequent journey to within a few leagues of Osnaburg, were performed by the king in his usual health and spirits, but as he approached Osnaburg he suddenly called for the postillion to stop. It was found that one of his hands was paralysed, his tongue began to swell, and no efforts of the surgeon who traveled with him could afford him any relief; and on the following morning he expired, in the thirtieth year of his reign and in the sixty-eighth of his age.

CHAPTER LIX.

THE REIGN OF GEORGE

A. D. 1727.—George the Second, like his deceased father, was a German by birth, language, and sentiments. In their personal qualities, also, they bore a striking resemblance: both were honest, just, plain-dealing men; both were alike parsimonious and obstinate; and as both were beset by political factions whose rancour knew no bounds, so each of those monarchs had to contend with the caprice or venality of rival statesmen, as by turns they directed the councils of the nation.

The king was in the forty-fourth year of his age on coming to the throne; and he took the first opportunity of declaring to his parliament that he was determined to adhere to the policy of his predecessor. Owing to the previous continental wars in which England had taken a part, the kingdom was involved in a labyrinth of treaties and conventions. Much discontent was also felt and expressed on many points of domestic policy. Dangerous encroachments had been made in the constitution by the repeal of the triennial act; by frequent suspensions of the habeas corpus act; by keeping up a standing army; and by the notorious venal practices employed in establishing a system of parliamentary corruption. At first some change in the ministry appeared in contemplation; but after a little time it was settled that Sir Robert Walpole should continue at the head of the administration; with Lord Townshend as director of the foreign affairs and Mr. Pelham, brother to the duke of Newcastle, as secretary-at-war. There was, however, a great and concentrated mass of opposition gradually forming against Walpole, which required all his vigilance and ability to overcome.

Peace was established at home and abroad; and the new parliament, which assembled in January, 1728, afforded no topic of interest; but in the succeeding year the commons complained of the occasional publication of their proceedings, and it was unanimously resolved, "That it is an indignity to, and a breach of the privilege of the house, for any person to presume to give, in written or printed newspapers, any account or minutes of the debates or other proceedings of the house or of any committee thereof; and that, upon the discovery of the author, &c., this house will proceed against the offenders with the utmost severity." An address to his majesty was also presented by the commons, complaining of serious depredations having been committed by the Spaniards on British ships, in manifest violation of the treaties subsisting between the two crowns; and requesting that active measures might be taken to procure reasonable satisfaction for the losses sustained, and secure his majesty's subjects the free exercise of commerce and navigation to and from the British plantations in America. This was followed by a defensive treaty between Great Britain, France, Spain, and Holland · the question between England and Spain as to naval captures being left to future adjudication by commissioners.

A. D. 1730.—Some changes now took place in the ministry. Lord Harrington was made secretary of state, in the room of Lord Townshend, who appears to have interfered more with the affairs of the nation than was agreeable to Sir Robert Walpole, to whom he was related by marriage. The latter, it is said, upon being asked the cause of his difference with his brother-in-law, drily replied, "As long as the firm of the house was Townshend and Walpole, all did very well; but when it became Walpole and Townshend, things went wrong and a separation ensued." About the same time the duke of Dorset was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland in

the room of Lord Carteret; the duke of Devonshire, privy seal, and Lord Trevor, president of the council.

With the blessings of peace England was now enjoying a high degree of prosperity; her trade with foreign nations was constantly increasing; and from her American colonies the imports of sugar, rum, &c., were most abundant. The whale-fishery also on the coast of New-England, New-York, &c., was highly productive. The most flattering accounts were received from our trans-atlantic friends; and the tide of emigration from our shores, but more particularly from Ireland, was fast flowing in that direction.

A. D. 1732.—The parliamentary session was opened by the king in person, who, in an elaborate speech, complimented the country on its political aspect, and dwelt with evident satisfaction on the late continental alliances he had entered into. This was naturally followed by congratulatory addresses from both houses; and the minister saw himself surrounded by a phalanx of supporters, too numerous for the opposition to disturb his equanimity. But amid the general prosperity there were some public delinquencies which seemed to require the strong arm of justice to unmask and punish. The most glaring of these, perhaps, was an enormous fraud committed by certain parties who had the management of the funds belonging to the "charitable corporation." This society had been formed under the plausible pretext of lending money at legal interest to the poor and to others, upon security of goods, in order to screen them from the rapacity of pawnbrokers. Their capital was at first limited to 30,000*l.*, but by licenses from the crown they increased it to 600,000*l.* George Robinson, M.P. for Marlow, the cashier, and John Thomson, the warehouse keeper, had suddenly disappeared, and it was now discovered that for a capital of 500,000*l.* effects to the amount of 30,000*l.* only could be found, the remainder having been embezzled. A petition to the house of commons having been referred to a committee, it clearly appeared that a most iniquitous scheme of fraud had been systematically carried on by the cashier and warehouse-man, in concert with some of the directors, for embezzling the capital and cheating the proprietors; on which it was resolved, that Sir Robert Sutton, with nine others, who had been proved guilty of many fraudulent practices in the management of the charitable corporation, should make satisfaction to the poor sufferers out of their estates, and be prevented from leaving the kingdom.

In the following year the *excise scheme* was first introduced into the house of commons; and although it was simply a plan for converting the duties on wine and tobacco, which had been hitherto duties of customs, into duties of excise, the ferment which this proposition excited was almost unprecedented. The sheriffs of London, accompanied by many of the most eminent merchants, in two hundred carriages, came down to the house to present their petition against the bill; other petitions were also presented; and the minister finding that his majority was small and the opposition to the measure so universal, determined on withdrawing it. The most riotous rejoicings followed; and if a correct judgment might be formed from outward appearances, the inhabitants of London and Westminster must have thought they had obtained a deliverance from some great impending danger.

Very little occurred during the succeeding year worthy of remark. The princess royal was married to the prince of Orange; a bill passed for the naturalization of his royal highness; and the "happy pair" left St. James' for Rotterdam on the 22d of April. Parliament was now dissolved by proclamation. The king had previously prorogued it, after thanking the members for the many signal proofs they had given him for seven years of their duty and attachment to his person and government; and concluded

with a prayer that providence would direct his people in the choice of their representatives.

A. D. 1735.—When the new parliament met in January it was seen that the elections had made no perceptible change in the composition of the house; the leaders of parties were the same; and nearly the same motions, amendments, debates, and arguments were reproduced. Indeed, if we except some angry disputes which occurred between the ministers and the prince of Wales, relative to the income allowed out of the civil list to the latter, scarcely any event worthy of remark took place for a long time. The affair to which we allude thus originated. Motions having been made in each house of parliament to address his majesty to settle 100,000*l.* per annum on the prince, it was opposed by the ministers as an encroachment on the prerogative, an officious intermeddling with the king's family affairs, and as an effort to set his majesty and the prince at variance. But the truth was, there had long been a serious misunderstanding between these royal personages, arising chiefly from the prince being at the head of the opposition party; and now that there seemed no chance of his obtaining the income he required, it was highly resented by him, and caused an entire alienation between the two courts of St. James's and Leicester-house. Nor can it be wondered at that the prince should feel himself grossly slighted, when out of a civil list of 800,000*l.* a revenue of 50,000*l.* per annum only was allowed him; although his father when prince had 100,000*l.*, out of a civil list of 700,000*l.* The breach grew wider every day; and at length so rancorous had these family squabbles become, that in the last illness of the queen, who expired in November, 1737, the prince was not even permitted to see her.

The growing prosperity of England during a long peace was duly appreciated by Sir Robert Walpole, and he neglected nothing that seemed likely to insure its continuance; but the arbitrary conduct pursued by the Spaniards on the American coasts, and the interested clamours of some English merchants engaged in a contraband trade with the Spanish colonies, led to a war between the two countries, which lasted from the year 1739 to 1748.

In order to prevent the ships of any other nation from trading with the American colonies, the Spaniards employed vessels called guarda-costas to watch and intercept them; but instead of confining themselves to this, their legitimate object, the captains of the Spanish guard-ships frequently interfered with British merchants, who were on their way to other American colonies, and, under pretence of searching for contraband goods, boarded their ships, and sometimes treated the crews with the greatest barbarity. The accounts of these indignities created a desire among all classes of his majesty's subjects for inflicting on the Spaniards signal and speedy retribution; but the pacific policy of the minister was inimical to the adoption of vigorous measures. Captain Jenkins, the master of a Scottish merchant-ship, who was examined at the bar of the house of commons, declared that he was boarded by a guarda-costa, who, after ransacking his ship and ill-treating his crew, tore off one of his ears, and throwing it in his face, told him "to take it to his king." Upon being asked what he thought when he found himself in the hands of such barbarians, Jenkins replied, "I recommended my soul to God, and my cause to my country." These words, and the display of his ear, which, wrapped up in cotton, he always carried about him, filled the house with indignation; but it was not till more than a twelve-month afterwards that an order in council was issued for making reprisals on the Spaniards.

A. D. 1740.—The war with Spain had now commenced, and the most strenuous exertions were made to put the navy in the best possible condition. Admiral Vernon, with a small force, captured the important city of Porto Bello, on the American isthmus. But it appeared at the close of

the year, that the Spaniards had taken upwards of 400 English vessels, many of them richly laden.

At this period the violence of party politics was displayed in all its rancour. Many changes took place in the cabinet; and Walpole, descrying the coming storm, presented two of his sons with valuable sinecures. Soon after, Mr. Sandys gave notice that he should make a motion in the house of commons for the dismissal of Sir Robert Walpole from the king's councils forever. On the appointed day the house was crowded at an early hour, and the public were in a state of breathless expectation to learn the result. The accusations against the minister were by no means confined to any particular misconduct, but were vague and indefinite. The very length of Mr. Walpole's power, said Mr. Sandys, was in itself dangerous; to accuse him of any specific crime was unnecessary, the dissatisfaction of the people being a sufficient cause for his removal! The discussion was long and animated, and the debate closed by a powerful speech from Walpole, which made a deep impression on the house; and the motion was negatived by the large majority of 290 against 106. In the lords, a similar motion met with the like result.

A. D. 1741.—The success which had attended Vernon's attack on Porto Bello induced the government to send out large armaments against the Spanish colonies. In conjunction with Lord Cathcart, who had the command of a numerous army, Vernon undertook to assail Spanish America on the side of the Atlantic, while Commodore Anson sailed round Cape Horn to ravage the coast of Chili and Peru. Part of these arrangements were frustrated owing to the death of Lord Cathcart, his successor, General Wentworth, being an officer of little experience and very jealous of the admiral's popularity. As might be expected where such was the case, the expedition lamentably failed of its object; incapacity and dissension characterised their operations; nothing of the slightest importance was effected, and they returned home after more than fifteen thousand of the troops and seamen had fallen victims to the diseases of a tropical climate. Nor was the result of the expedition under Anson calculated to retrieve these disasters; for although he plundered the town of Patia, in Peru, and captured several prizes, among which was the Spanish galleon, laden with treasure, that sailed annually from Acapulco to Manilla, he encountered such severe storms, particularly in rounding Cape Horn, that his squadron was finally reduced to only one ship.

It is time that we return to the affairs of continental Europe, so far, at least, as they involve England. In October, 1740, the emperor Charles VI., the last male heir of the house of Austria Hapsburg, died. Almost all the powers of Europe had, by the "pragmatic sanction," guaranteed the possessions of Austria to the arch-duchess Maria Theresa, queen of Hungary; yet no power except England was influenced by its engagements. Scarcely had the Hungarian queen succeeded her father, when she found herself surrounded by a host of enemies. But the most powerful and the most wily of them was Frederic III., king of Prussia, who, having at his command a rich treasury and a well-appointed army, entered Silesia, and soon conquered it. Knowing, however, that she had not only to contend with France, who had resolved to elevate Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, to the empire, but also numbered among her foes the kings of Spain, Poland, and Sardinia, he offered to support her against all competitors, on the condition of being permitted to retain his acquisition. This she heroically and indignantly refused; and, although the French troops even menaced her capital, Maria Theresa convened the states of Hungary, and made a powerful appeal to the nobles, which they responded to by a solemn declaration that they were all ready to die in defence of her rights. Another large army was quickly raised; the English parliament voted a subsidy; and so great was the attachment of the English

people to her cause, that the pacific Walpole could no longer control the desire that was manifested for becoming parties in the war.

A. D. 1742.—In the new parliament, which was opened by the king in person, it was evident that the opponents of Walpole had greatly strengthened themselves; and being shortly after able to obtain a trifling majority of votes on the Westminster election petition, Sir Robert expressed his intention of retiring from office. He consequently resigned all his employments, and was created earl of Orford, with a pension of 4,000*l.* a year, his majesty testifying for his faithful servant the most affectionate regard.

England, accustomed to consider the equilibrium of the continental states as the guarantee of her own grandeur, would naturally espouse the cause of Maria Theresa; while it was quite as natural that the king of England, as elector of Hanover, would be ready to enforce its propriety. But there was another motive at this time still more powerful, namely, the war which had recently broken out between England and Spain; for it could not be expected that, in a continental war in which the latter country was one of the belligerents, England would omit any opportunity that offered of weakening that power. Yet as long as Walpole was the directing minister, the king restricted himself to negotiations and subsidies. But when Walpole was superseded by Lord Carteret, the cause of Maria Theresa was sustained by the arms of England, and by larger subsidies, while the king of Naples was forced by an English fleet to the declaration of neutrality. England had at length become a principal in the war; or, as Smollet observes, "from being an umpire had now become a party in all continental quarrels, and instead of trimming the balance of Europe, lavished away her blood and treasure in supporting the interest and allies of a puny electorate in the north of Germany."

A. D. 1743.—George II. was now at the head of the Anglo-electoral army, which on its march to Hanau met and engaged the French under the command of marshal the duke of Noailles and some of the princes of the blood. They began the battle with their accustomed impetuosity, but were received by the English infantry with the characteristic coolness and steady intrepidity for which they are so eminently distinguished. In this battle the king showed much passive courage, and his son, the duke of Cumberland, was wounded; but it proved a decisive victory, 6,000 of the French having fallen, while the loss on the side of the British did not amount to more than one-third of that number.

About this time a treaty was concluded between England and Russia for fifteen years, in which it was stipulated that the empress should furnish his Britannic majesty, as soon as required, with a body of 12,000 troops, to be employed according to the exigency of affairs; and that Great Britain should furnish Russia with twelve men-of-war, on the first notice, in case either of them were attacked by an enemy and demanded such succour.

A. D. 1744.—To remove the Hanoverian dynasty from the throne of these realms, seemed to be the darling object of the courts of France and Spain, who were secretly planning to restore the Stuart race in the person of the son of the late pretender. Declarations of war between France and England accordingly took place; and in May the king of France arrived at Lisle, to open the campaign in Flanders, with an army of 120,000 men, commanded by the celebrated Marshal Saxe. The allied armies, consisting of English, Hanoverians, Austrians, and Dutch, amounting in the whole to about 75,000, advanced with the apparent intention of attacking the enemy; but, after performing numerous inconsistent and inexplicable movements, without risking either a siege or a battle, the summer passed away, and they retired into winter-quarters. Meantime some in-

decisive engagements had taken place between the English and combined fleets in the Mediterranean.

Towards the close of the year Lord Carteret, now earl of Granville, resigned his office, and a coalition of parties was formed, which, from including tories, whigs, and patriots, obtained the name of the "broad bottom" administration. Mr. Pelham was chancellor of the exchequer and first lord of the treasury; Lord Hardwicke, chancellor; the duke of Dorset, president of the council; the duke of Newcastle and Lord Harrington, secretaries of state; and the duke of Bedford, first lord of the admiralty. Mr. Pitt, afterwards earl of Chatham, gave them his support, having been promised a place as soon as the king's aversion could be overcome.

A. D. 1745.—Robert Walpole, earl of Orford, after a life of political activity, during which he had occupied the most prominent station for twenty years, died March 18, aged 71. His general policy was principally characterized by zeal in favour of the protestant succession; by the desire of preserving peace abroad, and avoiding subjects of contention at home. Under his auspices the naval superiority of England was maintained; commerce encouraged; justice impartially administered; and the rights of the people preserved inviolate

In Italy the united armies of France and Spain, owing to their vast superiority in numbers, were enabled to vanquish the Austrians; and the Anglo-electoral troops in the Netherlands also met with serious reverses. The French army under Marshal Saxe was strongly posted at Fontenoy; to which place the duke of Cumberland advanced on the 30th of April, and by nine o'clock in the morning the troops were engaged. The valour of the British infantry was never more signally displayed; for a time they bore down everything before them; but the Dutch failing in their attempt on the village of Fontenoy, and the allies coming within the destructive fire of the semicircle of batteries erected by Saxe, were outflanked and compelled to retreat. The loss on each side amounted to about 10,000 men; but though the victory was not absolutely decisive, it enabled the French marshal to take some of the most considerable towns of the Netherlands, and the allies retired for safety behind the canal at Antwerp.

Thirty years had elapsed since the chevalier de St. George had stirred up that rebellion which had ended so fatally for his own hopes, and so disastrously for his adherents. Since that time he had lived in Italy, had married a grand-daughter of John Sobieski, king of Poland, and had one son, Charles Edward, who was afterwards known in England as the "young pretender." While George II. and his ministers were fully occupied in endeavoring to bring the war in Germany to a successful issue, Charles Edward received every encouragement from Louis of France to take advantage of that opportunity, and try his strength in Britain. And now that the national discontent was gaining ground in consequence of the loss at Fontenoy, and other events not much less disastrous, he determined to attempt the restoration of his family; and accompanied only by a small party of his most devoted friends, he landed in the Hebrides. Here he was soon joined by the Highland chieftains, and speedily found himself at the head of several thousand hardy mountaineers, who were highly pleased with his affable manners, and with genuine enthusiasm expressed themselves ready to die in his service. Their first movement was towards Edinburgh, which city surrendered without resistance, but the castle still held out. The young pretender now took possession of Holyrood palace, where he proclaimed his father king of Great Britain, and himself regent, with all the idle pageantries of state. Meanwhile a proclamation was issued, offering a reward of 30,000*l.* for his apprehension.

Sir John Cope, the commander of the king's troops in Scotland, having collected some reinforcements in the north, proceeded from Aberdeen to Dunbar by sea, and hearing that the insurgents were resolved to hazard a

battle, he encamped at Preston Pans. Here he was unexpectedly attacked, and with such vigorous onslaught, by the fierce and undisciplined Highlanders, that a sudden panic seized the royal troops, and in their flight they abandoned all their baggage, cannon, and camp equipage, to their enemies. Elated with success, the rebels entered England, and proceeded as far as Derby, without encountering any opposition. Here, however, they learned that the duke of Cumberland had arrived from the continent, and was making preparations to oppose them with an overwhelming force; and it was therefore finally determined, that as they could neither raise recruits in England, nor force their way into Wales, they should hasten their return to Scotland.

The pretender had good reason to believe that important succours would be sent to him from France, or it is not likely he would have crossed the border. But the vigilance of Admiral Vernon prevented the French fleet from venturing out; and thus all hope of foreign assistance was cut off. The forces of the pretender were greatly augmented on his return to Scotland; but finding that Edinburgh was in possession of the king's troops, he bent his course towards Stirling, which town he captured, and besieged the castle. Matters had now assumed a very serious aspect, and public credit was most seriously affected; but there was no lack of energy in the government, nor any want of patriotism among the nobility, merchants or traders of England; all ranks, in fact, united with ready zeal in meeting the exigency of the occasion. Many new regiments were raised by wealthy and patriotic individuals; and it was found that by the voluntary exertions of the people 60,000 troops could be added to the king's forces.

A. D. 1746.—In January General Hawley had suffered a complete defeat in endeavoring to raise the siege of Stirling. But a day of terrible retribution was at hand. On the 16th of April the royal army, under the command of the duke of Cumberland, encountered the troops of the pretender on Culloden-moor. The Highlanders began the attack in their wild, furious way, rushing on the royal troops with their broadswords and Lochabar axes; but the English, being now prepared for this mode of attack, received them with fixed bayonets, keeping up a steady and well-sustained fire of musketry, while the destruction of their ranks was completed by discharges of artillery. In thirty minutes the battle was converted into a rout; and orders having been issued to give no quarter, vast numbers were slain in the pursuit. The loss of the rebels was estimated at about 4,000, while the number of killed in the royal army is said to have scarcely exceeded fifty men! Intoxicated, as it were, with their unexampled victory, the conquerors seemed only bent on merciless vengeance, and the whole country around became a scene of cruelty and desolation. As to the unfortunate prince Charles Edward, he escaped with difficulty from the battle, and after wandering alone in the mountains for several months, in various disguises, he found means to make his escape to France.

"One great cause of the pretender's preservation, was the belief that he had been slain, which arose from the following circumstance. Among his friends, who followed as much as possible in his track, a party was surprised in a hut on the side of the Benalder mountain, by the soldiers who were in search of him. Having seized them, one named Mackenzie effected his escape; upon which his companions told the soldiers that it was the prince; the soldiers thereupon fled in pursuit and overtook the youth, who, when he found their error, resolved to sacrifice his life, in the hope it might save his master's. He bravely contended with them, refused quarter, and died with his sword in his hand, exclaiming, as he fell "You have killed your prince." And this declaration was believed by many. "We cannot, however," says the biographer of the events of Culloden, "without pride, mention the astonishing fact, that though the

sum of thirty thousand pounds sterling was long publicly offered for his apprehension, and though he passed through very many hands, and both the reward and his person were perfectly well known to an intelligent and very inquisitive people, yet no man or woman was to be found capable of degrading themselves to earning so vast a reward by betraying a fugitive, whom misfortune had thrown upon their generosity." At length, on the 19th of September, the young pretender embarked with twenty-five gentlemen and one hundred and seven common men, in a French vessel, sent for that purpose to the coast; and after a passage of ten days he arrived at Roseau, near Morlaix, and immediately proceeded to Paris, where he was kindly received by Louis XV. But his hopes were forever fled. The courage and fortitude he displayed in Scotland seem to have forsaken him with a reverse of fortune, and during the remainder of his days no trace of ambition marked his actions.

The duke of Cumberland had now become the idol of the nation; and for his bravery at Culloden the parliament voted £25,000 per annum in addition to his former income. Several acts were passed for protecting the government of Scotland, and securing its loyalty; and many executions of the rebels took place in different parts of the kingdom. Bills of indictment for high treason were found against the earls of Kilmarnock and Cromartie, and Lord Balmerino, who were tried in Westminster-hall. All three pleaded guilty; Kilmarnock and Balmerino were executed on Tower-hill, but Cromartie's life was spared. Foremost among those who had engaged to venture their lives and fortunes in restoring the Stuart family to the throne of England was Lord Lovat, a man whose character was branded with many vices, and whose great age (for he was in his 90th year) had not deterred him from taking an active part in fomenting and encouraging the late rebellion. Being found guilty by his peers, he was remanded to the Tower, where, in a few months afterwards, he was beheaded. At this last scene of his life he behaved with great propriety: his behaviour was dignified and composed; he surveyed the assembled multitude with a cheerful countenance, and taking up the axe to examine it, he repeated from Horace,

"Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori!"

then laying his head on the block, it was severed from his body at a single stroke.

A. D. 1747.—We must now briefly allude to the state of affairs on the continent. Early in the spring the duke of Cumberland led his troops thither, to join our Austrian and Dutch allies. The French had a decided advantage in point of numbers, and Marshal Saxe, their commander, commenced the campaign with the invasion of Dutch Brabant. But, with the exception of the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom, by the French, the war was languidly carried on. This celebrated siege, however, lasted from the 16th of July to the 15th of September, and presented a continued scene of horror and destruction; but though the town was burned, the garrison had suffered little, while heaps of slain were formed of the besiegers. The governor, calculating from these circumstances on the impregnability of the fortress, was lulled into false security; while the French troops threw themselves into the fosse, mounted the breaches, and entered the garrison, and thus became masters of the navigation of the Scheldt. In Italy, the allies, though forced to raise the siege of Genoa, were generally successful.

At sea the English well maintained their superiority. In an engagement with the French off Cape Finisterre, the English were victorious; and several richly laden ships, both outward and homeward bound, fell into their hands. Admiral Hawke, also, defeated the French fleet, off Belleisle, and took six sail of the line.

In November a new parliament assembled, and the ministers derived much popularity on account of the suppression of the late rebellion, as well as for the naval successes. All parties, however, were tired of the war, and preparations were made for opening a congress at Aix-la-Chapelle preliminary to a general peace; but as the issue of it was uncertain, the usual grants and subsidies were readily voted without inquiry. Though so long since began, it was not till October in the following year that this treaty of peace was concluded. The chief parties to it were Britain, Holland, and Austria on one side, and France and Spain on the other. By it all the great treaties from that of Westphalia in 1648, to that of Vienna in 1738, were renewed and confirmed. France surrendered her conquests in Flanders, and the English in the East and West Indies. But the right of British subjects to navigate the American seas without being subject to search by the Spaniards, was suffered to pass unnoticed, although that was the original bone of contention and the basis of the attacks made on Walpole's ministry. The only advantage, indeed, that England gained, was the recognition of the Hanoverian succession, and the general abandonment of the pretender, whose cause was from thenceforth regarded as hopeless.

A. D. 1749.—The war being at an end, the disbanding of the army naturally followed, and, as must ever in some degree be the case at such a time, the idle and unemployed committed many depredations on the public. To remedy this, a colony was established in Nova-Scotia, where Lord Halifax went out as governor, and laid the foundation of a town, which, in compliment to its projector, the earl of Halifax, was named after him. It was soon found that the soil of Nova-Scotia was incapable of repaying the labourer for his toil, and many who had been transported there obtained leave to go to more southern latitudes. Those who remained excited the jealousy of the native Indians, who still resided on the borders of this barren spot; and the French, who were the first European settlers there, encouraged this jealous feeling. Meantime the animosity between the English and French grew stronger, till at length the latter claimed the whole territory between the Mississippi and New-Mexico on the east, and to the Apalachian mountains, on the west. From the fact of their having been the first to discover that river, they took from the English, who had settled beyond those mountains, their possessions, and erected forts to protect all the adjacent country.

A. D. 1751.—The first event of any importance this year was the death of Frederic, prince of Wales, which happened on the 10th of March, in the 45th year of his age. His death was caused by an abscess in his side, that formed from the blow of a cricket-ball which he received while playing at that game on the lawn of Cliefden-house, Bucks, a collection of matter having been produced that burst in his throat and suffocated him. The prince had long been on bad terms with his father, whose measures he uniformly opposed; and though the anti-ministerial party, and a considerable portion of the people spoke highly of his benevolence and munificence, and loudly applauded his conduct at the time, it is clear that much of his patriotism originated in a vain desire for popularity. He left five sons and three daughters; his eldest son, George, being only eleven years old: a regency was consequently appointed; but the king surviving till the prince attained his majority, there was never any occasion for it to act.

The most memorable act passed in the course of this session was that for regulating the commencement of the year, and correcting the calendar according to the Gregorian computation. The New Style, as it was termed, was introduced by Pope Gregory XIII. in the 16th century, and had long been adopted by most states on the continent. By this act, therefore, it was provided that the year should begin on the 1st day of

January, instead of, as heretofore, on the 25th day of March, and that eleven intermediate nominal days between the 2d and 14th of September, 1752, should be omitted; the Julian computation, supposing a solar revolution to be effected in the precise period of 365 days and six hours, having made no provision for the deficiency of eleven minutes, which, however, in the lapse of eighteen centuries amounted to a difference of eleven days. Bills were also passed for the better prevention of robberies, for the regulation of places of amusement, and for punishing the keepers of disorderly houses; the necessity of this arising from the spirit of extravagance which prevailed throughout the kingdom, as dissipation and amusement occupied every class of society.

Among the domestic events of this year no one created more sensation than the death of Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke; a nobleman who had for half a century occupied a high station in the country, whether we regard him in the character of a statesman, an orator, an author, or a polished courtier. He possessed great energy and decision of character, but he was deficient in that high principle and singleness of purpose that inspires confidence and leads to unquestioned excellence.

The new parliament was opened on the 10th of May, 1753; and the first business of the house was to take into consideration the state of Ireland, which, in proportion as it advanced in civilization, showed a disposition to shake off its dependence on England. The kingdom was in a state of tranquillity at the session which terminated the labours of the last parliament; but, previous to the new election, the death of Mr. Pelham caused several changes in the government offices; the late minister was succeeded in the treasury by his brother, the duke of Newcastle; and unanimity now prevailed in the cabinet.

A. D. 1755.—We have before alluded to the animosity which existed between the English and French relative to their North American possessions. Hostilities were now commenced by the colonial authorities, without the formality of a declaration of war. A French detachment under Dieskau was defeated with great loss by the British, commanded by Gen. Lyman and Col. Williams. The North American Indians were stimulated to attack the British colonists, and supplies of arms and ammunition were imported from France. The British ministers immediately prepared for hostilities; all the French forts within the limits of Nova-Scotia were reduced by Colonel Monckton; but an expedition against the French forts on the Ohio, commanded by General Braddock, met with a severe defeat; the general falling into an ambuscade of French and Indians, was slain, and the regular soldiers fled with disgraceful precipitation. The provincial militia, however, led by Colonel Washington, displayed good courage, nobly maintaining their ground, and covering the retreat of the main army. The loss of the English on this occasion was very severe; upwards of 700 men, with several officers, were slain; the artillery, stores, and provisions became the property of the victors, as well as the general's cabinet, containing his private instructions, &c., of which the enemy availed himself to great advantage. Two other expeditions, destined for the attack of Crown Point and Fort Niagara, also failed. But the reprisals at sea more than compensated for these misfortunes, as upwards of three hundred merchant ships and eight thousand seamen were captured that year by British cruisers.

A. D. 1756.—Notwithstanding hostilities had been carried on nearly a twelvemonth, war was not formally declared till May 18: the chief subject of complaint being the encroachments of the French on the Ohio and Nova-Scotia. This was followed by threats of invasion upon England or Ireland, in consequence of which a body of Hessian and Hanoverian troops was introduced to defend the interior of the kingdom; a measure which gave rise to considerable discontent, as most people

thought that the ordinary force of either country was sufficient to repel invasion. But whilst the government was providing for its internal security, the enemy was making serious attempts to wrest from us our possessions both in the East and West Indies. The reduction of Minorca was a favourite object of the French government; a formidable force was landed on the island, and close siege laid to Fort St. Philip, which commands the principal town and harbour. The governor, General Blakeney, made a long and able defence; but Admiral Byng, who had been entrusted with the charge of the English fleet in the Mediterranean, and was ordered to attempt the relief of the place, seems to have been destitute of any decisive plan; and, after avoiding an action with a French squadron, he returned to Gibraltar, abandoning Minorca to its fate, which, to the infinite chagrin of the nation, fell into the hands of the enemy.

The surrender of Minorca was an unexpected blow, and the rage of the people at its loss was directed against the unfortunate Byng, who being tried by a court-martial at Portsmouth, was condemned to death for not doing his utmost to engage the enemy, but recommended to the mercy of the crown, as it did not appear to the court that it was through cowardice or disaffection. Great exertions were made to save the admiral's life, but in vain; he was ordered to be shot on board the Monarque, and he met his fate with coolness and intrepidity.

In America a second series of expeditions against the French forts signally failed; while the marquis de Montcalm, the governor of Canada, captured Oswego, where the British had deposited the greater part of their artillery and military stores. But it is time that we call the reader's attention to the progress of affairs in our Eastern possessions.

A. D. 1757.—The jealousy which had been created among the petty independent princes of India, by the privileges which the emperor of Delhi had granted to the English settlers at Calcutta, had risen to an alarming height; but successful means had been used to allay their fury until the accession of the ferocious Suraja Dowla, souhbadar of Bengal, who was enraged at the shelter which the English afforded to some of his destined victims. He advanced towards Calcutta, when the governor and most of the local authorities, panic-stricken, made their escape in boats, leaving about a hundred and ninety men, under the control of Mr. Holwell, to make the best of their forlorn situation. The mere handful of Englishmen, composing the garrison, for a short time bravely defended themselves, but when they fell into the power of the infuriated Suraja, he ordered the unhappy prisoners, then amounting to one hundred and forty-six, to be thrust into the prison of Calcutta, called the Black-hole; a room less than twenty feet square. Here the heat and foulness of the air reduced them to the most pitiable state imaginable; and when on the following morning an order came for their release, only twenty-three were found alive. The news of this horrid catastrophe reached Madras just when Colonel Clive and Admiral Watson, flushed by their recent victory over the celebrated pirate Angria, had arrived at Madras to aid in the destruction of the French influence in Deccan. Calcutta was therefore the scene of their next operations; and no sooner did the fleet make its appearance before that city than it surrendered. The French fort of Chandernagore was reduced; several of the Suraja Dowla's own palaces were taken, conspiracies were formed against him, and the haughty chieftain felt that the sovereignty of Bengal must be decided by a battle. Contrary to the opinion of all his officers, Clive resolved to engage him, although the disparity of their forces was prodigious. He accordingly took up a position in the grove of Plassy; his troops in the whole not exceeding 3,200 men, of whom only nine hundred were Europeans; while Suraja Dowla had with him fifty thousand foot, eighteen thousand horse, and

fifty pieces of cannon. So great were the errors committed by the enemy, and so skilfully did the British commander use his means, that a complete victory was won, at the astonishingly small loss of seventy men in killed and wounded. This event laid the foundation of the British dominion in India; and in one campaign they became possessed of territory which, in its wealth and extent, exceeded any kingdom in Europe.

A. D. 1758.—While victory followed victory in the eastern world, a change in the English ministry led to similar successes in the west. It was at this period that the celebrated William Pitt (afterwards earl of Chatham) was brought into office, with Mr. Legge; but both of them being opposed to the expensive support of continental connexions, they would have been dismissed by the king, but for the popularity their principles had acquired. In North America the British arms had been tarnished by delays and disasters that might have been avoided; and it was therefore resolved to recall the earl of Loudon, and entrust the military operations to generals Abercrombie, Amherst, and Forbes, the first-named being the commander-in-chief. Amherst laid siege to Louisbourg, and aided by the talents of Brigadier Wolfe, who was fast rising into eminence, forced that important garrison to surrender. This was followed by the entire reduction of Cape Breton, and the inferior stations which the French occupied in the gulf of St. Lawrence. Brigadier-general Forbes was sent against Fort du Quesne, which the French at his approach abandoned. But the expedition against Ticonderoga, which Abercrombie himself undertook, failed of success; the number and valour of his troops being unequal to the capture of a place so strongly fortified.

An expedition was now planned against Quebec; and as the inhabitants of Canada had good reason to believe that their laws and religion would be respected, they were prepared to submit to a change of masters Thus when General Wolfe proceeded up the St. Lawrence, he encountered no very serious opposition from the Canadians, who seemed to regard the approaching struggle with indifference. While Wolfe advanced towards Quebec, General Amherst conquered Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and Sir W. Johnson gained the important fortress of Niagara. Amherst expected to be able to form a junction with Wolfe, but in this he was disappointed; and though the inadequacy of his force made him almost despair of success, the ardent young general resolved to persevere in this hazardous enterprize. Having effected a landing in the night, under the heights of Abraham, he led his men up this apparently inaccessible steep, thereby securing a position which commanded the town. The marquis de Montcalm was utterly astonished when he heard that so daring and desperate an effort had been achieved by the English troops. A battle was now inevitable, and both generals prepared for the contest with equal courage. It was brief, but fierce; the scale of victory was just beginning to turn in favour of the British, when a ball pierced the breast of Wolfe, and he fell mortally wounded. The unhappy tidings flew from rank to rank; every man seemed determined to avenge the loss of his general; and with such impetuosity did they charge, that the words "They run!" resounded in the ears of Wolfe as, expiring, he sank in a soldier's arms. "Who run?" he eagerly inquired; and on being told it was the French, he camly replied, "I die happy." The marquis de Montcalm fell in the same field, and met his fate with similar intrepidity. In skill and valour he was no way inferior to his more youthful rival. When told, after the battle, that his wounds were mortal, he exclaimed, "So much the better: I shall not live to witness the surrender of Quebec." In a few days after this battle, the city opened its gates to the British, and the complete subjugation of the Canadas speedily followed.

A. D. 1760.—In the East Indies the success of the English was scarcely less decisive than in America. By land and by sea several victories had been gained in that quarter: and at length Colonel Coote and the French general, Lally, fought a determined battle at Wandewash (Jan. 21), in which the French were signally defeated and their influence in the Carnatic destroyed.

The war on the continent, in which the English had taken a very active part, had now raged for four years, without gaining any other advantage than the gratification of defending the possessions of their sovereign in Germany. England, indeed, was now in a state of unparalleled glory. At sea, the conduct of her admirals had destroyed the naval power of the French; in the Indies her empire was extended, and the English rendered masters of the commerce of the vast peninsula of Hindostan; while in Canada a most important conquest had been achieved. These important acquisitions made the English very impatient of the German war; and they asserted that the French islands in the West Indies, more valuable to a commercial people than half the states of Germany, might have been gained with less expense and risk than had been spent in defending one paltry electorate. In the midst of these disputes, George II. died suddenly, on the 25th of October, in the 77th year of his age, and the 34th of his reign. The immediate cause of his disease was a rupture of the right ventricle of the heart. If we impartially regard the character of this king, we shall find both in his private and public conduct room for just panegyric. That during his whole reign he evinced a remarkable affection for his Hanoverian subjects is certainly true; yet his exposing that country to the attacks of the enemy, rather than neglect the rights of England in North America, clears him of the imputation of partiality. In his temper he was hasty and violent, yet his general conduct was so little influenced by this, that it was generally mild and humane. He was impartial in the administration of justice, sincere and open in his intentions, and temperate and regular in his manner of living Under his reign the agriculture, commerce, and industry of Great Britain daily increased; and his subjects, even when at war with the most powerful nations of Europe, enjoyed peace at home, and acquired glory abroad.

Great progress had been made in this reign in disseminating a taste for general literature and the arts; and though it was not the fashion for the magnates of the land to be very liberal of their patronage to such as devoted their minds to the advancement of science, still much was done towards pioneering the way for a future age, when a solution of many of the phenomena of nature might seem to demand more serious attention. Among the great historians were Hume, Gibbon, and Robertson. In philology and criticism were Warburton, Bentley, and Boyle. Mathematics and astronomy could boast of Halley, Bradley, and Maclaurin. Theology was distinguished by the eminent names of Potter, Hoadley, Sherlock, Doddridge, Watts, Chandler, and many others. Painting had its Reynolds, Ramsay, and Hogarth; music its Handel, Boyce, Greene, and Arne; and among the votaries of the muses were Pope, Akenside, Thompson, Young, Gray, Glover, and others scarcely less distinguished

CHAPTER LX.

THE REIGN OF GEORGE III.

A. D. 1760.—George II. was succeeded by his grandson, George III., eldest son of Frederic, prince of Wales, whose death has been mentioned as occurring in 1751. On his accession to the throne he was twenty-two years of age; affable, good-tempered, upright, and religious. His educa-

DEATH OF GENERAL WOLFE.

tion had been under the direction of Lord Bute, and he had a great advantage over his predecessors, in being acquainted with the language, habits, and institutions of his countrymen; his first entrance into public life consequently made a favourable impression on his subjects, and addresses, containing professions of the most loyal attachment, poured in from all parts of the kingdom.

On his majesty's accession, the nominal head of the administration was the duke of Newcastle; but Mr. Pitt, principal secretary of state, was the presiding genius of the cabinet. The chief remaining members were Lord Northington, afterwards lord chancellor; Lord Carteret, president of the council; the duke of Devonshire, lord chamberlain; Mr. Legge chancellor of the exchequer; Lord Anson, first lord of the admiralty, and Lord Holdernesse, secretary of state. On the 18th of November the king met his parliament, and in a popular speech, which he commenced with, "Born and educated in this country, I glory in the name of Briton," the flourishing state of the kingdom, the brilliant successes of the war, and the extinction of internal divisions were acknowledged; while the support of the "protestant interest," and a "safe and honourable peace," were declared to be the objects of the war. An act was then passed for granting to his majesty an annual income of 80,000*l.*

A. D. 1761.—One of the first important acts of the new monarch was a declaration of his intention to marry the princess Charlotte, daughter of the duke of Mecklenburgh-Strelitz: the necessary preparations were accordingly made; she arrived in London on the 7th of September, the nuptials took place that evening in the royal chapel, and on the 22d their majesties were crowned in Westminster-abbey.

Soon after the king's accession, negotiations for peace were commenced by the courts of France and Great Britain, but there was little honesty of intention on either side; Mr. Pitt being firmly resolved to humble the house of Bourbon, while the duke of Chouiseul, on the part of France, was relying on the promises of Spanish aid, to enable him to carry on hostilities with increased vigour. The war languished in Germany; but at sea the honour of the British flag was still nobly sustained. Peace appeared to be desirable for all parties, and negotiations were resumed; but neither power was willing to make concessions, and Mr. Pitt having discovered that an intimate connexion between the courts of Versailles and Madrid had been formed, proposed in council to anticipate the hostile intentions of the latter, by seizing the plate-fleet, laden with the treasures of Spanish America. To this the king and the rest of the ministers were adverse; the consequence of which was, that Mr. Pitt and his brother-in-law, Lord Temple, sent in their seals of office. His majesty, anxious to introduce his favourite, the earl of Bute into the cabinet, accepted the premier's resignation, and in return for his great services, a pension of 3,000*l.* per annum was settled upon him, which was to continue to his wife (on whom the title of baroness Chatham was conferred) and their eldest son, for their lives.

A. D. 1762.—A very few months after the late changes in the cabinet had occurred, it became fully evident that the "family compact" of the houses of Bourbon had been completed. On this occasion the new ministry showed no want of alacrity in maintaining their country's honour; and on the 4th of January war was declared against Spain. The first blow was struck by Admiral Rodney, who captured Martinico; which was followed by the surrender of the dependent isles, Grenada, St. Lucie, and St. Vincent. The next expedition undertaken by the English was equally successful; a fleet under Admiral Pococke, assisted by an army under the earl of Albemarle, was sent against Havanna, the capital of the island of Cuba, which surrendered after a vigorous resistance of two months. The riches acquired by the English on this occasion amounted to twelve

ships of the line, besides money and merchandise to the amount of four millions sterling.

While these successes attended the British arms in the West Indies, an armament from Madras, under General Draper and General Cornish, reduced the island of Manilla, and its fall involved the fate of the whole range of the Philippine islands. The capture of the Hermione, a large Spanish register-ship, took place soon after, and the cargo, which was estimated at a million sterling, passed in triumph to the bank at the same hour in which the birth of the prince of Wales was announced to the public (April 12, 1762).

An attempt made by Spain to subdue Portugal having proved unsuccessful, and both France and Spain being heartily tired of a war which threatened ruin to the colonies of both, they became desirous of peace; this being agreeable to the British ministry, of whom the earl of Bute was then at the head, preliminaries were speedily set on foot. Indeed, so anxious was his lordship to avoid a continuance of hostilities, that he not only stopped the career of colonial conquest, but consented to sacrifice several acquisitions that Britain had already made. The definitive treaty was concluded at Paris on the 11th of February, 1763. Florida was received in exchange for Havanna; Cape Breton, Tobago, Dominico, St. Vincent, Grenada, and Senegal were retained; the conquest of Canada remained intact, and the British nation had also gained large possessions and a decided superiority in India.

A. D. 1763.—In Germany the marquis of Granby signalized himself at the head of an army; and, in union with the king of Prussia, would in all probability have succeeded in expelling the French troops, had not a general treaty of peace put an end to the contest. Britain by the colonial war obtained complete maritime supremacy; she commanded the entire commerce of North America and Hindostan, and had a decided superiority in the West Indian trade. But during the "seven years' war" a question arose which led to very important discussions; France, unable to maintain a commercial intercourse with her colonies, opened the trade to neutral powers; England declared this traffic illegal, and relying on her naval superiority, seized neutral vessels and neutral property bound to hostile ports. The return of peace put an end to the dispute for a season, but the subject has since been the fruitful source of angry discussion in every subsequent war.

The earl of Bute, under whose auspices the late peace had been made, had always been beheld with jealousy by the popular party, who accused him of having formed that "influence behind the throne greater than the throne itself,"—though it really seems to have been a mere delusion, fostered and encouraged for factious purposes—now suddenly resigned his office of first lord of the treasury, and was succeeded by Mr. George Grenville.

The public attention was now almost wholly bent on the result of the trial of John Wilkes, member for Aylesbury, a man of good talents and classical taste, but who bore a very profligate character. Disappointed in his expectations from the ministry, he assumed the part of a violent patriot, and inveighed vehemently against the measures pursued by government. The press teemed with political pamphlets, to which the ministerial party seemed indifferent, until the appearance of No. 49 of the *North Briton*, in which very strong and scurrilous abuse was published against the king's speech delivered at the close of parliament. A general warrant was thereupon issued for apprehending the author, printer, and publisher of it; and Mr. Wilkes being taken into custody, he was sent to the Tower, and all his papers were seized. He was afterwards tried in the court of common pleas, and acquitted. Lord Chief-Justice Pratt declaring against

the legality of general warrants; that is, warrants not specifying the names of the accused.

But Wilkes, after his release, having republished the offensive paper, an information was filed against him at his majesty's suit, for a gross libel, and the *North Briton* was burned by the common hangman: nor did the matter end here; the legality of general warrants gave rise to several stormy debates in the house of commons, and at length Mr. Wilkes was expelled for having printed in his own house an infamous poem, called "An Essay on Woman," with notes, to which the name of Bishop Warburton was affixed. As he did not appear to the indictment preferred against him, he was declared an outlaw. He then retired to France; and we may here as well observe, though in doing so we overstep our chronological boundary, that in 1768 he returned to England, and, by submitting to the fine and imprisonment pronounced against him, procured a reversion of the sentence of outlawry. He then offered himself to represent the county of Middlesex, and was unanimously chosen, in opposition to the ministerial candidates. He afterwards commenced a prosecution against the earl of Halifax, and recovered 4,000*l.* damages for his imprisonment in the Tower upon an illegal warrant.

A. D. 1765.—This year is rendered important in the annals of England by the passing of an American stamp-act, which gave rise to those disputes which alienated the colonies from the mother-country, and ended in a total separation. As the late war had been entered into by Great Britain, in order to protect her American settlements from the encroachments of the French, it was thought reasonable that they should contribute towards the expenses which had been incurred. A bill was accordingly brought into parliament, and received the royal assent, for imposing a stamp and other duties on fifty-three articles of their commerce. However, eventually, the resistance made by the Americans to these imposts, and the general discontent which prevailed in England, occasioned the repeal of the act. A change in the ministry, by the introduction of the marquis of Rockingham, was the immediate consequence; but his rule was of very limited duration, and the duke of Grafton was appointed first lord of the treasury. The privy seal was bestowed on Mr. Pitt, who was created earl of Chatham; Lord Camden succeeded Lord Northington as lord chancellor, and Mr. Townshend was made chancellor of the exchequer.

The affairs of the East India Company now claimed the attention of the house. Mr. Vansittart had acted as governor-general from the time of Colonel Clive's return to England in 1760. But the viceroy of Bengal had opposed the company, and a war ensued which ended by the English making an entire conquest of the kingdom of Bengal. The preceding year the company sent over Lord Clive, who found that their agents had been in the habit of exacting large sums as presents from the native princes, by which means they had accumulated great riches, and the name of an Englishman had become odious. Lord Clive resolved to restrain the rapacity of these persons, and he concluded a treaty for the company, by which they would enjoy a revenue of 1,700,000*l.*

The wealth of this powerful body rendered it too formidable in the eyes of government, and a question arose whether the East India Company had any right to territorial jurisdiction. On examining into their charter, it appeared that they were prohibited from making conquests; and it being proved that they had subdued some of the native princes, and annexed their dominions to the company's settlements, it was agreed that this commercial association should be brought in some degree under the control of parliament.

The metropolis was for a long time agitated with the affair of Wilkes, of which a set of restless demagogues took advantage to disturb the public mind, already over-excited by the opposition to the measures of govern-

ment as regarded the North American colonies. But no national event worthy of historical record occurred for some considerable time.

One or two matters of domestic interest which happened during this period must, however, be noticed. The first relates to an address from the corporation of London to the king, which was presented on the 23d of May, 1770, in which they lamented the royal displeasure they had incurred in consequence of their former remonstrance; but they still adhered to it, and again prayed for a dissolution of parliament. To which his majesty replied that "he should have been wanting to the public, as well as to himself, had he made such an use of the prerogative as was inconsistent with the interest, and dangerous to the constitution of the kingdom." Upon this, the lord-mayor Beckford, a high-spirited and fearless democrat, begged leave to *answer the king*. Such a request was as indecorous as it was unusual; but in the confusion of the moment, leave was given, and, with great fluency of language, he delivered an extem pore address to his majesty, concluding in the following words:—"Per mit me, sire, to observe that whoever has already dared, or shall hereafter endeavour, by false insinuations and suggestions, to alienate your majesty's affections from your loyal subjects in general, and from the city of London in particular, and to withdraw your confidence from, and regard for, your people, is an enemy to your majesty's person and family, a violator of the public peace, and the betrayer of our happy constitution as it was established at the glorious and necessary revolution." No reply was given, but the king reddened with anger and astonishment When his civic lordship again appeared at St. James' the lord-chamberlain informed him that his majesty desired that nothing of the kind might happen in future.

An ex-officio persecution against Woodfall, the printer and publisher of the "Public Advertiser," in which the "Letters of Junius" originally ap peared, having placed him at the bar, Lord Mansfield informed the jury that they had nothing to do with the *intention* of the writer, their province was limited to the *fact* of publishing; the *truth* or *falsehood* of the alledged libel was wholly immaterial. The jury, however, after being out nine hours, found a verdict of guilty of *printing and publishing only*, which in effect amounted to an acquittal. These celebrated "Letters" were equally distinguished by the force and elegance of their style, as by the virulence of their attacks on individuals; and though conjecture has ever since been busy to discover the author, and strong circumstantial evidence has been brought forward at different times to identify *different* persons with the authorship, no one has yet succeeded in the attempt.

Before this time (1771) the parliamentary debates had only been given in monthly magazines and other periodicals published at considerable intervals. The practice of daily reporting now commenced; but as it was an innovation on the former practice, and in direct violation of the standing orders of the house, several printers were apprehended and taken before Lord-mayor Crosby and Aldermen Oliver and Wilkes, who discharged them, and held the messenger of the commons to bail for false imprisonment. The house of commons, enraged at this daring con empt of their authority, committed their two members, Crosby and Oliver, to the Tower; but eventually the matter was suffered to drop; the aldermen were liberated; and from that time the publication of the parliamentary proceedings has been *connived at!*

On the death of Mr. Townshend, who did not long survive his appointment to the office of chancellor of the exchequer, he was succeeded by Lord North—Lord Chatham having now lost his influence over the ministry, and being dissatisfied with their proceedings, resigned his place as lord-keeper of the privy seal, and retired from the cares of government.

In the late arrangements made between government and the East India

Company, permission was given to the latter to export teas free of duty. Lord North hoped that the low price of the article would induce the Americans to pay the duty charged on importation by the English legislature, if only for the mere purpose of allowing the *right* of taxation. Custom-houses had been established in their seaports, for the purpose of collecting these duties; which being considered by the Americans as an infringement of their liberty, they resolved to discontinue the use of British commodities. Accordingly, when three vessels, laden with tea, arrived at Boston, they were boarded during the night by a party of the townsmen, and the cargoes thrown into the sea. This, followed by other acts of defiance, and a repetition of similar rebellious conduct on the part of the inhabitants of South Carolina, gave great offence, while it occasioned considerable alarm in England, and acts were passed for closing the port of Boston, and for altering the constitution of the colony of Massachusetts.

When the order to close the port of Boston reached America, a copy of the act, surrounded with a black border, was circulated through all the provinces, and they resolved to spend the 1st of June, the day appointed to put the act into execution, in fasting and prayer. Whilst each province was framing resolutions, the other bills reached Massachusetts. These raised their irritated feelings to the highest pitch, and they formed an association, in which they bound themselves, by a solemn league and covenant, to break off all commercial intercourse with Great Britain, until the Boston port-bill and other acts should be repealed, and the colony restored to its ancient rights. In this situation of affairs the British parliament assembled, when a conciliatory plan for accommodating the troubles of America was proposed in the house of lords by the earl of Chatham, and rejected. The petition and remonstrance of The Congress were also rejected, and an application made by their agents to be heard at the bar of the house of commons was refused.

A. D. 1775.—An open rupture between the parent state and its colonies was evidently approaching with rapid strides. Determined to support their cause with the utmost vigour, the Americans at once proceeded to train their militia, erect powder-mills in Philadelphia and Virginia, and prepare arms in every province. They also assumed the appellation of "The United Colonies of America," established an extensive paper currency, and were very active in raising a regular army. On the other hand, the authority of the British government was promptly supported by General Gage, who had lately been appointed governor of Massachusetts' Bay. This officer having received intelligence that some military stores belonging to the provincials were deposited at a place called Concord, he sent thither a detachment of soldiers to destroy them; but on their return to Boston, these troops were pursued by a body of provincials, who would have succeeded in cutting them off, had not the general sent out a large force to cover their retreat. The loss of the English on this occasion amounted to 273 men; of the Americans only 50 were killed and 38 wounded. War had therefore now actually commenced; and the provincials, elated with their success, pursued their hostile intentions with increased vigour. Having a short time after surprised the fortresses of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and by that means possessed themselves of upwards of 100 pieces of cannon, besides a large quantity of military stores of every description, they assembled an army of 20,000 men, which they entrusted to George Washington, and resolved to lay siege to Boston. In the meantime the English cabinet having received intelligence of these resolute proceedings, sent a reinforcement to their army, with the generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton. The Americans, not at all intimidated by these measures, persisted in blockading Boston: and in the night of the tenth of June they took possession of and fortified an eminence called Bunker's hill, from which they could open a formidable can-

nonade on the town. To this point General Gage sent two thousand men, in order to dislodge them; in which attempt they at last succeeded, but not without a loss so heavy, that the English general resolved to confine himself for the future to defensive operations.

Hitherto, notwithstanding their uninterrupted success, the American colonists had disclaimed all idea of assuming independence; but, on the contrary, as was averred in a petition from the congress, presented to the king by Mr. Penn, a descendant of the founder of Pennsylvania, they were extremely desirous of effecting a compromise. He at the same time assured the government, that if the present application was rejected, they would enter into alliance with foreign powers; and that such alliances, if once formed, would be with great difficulty dissolved. The petition was, however, rejected; an act was passed, prohibiting all trade with the colonies, and another, by which all American vessels were declared enemies' ships.

The Americans, finding that their endeavours to conciliate the ministry were ineffectual, gave orders to their generals to endeavour to subjugate such of the colonies as remained faithful to Great Britain. Two parties were sent into Canada, under General Montgomery and Colonel Arnold, who, after having surmounted innumerable difficulties, laid siege to Quebec; but in this attempt they were overpowered; Montgomery was killed, Arnold was wounded, and their men were compelled to make a precipitate retreat. While the Americans were thus unsuccessful in Canada, the British governors in Virginia and North and South Carolina had used their best endeavours to keep those provinces in alliance, but without effect; they therefore found themselves obliged to return to England. General Gage was recalled, and the command of the troops at Boston devolved on General Howe, who was soon after obliged to evacuate the place, and repair to Halifax, in Nova-Scotia. The royal forces had no sooner relinquished the town than General Washington took possession of it, and, with the assistance of some foreign engineers, fortified it in such a manner as to render it almost impregnable. It now wanted little to effect a total alienation of the colonies from Great Britain; and the fact of having subsidized a large body of German mercenaries for the purpose of assisting in the subjugation of the revolted provinces, served as a fair excuse for the congress to publish *the declaration of independence of the thirteen United States*, which took place on the 4th of July, 1776.

This bold measure was determined on at a time when the congress had no very flattering prospect before their eyes, and little to encourage them save the indomitable spirit of resistance that everywhere manifested itself to British supremacy. Its army was a raw militia, and it was unprovided to any extent with ships or money; while the English forces, greatly augmented, were preparing to besiege New-York. General Howe had been joined by his brother, Lord Howe, and on the 26th of August the campaign opened by the English taking possession of Long Island, preparatory to an attack on New-York, which was captured on the 21st of September, Washington evacuating that city with the utmost precipitation. The city was soon after set on fire by some incendiaries, who had concealed themselves, and nearly a third part of it was destroyed. After an undeviating course of victory, General Howe led his troops into winter-quarters; but in the disposition of them he departed from his usual prudence, and allowed them to be too much scattered, which occasioned the Hessian troops, who, from their depredations and cruelties, had roused the resentful feelings of the inhabitants of New-Jersey, to be surprised in their cantonments, where nearly 1000 were taken prisoners, and many slain.

A. D. 1777.—Gratified with the intelligence they received of Howe's successes, the English ministry determined to follow them up by sending

an army under General Burgoyne, from Canada through the northern states, to co-operate with Howe in the South. For a time everything seemed to promise a favourable issue to this project: Sir William Howe defeated Washington at the battle of Brandywine, and took Philadelphia; while Burgoyne, having reduced Ticonderoga, was pursuing his march southward. But innumerable difficulties lay in his way, and when he reached Saratoga, he was surrounded by the American forces under generals Gates and Arnold, and he and his whole army, amounting to 5752 men, were compelled to surrender prisoners of war. Thus ended a campaign which at the outset seemed so promising; but, disastrous as it had turned out, neither the confidence of ministers nor of the British people appeared to be at all abated.

A. D. 1778.—Whilst England was engaged in this unfortunate contest with her colonies, a cessation seemed to have taken place in the contentions and animosities of other nations, and their whole attention was apparently engrossed by speculating on the novel scene before them. The great disturbers of mankind appear to have laid aside their rapacity and ambition, whilst they contemplated the new events which were transpiring, and predicted the conclusion of so strange a warfare. The enemies of England, who had long beheld, with apprehension, the increase of her commerce, and many of England's old allies who envied her the possession of such valuable colonies, were astonished at the revolution which threatened her, and looked forward with pleasure to the time when her power and glory should be wrested from her grasp. The Americans were received, protected, and openly caressed by France and Spain, who, beginning to feel the influence of that commerce from which they had been so long excluded, treated the colonies with respect, and rejected the feeble remonstrances of England's ambassadors. Happy had it been for France, and happy for the world, if, content with reaping the benefits of American commerce, they had remained spectators of the contest, and simply profited by the dissensions of their neighbours. For it is beyond all doubt that the seed of republicanism which was sown in America sprung up and was nurtured in France, nor could its rank growth be checked till every acre of that fair land had been steeped in blood.

Crippled and pent up in situations from which they could not stir without danger, the royal troops exhibited a most forlorn appearance, while every day was adding to the strength and resources of the insurgents. They had established for themselves an efficient government; they had agents at the principal European courts; they raised and maintained armies; and they had, in fact, been recognised as an independent nation by two of the principal powers in Europe. The treaty between France and America was completed, and the discussions which arose on the notification of this circumstance to the British parliament, were stormy and violent. Though both parties were unanimous in their opinion that a war with France was unavoidable, yet the opposition, who had from the beginning reprobated the American war, insisted that the acknowledgment of the independence of the colonies was the only effectual method of terminating the contest. The ministerial party, on the other hand, represented the disgrace of bending beneath the power of France, and the dishonour of leaving the American loyalists exposed to the rancour of their countrymen.

An invasion of England being at this time threatened by the French, an address was moved for recalling the fleets and armies from America, and stationing them in a place where they might more effectually contribute to the defence of the kingdom. This measure was vigorously opposed by the administration, and by some members of the opposition. Lord Chatham, whose infirmities had lately prevented him from attending in his place in parliament, evinced his decided disapprobation of it: he had

entered the house in a rich suit of black velvet, a full wig, and wrapped in flannel to the knees, and was supported to his seat by his son and son-in-law, Mr. William Pitt and Viscount Mahon. It is said that he looked weak and emaciated; and, resting his hands on his crutches, he at first spoke with difficulty, but as he grew warm his voice rose, and became, as usual, oratorical and affecting. "My lords," said he, "I rejoice that the grave has not closed upon me, that I am still alive to lift up my voice against the dismemberment of this ancient and most noble monarchy." He was replied to with great respect by the duke of Richmond, when on attempting to rise again he fell back before uttering a word, in a convulsive fit, from which he never recovered, and died a few days after, in the 70th year of his age, May 11, 1778. His merits were transcendant, and his death was lamented as a national loss. Apart from the aberrations originating in an ardent love of power, his course was splendid and magnanimous; and it was truly said of him by Lord Chesterfield, that his private life was stained by no vices, nor sullied by any meanness. Contemporary praise and posthumous honours were showered down upon the man of whom the nation was justly proud. His remains were interred with great solemnity in Westminster abbey, and the city of London erected a flattering tribute to his memory in Guildhall.

A French squadron was sent from Toulon to the assistance of America, under the command of Count d'Estaing, who reduced the island of Grenada, while a body of his forces made themselves masters of St. Vincent. In other parts of the West Indian seas the British arms were ably supported by the bravery and vigilance of the admirals Hyde Parker and Rowley. On the 27th of July an indecisive action was fought off Brest, between the French fleet, under M. d'Orvilliers, and a British squadron, under Admiral Keppel. Sir Hugh Palliser, the second in command, accused the admiral of not having done his duty; he was accordingly tried by a court-martial, and honourably acquitted; in fact, it appeared that he had been so badly supported by Palliser, that he was unable to make any use of the slight advantage he obtained.

Sir Charles Hardy, a brave and experienced officer, whose services had been rewarded with the governorship of Greenwich Hospital, was appointed to succeed Keppel in the command of the channel fleet. In the meantime, the Spanish court was prevailed on by the French to take up arms in defence of America, and to accede to the general confederacy against Great Britain. As the danger to which the nation was now exposed was become truly alarming, it was thought advisable to raise volunteer companies in addition to the militia, and in this the spirit and magnanimity of the people reflected great credit on the national character. Strengthened by the alliance of Spain, the French began to extend their ideas of conquest, and thinking that a blow near at hand was more likely than operations carried on at a distance to alarm the fears of the English, they made attempts on the islands of Guernsey and Jersey, but in each they were completely frustrated.

But the old enemies of Britain had grown arrogant during the unnatural contest that was waged with the unruly scions of her own stock, and preparations were now made for Britain itself. A junction was effected between the French and Spanish fleets, which made their appearance in the channel, to the number of sixty sail of the line besides frigates. This formidable armament was opposed by a force much inferior, under Admiral Hardy, who leisurely retired up the channel, enticing them to follow him, but, with all their immense superiority, they chose rather to decline an encounter; it is true they for some time continued to menace and insult the British coasts with impunity, but without accomplishing anything further than the capture of the Ardent man-of-war, which by accident had fallen in with the combined fleets.

In calling the reader's attention to the state of the continent at this period, we have to notice that the peace which followed the memorable "seven years' war" was temporarily menaced by the efforts of the emperor Joseph to obtain possession of Bavaria; but the prompt interference of the king of Prussia, who brought into the field an immense army, together with the remonstrances of Russia, and the unwillingness of France to second the ambitious designs of Austria, induced the emperor to abandon his aggressive intentions.

A. D. 1780.—The first business of importance that came before the parliament this year was the state of Ireland, which brought from Lord North a plan of amelioration that met with the approbation of the house, and, as it opened her ports for the import and export of her manufactures, the change was hailed as a happy omen for the sister kingdom. The next subject for legislative discussion was the wasteful and extravagant expenditure in the different official departments of the state; and the eloquence and financial knowledge of Mr. Burke, were amply displayed in a plan for general reform, which was seconded by petitions from various parts of the kingdom, praying for a change of men as well as measures. But at this crisis the attention of all parties was attracted by a sudden alarm. Sir George Saville had in the preceding session proposed a bill to repeal the act of William III., which imposed certain penalties and disabilities on the Roman catholics, and which passed both houses without opposition. The loyal conduct of this body of his majesty's subjects, and their readiness to risk their lives and fortunes in defence of their king and country, were generally acknowledged; but in consequence of the population of Scotland expressing a dread of granting toleration to papists, the bill did not extend to that kingdom. This encouraged a set of fanatics in England to form themselves into an association, whose professed object was to protect the protestant religion, by revising the intolerant statutes which before existed against the Roman catholics. The great majority of the members of this "protestant association" were at the time correctly described as "outrageously zealous and grossly ignorant"—persons who, had they been unassisted by any one of rank or influence, would have sunk into oblivion from their own insignificance; but Lord George Gordon, a young nobleman of a wild and fervid imagination, or, more correctly, perhaps, one who on religious topics was a *monomaniac*, finding this "association" would be likely to afford him an excellent opportunity of standing forth as the champion of the protestant faith, and thereby gaining a good share of mob-notoriety, joined the club, and thus raised it into temporary importance. He became their chairman, and, free from even the apprehension of any fatal results, he proposed in a meeting of the society at Coachmaker's-hall, on the 29th of May, that they should assemble in St. George's Fields at 10 o'clock on the 2d of June, when they should accompany him with a petition to the house of commons, praying a repeal of the late act of toleration granted to the Roman catholics.

On the following Friday, the day appointed for this display of "moral force," the members of the house were much surprised—although there was every reason, after this public notice, to expect nothing less—to perceive the approach of fifty thousand persons distinguished by blue cockades in their hats, with the inscription, "No Popery." Lord George presented the petition to the house, and moved that it be taken into immediate consideration; but his motion was rejected by 102 votes to 6. During the discussion his lordship frequently addressed the mob outside, and told them the people of Scotland had no redress till they pulled down the catholic chapels. Acting upon this suggestion, the populace proceeded to demolish and burn the chapels of the foreign ambassadors. On the following Monday the number of the mob was greatly increased by the idle

and the profligate, who are ever ready for riot and plunder. Their violence was now no longer confined to the catholics, but was exerted wherever they could do most mischief. They proceeded to Newgate, and demanded the immediate release of such of their associates as had been confined there. On receiving a refusal they began to throw firebrands and combustibles into the keeper's dwelling-house. The whole building was soon enveloped in flames, and in the interval of confusion and dismay all the prisoners, amounting to upwards of three hundred, made their escape and joined the rioters. The New-Prison, Clerkenwell, the King's Bench, the Fleet prison, and New-Bridewell, were also set on fire; and many private houses shared the same fate; in short, on that night London was beheld blazing in no less than thirty-six different places at once. At length they attempted the Bank, but the soldiers there inflicted a severe chastisement on them. The military came in from the country, and, in obedience to an order of the king in council, directions were given to the officers to fire upon the rioters without waiting the sanction of the civil power. Not only had the most fearful apprehensions been excited, and great injury done, but the character of the nation in the eyes of foreign powers could not fail to suffer almost indelible disgrace from such brutal and tumultuous scenes. It was not until a week had elapsed that tranquillity was restored, when it was found that 458 persons had been killed or wounded, exclusive of those who perished from intoxication. Under a warrant of the secretaries of state, Lord George Gordon was committed to the Tower on a charge of high treason; but when brought to trial the charge could not be sustained, and this most mischievous person was acquitted. However, though he escaped punishment for these proceedings, he was afterwards imprisoned for a libel on the queen of France, and ended his days in Newgate. Out of the rioters who were tried and found guilty, twenty-five of the most violent were hanged.

We gladly turn from these scenes of civil tumult to a more agreeable part of an historian's duty. The commencement of the year was attended with some considerable naval advantages to Great Britain. The fleet under the command of Sir Hyde Parker engaged a French squadron in the West Indies, and captured nine merchantmen. The success which attended Admiral Rodney was more important. On the 16th of January he attacked, off Cape St. Vincent, a Spanish fleet, consisting of eleven ships of the line, captured four of them, drove two more on shore, and burned another; thence proceeding to America, he thrice encountered the French fleet, under the count de Guichen and though he obtained no decisive success, he prevented Washington from receiving naval aid in his meditated attack on New-York. A very severe loss was soon after sustained by the English: on the 8th of August the Spanish fleet fell in with the trade-fleet bound for the East and West Indies, the whole of which, consisting of fifty-four merchantmen, was captured; their convoy, the Ramillies of 74 guns, and two frigates, alone escaping.

The operations of the war, taken altogether, notwithstanding the powerful alliance against Great Britain, had hitherto been supported with vigour and magnanimity. Yet while England was frustrating every attempt of her open and declared enemies, a confederacy was formed throughout Europe, which, as it acted indirectly, could not well be resisted. This confederacy, termed the "armed neutrality," was planned by the empress of Russia, who issued a manifesto, asserting the right of neutral vessels to trade freely to and from all ports belonging to belligerent powers, except such as were actually in a state of blockade; and that all effects belonging to the subjects of the belligerent powers should be looked upon as free on board such ships, excepting only such goods as were contraband; in other words, that "free vessels were to make free merchandise." Russia, Denmark, and Sweden were the first to bind themselves to the

conditions of this league; Holland quickly followed the example; the courts of Vienna, Berlin, Naples, and, lastly, Portugal, the oldest ally of England, joined the association. From the commencement of the American war the Dutch had shown great partiality to the revolters, and as proof was at length obtained of their having concluded a treaty with the congress, the English government determined on taking vengeance for their perfidy, and war was instantly declared against them.

A. D. 1781.—At the commencement of this year the war in America was renewed with various success. The progress of the British forces under Lord Cornwallis, in Virginia and the Carolinas, had raised great expectations of triumph in England, and had proportionably depressed the Americans: but the British general had to contend against the united forces of France and her trans-atlantic ally, and though he obtained some fresh laurels, his successes were rendered ineffectual by his subsequent reverses. At length, after making a most vigorous resistance against overwhelming numbers, while defending Yorktown, where he had fortified himself, he was compelled to capitulate, when the whole of his army became prisoners of war to Washington, and the British vessels in the harbour surrendered to the French Admiral de Grasse. As no rational expectation of subjugating America now remained, the military operations in that quarter of the globe were regarded as of comparatively little consequence.

Immediately after the declaration of war against Holland, Admiral Rodney, in conjunction with General Vaughan, attacked the important settlement of Eustatia, which surrendered to them without resistance. The immense property found there surpassed the most sanguine expectations of the captors; but it unfortunately happened, that as the riches acquired on this occasion were on their transit to England, the ships conveying it were intercepted by the French, and twenty-one of them were taken. On the 6th of the following August Admiral Hyde Parker fell in with a Dutch squadron off the Doggers' Bank, and a most desperate engagement took place; the contest was fiercely maintained for two hours, when the Dutch bore away for the Texel with their convoy, and the English were too much disabled to pursue them.

A. D. 1782.—Though the enemies of Great Britain had at this time gained decided advantages by land, and in numerical force possessed a manifest superiority by sea, yet such was the courage, perseverance, and power with which she contended against them single-handed, that notwithstanding the recent disasters in America, and the enormous expenditure necessary to carry on so fierce and extensive a warfare, the splendour of the nation suffered no diminution, and exploits of individual heroism and brilliant victories continued to gladden the hearts of all who cherished a love of their country's glory. At the same time popular clamour and discontent rose to a high pitch on account of the depressed state of trade which the armed neutrality had caused, while invectives against the government for the mal-administration of affairs, as regarded the American war, were loud and deep. The whig opposition, making an adroit use of these disasters against Lord North and his tory friends, induced them to resign, and about the end of March they were succeeded by the marquis of Rockingham, as first lord of the treasury, the earl of Shelburne and Mr. Fox, principal secretaries of state, and Lord Thurlow, lord chancellor; besides Lord Camden, the dukes of Richmond and Grafton, Mr. Burke, Admiral Keppel, General Conway, &c., to fill the other most important posts. The present ministry, however, had not continued in office above three months before a material change was occasioned by the death of the marquis of Rockingham. The earl of Shelburne being appointed to succeed that nobleman, his colleagues took offence, and Lord Cavendish, Mr. Fox, Mr. Burke, and several others resigned. Mr. Townshend was

then made secretary of state, and Mr. Pitt, second son of Lord Chatham, succeeded Lord Cavendish in the office of chancellor of the exchequer.

Negotiations for peace were now commenced by the new ministry, but without at all relaxing in their efforts to support the war. The islands of Minorca, St. Nevis, and St. Christopher's were taken by the French; and a descent on Jamaica was meditated with a fleet of thirty-four ships, they were, however, fortunately met by Admiral Rodney off Dominica, and a most desperate engagement ensued, of nearly twelve hours' continuance, which terminated in the total defeat of the French; their admiral, Count de Grasse, being taken prisoner, with the Ville de Paris, besides six other ships of the line and two frigates. In this action the bold nautical manœuvre of breaking the line and attacking the enemy on both sides at once, was first tried and successfully executed. This glorious action was fought on the 12th of April; and about the same period, the fleet under Admiral Barrington captured, off Ushant, two large French men-of-war, with ten sail of vessels under their convoy.

During this period the arms of Spain had been more than usually successful. In America they conquered the English fortresses on the Mississippi, as well as Pensacola and all Florida. But all their efforts, in combination with their French allies, against Gibraltar, proved fruitless; its brave governor, General Elliott, returning their tremendous cannonade with a well-directed and impetuous discharge of red-hot balls from the fortress, thereby utterly destroying the floating batteries which the besiegers had vainly boasted were irresistible. Ever and anon during the last five years this memorable siege had been carried on; but on the day after this memorable bombardment and defence (Sept. 13), not a vestige of all their formidable preparations remained.

In the East, Hyder Ally had succeeded in gaining the capital of Arcot, and his success gave him strong hope that he should drive the British from that part of the globe; but Sir Eyre Coote was victorious in more than one decisive engagement with Hyder, whose death soon after gave the government to his son Tippoo Saib; and as he appeared somewhat disposed to be on good terms with England, affairs there wore a better aspect. Still the war in the East had a humiliating termination.

Some serious casual disasters occurred during the course of the year. Four large ships foundered at sea on their return from the West Indies; and the Royal George, of 100 guns, a fine ship which had been in port to refit, was, while careening at Spithead, overset by a gust of wind, and about 700 persons, with Admiral Kempenfelt, were drowned.

A. D. 1783.—The famous "coalition ministry," of incongruous celebrity, was now formed; the duke of Portland being first lord of the treasury; Lord North and Mr. Fox, *joint* secretaries of state; Lord John Cavendish, chancellor of the exchequer; Viscount Keppel, first lord of the admiralty; Viscount Stormont, president of the council; and the earl of Carlisle, lord privy-seal. These seven constituted the new cabinet, the whigs having a majority of one over the three tories, North, Carlisle, and Stormont. It was an ill-assorted and insincere compact, an abandonment of principle for power, which soon lost them the confidence and support of the nation.

Negotiations for a general peace commenced at Paris, under the auspices of Austria and Russia; and the basis of it being arranged, it was speedily ratified. Great Britain restored the island of St. Lucia to France; also the settlements on the Senegal, and the city of Pondicherry, in the East Indies; while France gave up all her West India conquests, with the exception of Tobago. Spain retained Minorca and West Florida, East Florida being also ceded in exchange for the Bahamas. And between England and Holland a suspension of hostilities was agreed to in the first place; but in the sequel it was stipulated that there should be a general restitution of all places taken during the war, excepting the town of

Negapatam, with its dependencies, which should be ceded to Great Britain.

In the treaty with America, the king of Great Britain acknowledged the thirteen United States to be "free, sovereign, and independent," relinquishing for himself, his heirs, and successors, all right and claim to the same. To prevent disputes in future on the subject of boundaries between these states and the adjoining provinces, lines were minutely drawn; the right of navigation on the Mississippi was declared free; and no confiscations or persecutions of the loyalists were to take place.

Such was the termination of the contest between Great Britain and the American colonies; a contest in which the former lost upwards of one hundred millions of money, and through which a federative state of vast extent and power sprung into existence. But great as the change was, the mother-country had ultimately little real cause to regret the detachment of the thirteen provinces: freedom of commercial relations, advantageous to both countries, superseded a right of sovereignty which, in reality, was of far less value than it appeared to be. In short, the commerce of England, instead of being destroyed by the war of independence, increased most rapidly, and English trade was never more prosperous than in the period that succeeded the loss of the colonies. The Canadas and Nova-Scotia shared in the rising prosperity of America, and the West India islands, emancipated from unwise commercial restrictions, also rapidly improved.

The coalition ministry was now to be subjected to a severe test. Mr. Fox thought proper to introduce to parliament two bills for the better government of India, by which the entire administration of the civil and commercial affairs of the company were to be vested in a board of nine members, chosen for four years, and not removable without an address from either house of parliament. That such a board would be an independent authority in the state was quite manifest, and it accordingly met with a determined opposition, particularly in the house of lords, where Lord Thurlow observed, that if the bill passed, the crown would be no longer worthy of a man of honour to wear; that "the king would, in fact, take the diadem from his own head, and place it on that of Mr. Fox." The bill was thrown out by the lords, and this was immediately followed by a message from the king requiring Mr. Fox and Lord North to send in their seals of office by the under secretaries, as "a personal interview with him would be disagreeable." Early the next morning letters of dismission were sent to the other members of the cabinet.

A. D. 1784.—A new administration was now formed, in which Mr. Pitt was appointed first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer. Lord Sydney (late Mr. Townshend) and the marquis of Carmarthen, were made secretaries of state; Lord Thurlow, lord high-chancellor; the duke of Rutland, privy-seal; Earl Gower, president of the council; the duke of Richmond, master of the ordnance; Lord Howe, first lord of the admiralty, and Mr. Dundas, treasurer of the navy. It being, however, impossible to carry on public business while the coalition party had a majority in the house of commons, a dissolution of parliament became unavoidable.

The elections turned out favourably for the new ministers, and when the parliament assembled, his majesty met the representatives of the people with evident satisfaction. He directed their attention to the affairs of the East India Company, advising them at the same time to reject all such measures as might affect the constitution at home. Mr. Pitt had strenuously opposed Mr. Fox's India bill, and now finding himself ably supported, framed a new one for the government of India, which transferred to the crown the influence which Mr. Fox had designed to intrust to parliamentary commissioners, but leaving the whole management of commercial affairs with the court of directors.

A. D. 1786.—Early in the session Mr. Pitt introduced to parliament his celebrated plan of a "sinking fund" for the gradual reduction of the national debt. It appeared that the condition of the revenue was in so flourishing a state, that the annual receipts exceeded the expenditure by 900,000*l.* It was therefore proposed that this sum should be increased to one million, and placed in the hands of commissioners appointed for the purpose, to be applied to the discharge of the national debt. After some opposition, and an amendment suggested by Mr. Fox, the bill passed.

On the 2d of August, as the king was alighting from his carriage, a woman approached him under pretence of offering a petition, and attempted to stab him with a knife she had concealed. His majesty avoided the blow by drawing back, when she made another thrust at him, but was prevented from effecting her purpose by a yeoman of the guards who seized her at the instant. On being examined before the privy council, it appeared that she was a lunatic, her name Margaret Nicholson.

Nothing at this period excited equal interest to the trial of Mr. Hastings, the governor of Bengal, who had returned to England, possessed, as it was asserted, of inordinate wealth, obtained by unfair means. The trial was conducted by Mr. Burke, who exhibited twenty-two articles of impeachment against him. On the part of the prosecution Mr. Sheridan appeared vindictively eloquent. He said, "The administration of Mr. Hastings formed a medley of meanness and outrage, of duplicity and depredation, of prodigality and oppression, of the most callous cruelty, contrasted with the hollow affectation of liberality and good faith. Mr. Hastings, in his defence, declared, "That he had the satisfaction to see all his measures terminate in their designed objects; that his political conduct was invariably regulated by truth, justice, and good faith, and that he resigned his charge in a state of established peace and security, with all the sources of its abundance unimpaired, and even improved." The trial lasted seven years, and ended in the acquittal of Mr. Hastings, at least of all intentional error; but his fortune and his health were ruined by this protracted prosecution.

The debts of the prince of Wales engrossed much of the public attention at this period. His expensive habits and munificent disposition had brought his affairs into a very embarrassed state; and the subject having undergone parliamentary discussion, an addition of 50,000*l.* was made to his former income of 50,000*l.*, and the sum of 181,000*l.* was granted by parliament for the payment of his debts.

A. D. 1788.—An event occurred about this time in Holland which threatened the tranquillity of Europe. Ever since the acknowledgement of the independence of the United Provinces, two powerful parties had been continually struggling for the superiority; one was the house of Orange, which had been raised to power by their great services to the state, both against the tyranny of Spain and the efforts of France; the other was the aristocratical party, which consisted of the most wealthy individuals in the country. This party was secretly favoured by France, and was denominated the "party of the states," or "the republican party." The prince of Orange being at length compelled to leave the Hague, he applied to England and Prussia for protection, who lent their aid, and the stadtholder was reinstated.

It was during this session that the attention of parliament was first engaged in attempting the abolition of the slave trade. It was first pointed out by the Quakers in the independent provinces of South America, who in many instances had emancipated their slaves. A number of pamphlets were published on the subject; several divines of the established church recommended it in their discourses; the two universities, and after them the whole nation, presented petitions praying for the interference of parliament to forward the humane design of African emancipation. Mr.

Wilberforce brought the subject before parliament; but as many circumstances arose to retard the consideration of it, a resolution was carried to defer it till a future opportunity.

Towards the close of the year the nation was thrown into great dismay by the fact that the king was suffering under a severe mental malady; so much so, that on the 4th of November it was necessary to consult the most eminent physicians, and to assemble the principal officers of state. His majesty's disorder not abating, but the contrary appearing from the examination of the physicians before the privy council, the house twice adjourned; but hearing on their re-assembling the second time that there was a great prospect of his majesty's recovery, though the time was uncertain, both houses turned their thoughts to the establishment of a regent during his majesty's incapacity. The right of the prince of Wales to this office was asserted by Mr. Fox, and denied by Mr. Pitt, who affirmed that for any man to assert such a right in the prince of Wales was little less than treason to the constitution. After violent altercations, a modified regency was carried in favour of the prince; the queen to have the custody of the royal person, and the appointment to places in the household. For the present, however, these arrangements were not needed, for the health of the king was rapidly improving, and on the 10th of March his majesty sent a message to parliament, to acquaint them of his recovery, and of his ability to attend to the public business of the kingdom.

A. D. 1789.—According to a promise given by the king, that the British constitution should be extended to Canada, that province now applied for a form of legislature. For the better accommodation of its inhabitants Mr. Pitt proposed to divide the province into Upper and Lower Canada, and to provide separate laws which might suit the French-Canadian noblesse on the one hand, and the British and American colonists on the other. In the course of the discussion, Mr. Fox observed that it would be wrong to abolish hereditary distinctions where they had been long established, and equally wrong to create those distinctions in a country which was not suited for their establishment. This drew from Mr. Burke the observation that "it became a duty of parliament to watch the conduct of individuals and societies disposed to encourage innovations." Mr. Fox thinking these sentiments contained a censure on him, defended his opinions by a full explanation of his sentiments on the French revolution. Mr. Burke had previously written a work, intended to operate as an antidote to the growing evils of republicanism and infidelity. In parliament he denounced the insidious cry of liberty and equality, and a breach was thus made in the long-cemented friendship of these two distinguished statesmen which ever after remained unclosed.

A. D. 1790.—At this period France had begun to exhibit scenes of anarchy and confusion, which, for monstrous wickedness and wide-spread misery, never before had their parallel in the world's history. A condensed narrative of those revolutionary horrors will be found under the proper head. We shall here simply observe, *en passant*, that the progress of free-thinking, miscalled philosophy, which had been much encouraged in that country during the last century, had diffused a spirit of innovation and licentiousness that was highly unfavourable to the existence of an absolute monarchy. Moreover, the participation of France in the American struggle for independence, had instilled into the minds of the Gallo-American champions of liberty a perfect detestation of regal authority, and on their return from that vaunted land of freedom, they imparted to their countrymen the spirit of liberty which had been kindled in the western hemisphere. But, perhaps, the more immediate cause of this wild ebullition of popular fury arose from the embarrassed state of the finances,

which induced Louis XVI. to assemble the states-general, in order to consider the measures by which this serious evil might be remedied.

During the present session, a message from the king informed the house of some hostile proceedings on the part of Spain, who had seized three British ships that were endeavoring to establish a foreign trade between China and Nootka Sound, on the west coast of North America, the Spaniards insisting on their exclusive right to that part of the coast. Orders were immediately issued for augmenting the British navy; but the expected rupture between the two countries was averted by timely concessions on the part of Spain.

A new parliament having met on the 20th of November, the king, after making some remarks on the state of Europe, observed that the peace of India had been disturbed by a war with Tippoo Sultan, son of the late Hyder Ally. The business of the session was then entered into, and various debates occurred with respect to the convention with Spain, and the expensive amount that had been prepared anticipatory of a war with that power.

A. D. 1791.—The whole kingdom was now divided into two parties, arising from the opposite views in which the French revolution was considered; one condemning the promoters of Gallic independence as the subverters of all order, while the other considered the new constitution of France as the basis of a system of politics, from which peace, happiness, and concord would arise to bless the world! On the 14th of July, the anniversary of the demolition of the Bastile, the "friends of liberty" agreed to celebrate that event by festive meetings in the principal towns in the kingdom. These meetings were rather unfavourably regarded by the opponents of the revolution, as indicative of principles inimical to the British constitution; but no public expression of disapprobation had yet appeared. In the metropolis and most of the other towns these meetings had passed over without any disturbance; but in the populous town of Birmingham, where a dissension had long existed between the high churchmen and the dissenters, its consequences were very alarming. A seditious handbill having been circulated about the town by some unknown person, created a great sensation. The friends of the intended meeting thought it necessary to disclaim the sentiments contained in the handbills; but as their views were misrepresented, the hotel in which the meeting was held was soon surrounded by a tumultuous mob, who expressed their disapprobation by shouts of "Church and King!" In the evening the mob demolished a Unitarian meeting-house belonging to the celebrated Dr. Priestly, and afterwards attacked his dwelling-house and destroyed his valuable library. For three days the rioters continued their depredations, but tranquillity was restored on the arrival of the military, and some of the ringleaders were executed.

A. D. 1792.—Parliament assembled Jan. 31, and were agreeably surprised by a declaration of the minister, that the finances of the nation would allow him to take off taxes to the amount of £200,000 and to appropriate £400,000 towards the reduction of the national debt. He then descanted on the flourishing state and happy prospects of the nation, declaring at the same time how intimately connected its prosperity was with the preservation of peace abroad and tranquillity at home.

The duke of York having at the close of the previous year married the princess Frederica Charlotta, eldest daughter of the king of Prussia, the commons passed a bill to settle £25,000 per annum on the duke, and £8,000 on the duchess should she survive him. The house, also, during this session, went into a committee on the African slave-trade, and gave it as their opinion that it should be abolished. In the course of debate Mr. Pitt and many others spoke in favour of its immediate abolition. After many divisions the term was limited to the 1st day of January,

1796. In the house of lords several of the peers were in favour of its indefinite continuance.

The war in India against Tippoo Saib had lately been vigorously conducted by Lord Cornwallis, who, having surmounted all impediments, commenced the siege of Seringapatam, the capital of Tippoo's dominions. This reduced that prince to such difficulties as compelled him to conclude peace on the terms offered by the earl, and to deliver up his two sons as hostages for the performance of the conditions

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CHAPTER LXI.

THE REIGN OF GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)

A. D. 1790.—"When your neighbour's house is on fire it is well to look after your own," says a trite but wise old saw. The rapidity with which the new political principles of the French republicans were diffused throughout Great Britain, and the numerous inflammatory libels which were issued from the press, awakened well-grounded apprehensions of the government, and induced the legislature to adopt measures for the suppression of the growing evil. The moral as well as the political results of French republicanism were fast developing; and every reckless demagogue was busily at work, disseminating the poison of infidelity and sedition. To put a stop, if possible, to this state of things, a royal proclamation was issued for the suppression of seditious correspondence abroad, and publications at home. The London Corresponding Society, and various other societies, had recently sent congratulatory addresses to the National Assembly of France! But the heart of England was still sound, although some of the limbs were leprous.

In the meantime affairs on the continent became every day more interesting. An alliance was entered into between Russia, Austria, and Prussia, the ostensible object of which was to re-establish public security in France, with the ancient order of things, and to protect the persons and property of all loyal subjects. On the 25th of July the duke of Brunswick, commander-in-chief of the allied armies, issued at Coblentz his celebrated manifesto to the French people, promising protection to all who should submit to their king, and threatening the city of Paris with fire and sword if injury or insult were offered to him or any of his family. The republicans, indignant at this foreign interference, now resolved on the king's dethronement. Having by their mischievous publications turned the tide of disgust against their sovereign, and persuaded the populace that the royalists had invited the allies to invade them, the suspension of royal authority was soon after decreed, the king and his family were closely confined in the Temple, all persons who were attached to monarchical government were cast into prison or massacred; and, to crown the whole, the inoffensive monarch was led forth to execution, and while praying to the Almighty to pardon his enemies, ignominiously perished by the guillotine.

While these detestable scenes of murder were dispayed in France, the vigilance of the English government was excited by the propagation of revolutionary principles, and it was compelled to employ such measures as the dangerous circumstances of the country demanded. The sanguinary conduct of the French revolutionists, their extravagant projects and unholy sentiments, naturally alarmed all persons of rank and property, and associations of all classes who had anything to lose, were formed for the protection of liberty and property against the efforts of anarchists and levellers. But still there were many desperate characters ready to kindle the flame of civil war on the first favourable opportunity. Another pro-

clamation was therefore issued, in which it was stated that evil-disposed persons were acting in concert with others in foreign countries, in order to subvert the laws and constitution; and that a spirit of tumult and sedition having manifested itself on several occasions, his majesty had resolved to embody part of the national militia. This was, in fact, a measure absolutely necessary on another account, it being clear that the French republic had resolved to provoke England to a war, by the most unjustifiable breach of the laws of nations: this was their avowed design to open the river Scheldt, in direct opposition to the treaties of which England was a guarantee, and to the manifest disadvantage of the commerce of the United Provinces, who were the allies of England.

So portentous was the political aspect at this time, that it was thought necessary to summon the parliament. In the speech from the throne, his majesty declared that he had hitherto observed a strict neutrality in regard to the war on the continent, and had refrained from interfering with the internal affairs of France; but that it was impossible for him to see, without the most serious uneasiness, the strong and increasing indications which appeared there, of an intention to excite disturbances in other countries, to disregard the rights of neutral powers, and to pursue views of unjust conquest and aggrandizement. He had therefore taken steps for making some augmentation of his naval and military force; and he recommended the subject to the serious attention of parliament. After very long and animated debates on the address of thanks for the king's speech (during which many of the opposition, who were by this time thoroughly disgusted with the French revolutionists, deserted their party), the motion was carried by a large majority.

The next subject which engaged the attention of parliament was the alien bill, which authorized government to dismiss from the kingdom such foreigners as they should think fit. During the month of December an order of government was also issued for preventing the exportation of corn to France; and several ships laden with grain were compelled to unload their cargoes.

A. D. 1793.—That a war between Great Britain and France was speedily approaching, was believed by all parties; yet war was neither foreseen nor premeditated by the king's ministers; it was the unavoidable result of circumstances. In a decree of the French convention on the 19th of November, 1792, they had declared their intention of extending their fraternity and assistance to the disaffected and revolting subjects of all monarchical governments. The disavowal of this assertion was demanded by the British ministry; but as this was not complied with, M. Chauvelin, ambassador from the late king of France—though not acknowledged in that light by the republic—received orders to leave the kingdom, in virtue of the alien act. In consequence of this measure, the French convention, on the 1st of February, declared war.

No sooner was Great Britain involved in this eventful war, than a treaty of commerce was concluded with Russia, a large body of troops was taken into the service of government, and an engagement was entered into by the king of Sardinia, who agreed, for an annual subsidy of 200,000*l*., to join the Austrians in Italy with a very considerable military force. Alliances were likewise formed with Austria, Prussia, Spain, Holland, Portugal, and Russia, all of whom agreed to shut their ports against the vessels of France. Denmark, Sweden, and Switzerland, however, refused to join the confederacy. The king of the Sicilies agreed to furnish 6000 troops and four ships of the line; the empire also furnished its contingents to the Austrian and Prussian armies, and British troops were sent to the protection of Holland, under the command of the duke of York.

The French army, commanded by General Dumouriez, invaded Holland, and having taken Breda, Gertruydenburg, and some other places,

advanced to Williamstadt, which was defended by a detachment from the brigade of the English guards, just arrived in Holland. Here the French met with a repulse, and were compelled to raise the siege with great loss. Dumouriez then left Holland to defend Louvain; but being afterwards defeated in several engagements with the allied armies, particularly at Neer-winden, his soldiers were so discouraged, that they deserted in great numbers. At length, weary of the disorganized state of the French government, and finding himself suspected by the two great factions which divided the republic, Dumouriez entered into negotiations with the allied generals, and agreed to return to Paris, dissolve the national convention, and free his country from the gross tyranny which was there exercised under the specious name of equality. But the conventionalists withheld his supplies, and sent commissioners to thwart his designs and summon him to their bar. He instantly arrested the officers that brought the summons, and sent them to the Austrian head-quarters. But the army did not share the anti-revolutionary feelings of the general, and he was himself obliged to seek safety in the Austrian camp, accompanied by young Egalité (as he was then styled), son of the execrable duke of Orleans, and now Louis Philippe, king of the French!

The duke of York, who was at the head of the allied armies, had laid siege to and taken Valenciennes, and he was now anxious to extend their conquests along the frontier; he accordingly marched towards Dunkirk and commenced the siege on the 27th of August. He expected a naval armament from Great Britain to act in conjunction with the land forces; but, from some unaccountable cause, the heavy artillery was so long delayed that the enemy had time to provide for the defence of the town. The French troops, commanded by Houchard, poured upon them in such numbers, that the duke was compelled to make a precipitate retreat, to avoid losing the whole of his men. He then came to England, and having held a conference with the ministers, returned to the continent. At Valenciennes it was decided in a council of war, that the emperor of Germany should take the field, and be invested with the supreme command.

The principal persons of the town and harbour of Toulon entered into an agreement with the British admiral, Lord Hood, by which they delivered up the town and shipping to his protection, on condition of its being restored to France when the Bourbon restoration should be effected. The town, however, was not for any long time defensible against the superior force of the enemy which had come to its rescue; it was therefore evacuated, fourteen thousand of the inhabitants taking refuge on board the British ships. Sir Sidney Smith set fire to the arsenals, which, together with an immense quantity of naval stores, and ships of the line, were consumed. On this occasion the artillery was commanded by Napoleon Bonaparte, whose skill and courage was conspicuous, and from that day his promotion rapidly took place.

The efforts made by the French at this time were truly astonishing. Having prodigiously increased their forces, they were resolved to conquer, whatever might be the cost of human life. Every day was a day of battle; and as they were continually reinforced, the veteran armies of the allies were obliged to give way. On the 22nd of December they were driven with immense slaughter from Hagenau; this was followed up by successive defeats till the 17th, when the French army arrived at Weissemburg in triumph. During this last month the loss of men on both sides was immense, being estimated at between 70,000 and 80,000 men. The French concluded the campaign in triumph, and the allied powers were seriously alarmed at the difficulties which were necessary to be surmounted, in order to regain the ground that had been lost.

In the East and West Indies the English were successful Tobago,

St. Domingo, Pondicherry, and the French settlements on the coast of Malabar and Coromandel, all surrendered to them.

A. D. 1794.—From the great and important events which were tran sacting on the continent, we turn to the internal affairs of Great Britain. The French republic having menaced England with an invasion, it was proposed by ministers that associations of volunteers, both of cavalry and infantry, might be formed in every county, for the purpose of defending the country from the hostile attempts of its enemies, and for supporting the government against the efforts of the disaffected.

On the 12th of May a message from the king announced to parliament the existence of seditious societies in London, and that the papers of certain persons belonging to them had been seized, and were submitted to the consideration of the house. Several members of the Society for Constitutional Information, and of the London Corresponding Society, were apprehended on a charge of high treason, and committed to the Tower. Among them were Thomas Hardy, a shoemaker in Piccadilly, and Daniel Adams, secretaries to the before-named socicties; the celebrated John Horne Tooke; the Rev. Jeremiah Joyce, private secretary to Earl Stanhope; John Augustus Bonney, an attorney; and Messrs. Thelwall, Richter, Lovatt, and Stone. They were brought to trial in the following October, and had the good fortune to be acquitted.

Every appearance on the grand theatre of war indicated a continuance of success to the French in the ensuing campaign. The diligence and activity of their government, the vigour and bravery of their troops, the ability and firmness of their commanders, the unwearied exertions of all men employed in the public service, astonished the whole world. Filled with an enthusiastic devotion to the cause in which they had embarked, their minds were intent only on the military glory and aggrandisement of the republic. While the whole strength which could be collected by the allies amounted to less than four hundred thousand men, the armies of France were estimated at upwards of a million.

Though the superiority by land was at present evidently in favour of the French, yet on the ocean "Old England" maintained its predominance. During the course of the summer the island of Corsica was subdued; and the whole of the West India islands, except part of Guadaloupe, surrendered to the troops under the command of Sir Charles Gray and Sir John Jervis. The channel fleet, under its veteran commander, Lord Howe, sailed from port, in order to intercept the Brest fleet, which had ventured out to sea to protect a large convoy that was expected from America. The hostile fleets descried each other on the 28th of May, and as an engagement became inevitable, the enemy formed in regular order of battle. On the morning of the 1st of June a close action commenced; the enemy's fleet, consisting of twenty-six sail of the line, and the British of twenty-five. Though the battle did not last long, it was very severe, and proved decisive, seven of the French ships being compelled to strike their colours, one of which, La Vengeur, went down with all her crew almost immediately on being taken possession of. In the captured ships alone, the killed and wounded amounted to 1270. The total loss of the British was 906. When intelligence of this memorable victory arrived in England, it produced the greatest exultation, and the metropolis was illuminated three successive nights.

This naval loss of the French, though it considerably diminished the ardour of their seamen, was greatly overbalanced by the general success of their military operations. The principal theatre of the contest was the Netherlands, where generals Jourdan and Pichegru had not less than 200,000 good troops, headed by many expert and valiant officers, and abundantly supplied with all the requisites of war. To oppose this formidable force, the allies assembled an army of 146,000, commanded by the

emperor in person, assisted by generals Clairfait, Kaunitz, Prince Coburg, the duke of York, &c. Numerous were the battles, and enormous the loss of life on each side during this campaign: in one of these bloody conflicts alone, the battle of Charleroi, the loss of the Austrians was estimated at 15,000 men. The armies of France were, in fact, become irresistible, and the allies retreated in all directions; Nieuport, Ostend, and Bruges; Tournay, Mons, Oudenarde, and Brussels; Landrecies, Valenciennes, Condé, and Quesnoi—all fell into their hands. During this victorious career of the French in the Netherlands, their armies on the Rhine were equally successful; and though both Austrians and Prussians well maintained their reputation for skill and bravery, yet the overwhelming masses of the French, and the fierce enthusiasm with which these republicans fought, were more than a match for the veteran bands by whom they were opposed.

But the military operations of the French were not confined to the Netherlands and the frontiers of Germany; they had other armies both in Spain and Italy. The kingdom of Spain, which was formerly so powerful as to disturb, by its ambition, the peace of Europe, was at this time so much reduced by superstition, luxury, and indolence, that it was with difficulty the court of Madrid maintained its rank among the countries of Europe. It was therefore no wonder that the impetuosity and untiring energy which proved so destructive to the warlike Germans, should overwhelm the inert armies of Spain, or that their strongholds should prove unavailing against such resolute foes. In Italy, too, the French were not less fortunate. Though they had to combat the Austrian and Sardinian armies, a series of victories made them masters of Piedmont, and the campaign ended there, as elsewhere, greatly in favour of revolutionary France.

We shall now return to the operations of the common enemy in the Netherlands, which, notwithstanding the approach of winter, were conducted with great perseverance. The duke of York was posted between Bois-le-Duc and Breda, but being attacked with great impetuosity by the superior numbers of Pichegru, he was overpowered, and obliged to retreat across the Maese, with the loss of about 1,500 men. On the 30th of September Crevecœur was taken by the enemy, and Bois-le-Duc surrendered immediately after. They then followed the duke across the Maese, when his royal highness found it necessary to cross the Rhine, and take post at Arnheim. Nimeguen fell into the hands of the French on the 7th of November, and as the winter set in with uncommon severity, the whole of the rivers and lakes of Holland were bound up by the frost. At the beginning of January, 1795, the river Waal was frozen over; the British troops were at the time in a most deplorable state of ill health, and the enemy, seizing the favourable opportunity, crossed the river with an army of 70,000 men, and having repulsed the force which was opposed to them, on the 16th of January took possession of Amsterdam. The fortresses of Williamstadt, Breda, Bergen-op-Zoom, admitted the French; the shattered remnant of the British army was obliged to retreat, under the most severe privations, and in a season unusually inclement; and the prince of Orange escaped in a little boat, and landed in England, where he and his family became the objects of royal liberality. The United Provinces were now revolutionized after the model of France; the rights of man were proclaimed, representatives chosen, and the country received the name of the Batavian Republic. If there were any in Holland who seriously expected that this new order of things was likely to prove beneficial to the country, they soon had experience to the contrary; for, on the one hand, the English seized their colonies and destroyed their commerce, while on the other, the French treated them with all the hauteur of insolent conquerors.

A. D. 1795.—At the conclusion of the past year the aspect of affairs on

the continent was most gloomy and unpromising. The French republic had suddenly become more extensive by its conquests than France had been since the days of Charlemagne; they had acquired an increased population, estimated at thirteen millions, which, added to twenty-four millions contained in France, constituted an empire of 37,000,000 people. As this immense population inhabited the centre of Europe, they were able by their position to defy the enmity of all their neighbours, and to exercise an influence almost amounting to an universal sovereignty.

The consternation of Great Britain and the allied powers was greatly increased by the conduct of the king of Prussia, who withdrew from the coalition, and concluded a treaty of peace with the French convention. This act, in addition to the dismemberment of Poland, was commented on in the British parliament in terms of severe and merited censure. He had received large subsidies from England, and was pledged, as a member of the coalition, to do his utmost towards the overthrow of regicidal France and the restoration of the Bourbons; and his defection at such a time was as unprincipled, as the effect of it was likely to be disastrous. But the English and Austrians, encouraged by the distracted state of France, more especially by the royalist war in La Vendee, continued their efforts, notwithstanding Spain followed the example of Prussia, and the duke of Tuscany, also, deserted the allies.

Though unfortunate in her alliances, and unsuccessful in the attempts made by her military force on the continent, Great Britain had still the satisfaction of beholding her fleets riding triumphantly on the ocean. On the 23d of June, Admiral Lord Bridport attacked the French fleet off L'Orient, and captured three ships of the line. Some other minor actions also served to show that Britain had not lost the power to maintain her naval superiority. As Holland was now become subject to France, letters of reprisals were issued out against the Dutch ships, and directions were given for attacking their colonies, with the intention, however, of restoring them when the stadthholder's government should be re-established. The Cape of Good Hope was obliged to submit to the British arms, together with Trincomalee, and all the other United settlements except Batavia.

The other events of the year may be thus summed up:—The marriage of the prince of Wales with the princess Caroline of Brunswick; a match dictated by considerations of what are termed prudence, rather than of affection; the prince's debts at the time amounted to 620,000*l.*, and parliament agreed to grant him 125,000*l.* per annum in addition to his income arising from the duchy of Cornwall, a portion being reserved for the gradual liquidation of his debts.—The death of Louis XVII., son of the unfortunate Louis XVI., and lawful sovereign of France, in prison.—The acquittal of Warren Hastings, after a trial which had lasted seven years.—The commencement of the societies of United Irishmen against, and of Orange clubs in favour of, the government.—A dearth of corn in England, with consequent high prices, great distress, and riots which created much alarm.

In seasons of scarcity and consequent high prices, the multitude are easily excited to acts of insubordination. At this period their attention had been roused to political subjects by some meetings held in the open fields, at the instance of the corresponding societies, where the usual invectives against government had formed the staple of their discourse, and the people had been more than usually excited. A report was circulated that vast bodies of the disaffected would make their appearance when the king proceeded to open parliament; and so it proved, for the amazing number of 200,000 persons assembled in the park on that occasion, Oct. 29. An immense throng surrounded his majesty's carriage, clamourously vociferating "Bread!" "Peace!" "No Pitt!" some voices also shouting out "No King!" while stones were thrown at the coach from all directions, and, on passing through Palace-yard, one of the windows was broken by

a bullet from an air-gun. On entering the house, the king, much agitated, said to the chancellor, "My lord, I have been shot at." On his return these scandalous outrages were repeated, and a proclamation was issued offering a thousand pounds reward for the apprehension of the persons concerned in these seditious proceedings.

A. D. 1796.—The unremitting struggle on the continent between the allied armies and those of France, was far too important as regarded the interests of Great Britain for us to pass it lightly over, however little it may at first sight appear to belong strictly to British history. The French armies on the frontiers of Germany were commanded by their generals Moreau and Jourdan; the army of Italy was conducted by Napoleon Bonaparte. This extraordinary man, whose name will hereafter so frequently occur, had, like Pichegru, Jourdan, Moreau, &c., attained rapid promotions in the republican armies. In 1791 he was a captain of artillery; and it was only at the siege of Toulon, in 1793, that his soldierly abilities began to be developed. He had now an army of 56,000 veterans under his command, opposed to whom were 80,000 Austrians and Piedmontese, commanded by General Beaulieu, an officer of great ability, who opened the campaign on the 9th of April. Having, after several engagements, suffered a defeat at Millesimo, he selected 7,000 of his best troops, and attacked and took the village of Dego, where the French were indulging themselves in security. Massena, having rallied his troops, made several fruitless attempts during the day to retake it; but Bonaparte arriving in the evening with some reinforcements, renewed the attack, drove the allies from Dego, and made 14,000 prisoners. Count Colli, the general of the Sardinian forces, having been defeated by Bonaparte at Mondovi, requested a suspension of arms, which was followed by the king of Sardinia's withdrawal from the confederacy, the surrender of his most important fortresses, and the cession of the duchy of Savoy, &c., to the French. This ignominious peace was followed by similar conduct on the part of the duke of Parma, who, like the king of Sardinia, appeared to have no alternative but that of utter extinction.

The Austrian general, Beaulieu, being now no longer able to maintain his situation on the Po, retreated across the Adda at Lodi, Pizzighettone, and Cremona, leaving a detachment at Lodi to stop the progress of the enemy. These forces were attacked, on the 10th of May, by the advanced guard of the republican army, who compelled them to retreat with so much precipitation as to leave no time for breaking down the bridge of Lodi. A battery was planted on the French side, and a tremendous cannonading kept up; but so well was the bridge protected by the Austrian artillery, that it was the opinion of the general officers that it could not be forced; but as Bonaparte was convinced that the reputation of the French army would suffer much if the Austrians were allowed to maintain their position, he was determined to encounter every risk in order to effect his object. Putting himself, therefore, at the head of a select body of his troops, he passed the bridge in the midst of a most destructive fire of the Austrian artillery, and then fell with such irresistible fury on his opponents, that he gained a complete victory. Marshal Beaulieu, with the shattered remnants of his army, made a hasty retreat towards Mantua, pursued by a large body of the French. Pavia, Milan, and Verona, were now soon in their hands; and on the 4th of June they invested Mantua, the only place of importance which the emperor held in Italy. Not long after, Bonaparte made himself master of Ferrara, Bologna, and Urbino; and next menaced the city of Rome. As the pope was incapable of resisting this unprovoked invasion of his territories, he was reduced to the necessity of soliciting an armistice, which was granted on very humiliating terms. He agreed to give up the cities of Bologna and Ferrara, with the citadel of Ancona, and to deliver up a great number of paintings

and statues, and to enrich the conqueror with some hundreds of the most curious manuscripts from the Vatican library.

The court of Vienna now recalled Beaulieu, and gave the command to Marshal Wurmser; but the tide of success ran more strong against him, if possible, than it had done against his predecessor. As Bonaparte was at this time employed in forming a republic of the states of Reggio, Modena, Bologna, and Ferrara, the Austrians had leisure to make new military arrangements. They reinforced Marshal Wurmser, and formed a new army, the command of which was given to General Alvinzi. At the beginning of November, several partial engagements took place between Alvinzi and Bonaparte, till the 15th, when a most desperate engagement at the village of Arcola ended in the defeat and retreat of the Austrians, who lost about 13,000 men. Mantua, however, was still obstinately defended, but the garrison ceased to entertain hopes of ultimate success.

While the French army under Bonaparte was overrunning Italy, the armies on the Rhine, under Jourdan and Moreau, were unable to make any impression on the Austrians. The armistice which had been concluded at the termination of the last campaign, expired on the 31st of May, when both armies took the field, and the archduke Charles, who commanded the Austrians, gained several advantages over both Jourdan and Moreau, till, at the end of the year, the hostile armies, having been harassed by the incessant fatigues they had undergone, discontinued their military operations for the winter.

The successes of Bonaparte in Italy, and the general aversion with which the people beheld the war, induced the British ministry to make overtures for peace with the French republic. Lord Malmesbury was accordingly dispatched to Paris on this important mission, and proposed as the basis the mutual restitution of conquests; but there was no disposition for peace on the part of the French directory, and the attempt at pacification ended by a sudden order for his lordship to leave Paris in forty-eight hours. While these negotiations were on the tapis, an armament was prepared at Brest for the invasion of Ireland, which had long been meditated by the French rulers. The fleet, consisting of twenty-five ships of the line and fifteen frigates, was intrusted to Admiral Bouvet; the land-forces, amounting to 25,000 men, were commanded by General Hoche. They set sail on the 18th of December, but a violent tempest arose, and the frigate on board of which the general was conveyed being separated from the fleet, they returned to harbour, after losing one ship of the line and two frigates.

A few incidental notices will serve to wind up the domestic events of the year:—Sir Sidney Smith was taken prisoner on the French coast, and sent, under a strong escort, to Paris.—The princess of Wales gave birth to a daughter, the princess Charlotte; immediately after which, at the instance of the prince on the ground of "incongeniality," a separation took place between the royal parents.—A government loan of 18,000,000*l.* was subscribed in fifteen hours, between the 1st and 5th instant. One million was subscribed by the bank of England in their corporate capacity, and 400,000*l.* by the directors individually.

A. D. 1797.—The garrison of Mantua, which had held out with astonishing bravery, surrendered on the 2d of February, but obtained very honourable terms. After this, Bonaparte received very considerable reinforcements, and having cut to pieces the army under Alvinzi, he resolved on penetrating into the centre of the Austrian dominions. When the court of Vienna received information of this design, they raised a new army, the command of which was given to the archduke Charles. The French defeated the Austrians in almost every engagement; and Bonaparte, after making 20,000 prisoners, effected a passage across the Alps, and drove the emperor to the necessity of requesting an armistice. In April a prelimin-

ary treaty was entered into, by which it was stipulated that France should retain the Austrian Netherlands, and that a new republic should be formed from the states of Milan, Mantua, Modena, Ferrara, and Bologna, which should receive the name of the Cisalpine Republic. He then returned to Italy, leaving minor details of the treaty to be adjusted afterwards, and which was accordingly done at Campo Formio, in the following October.

England was now the only power at war with France; and great as had been the exertions of the people, still greater were of course required of them. The large sums of money which had been sent abroad, as subsidies to foreign princes, had diminished the quantity of gold and silver in Great Britain; this cause, added to the dread of an invasion, occasioned a run upon the country banks, and a demand for specie soon communicated itself to the metropolis. An order was issued to prohibit the directors of the bank from payments in cash. On the meeting of parliament, a committee was appointed to inquire into the state of the currency; and though the affairs of the bank were deemed to be in a prosperous state, an act was passed for confirming the restriction, and notes for one and two pounds were circulated. The consternation occasioned by these measures was at first very general, but the alarm gradually subsided, and public confidence returned.

One of the first acts of Spain, after declaring war against England, was the equipment of a large number of ships, to act in concert with the French. The Spanish fleet, of twenty-seven sail of the line, was descried on the 14th of January by Admiral Sir John Jervis, who was cruising off Cape St. Vincent, with a fleet of fifteen sail. He immediately formed his line in order of battle, and having forced his way through the enemy's fleet, and separated one-third of it from the main body, he attacked with vigour, and in a short time captured four first-rate Spanish men-of-war, and blockaded the remainder in Cadiz. The Spaniards had 600 killed and wounded; the British, 300. For this brilliant exploit Sir John was raised to the peerage by the title of earl of St. Vincent; and Commodore Nelson, who was now commencing his brilliant career, was knighted.

Rejoicings for the late glorious victory were scarcely over, when a serious mutiny broke out in the channel fleet. The principal cause of this untoward event was the inadequacy of the sailors' pay. This discontent was first made known to Lord Howe, who in February and March received anonymous letters, in which were enclosed petitions from different ships' companies, requesting an increase of pay, a more equal distribution of prize money, &c. The novelty of this circumstance induced his lordship to make some inquiries; but as there was no appearance of disaffection in the fleet, he concluded that the letters must have been forgeries, and took no further notice of it. On the 15th of April, when orders were given for preparing to sail, the crews of the ships lying at Spithead ran up the shrouds, gave three cheers, and refused to comply. They then chose two delegates from each ship, who drew up a petition to the admiralty and the house of commons, and each seaman was bound by an oath to be faithful to the cause. At length Lord Bridport went on board, and told them he was the bearer of redress for all their grievances, and the king's pardon; and on the 8th of May an act was passed for augmenting the pay of sailors and mariners. The facility with which these claims had been granted instigated the seamen at the Nore to rise in mutiny and make further demands. A council of delegates was elected, at the head of whom was a bold and insolent man named Richard Parker, who undertook to command the fleet, and prevailed on his companions to reject repeated offers of pardon. Preparations for hostilities were commenced on both sides, when dissensions among the disaffected began to appear, and, after some bloodshed, all the ships submitted, giving up Parker and his fellow-delegates; some of whom, with their leader, expiated their offences by an ignominious death.

Notwithstanding the late dangerous mutiny, the idea was very prevalent in the country, that if a hostile fleet were to make its appearance, the men would show themselves as eager as ever to fight for the honour of Old England. In a few months afterwards an opportunity occurred of testing their devotion to the service. The Batavian republic having fitted out a fleet of fifteen ships, under the command of their admiral, De Winter, with an intention of joining the French, Admiral Duncan, who commanded the British fleet, watched them so narrowly, that they found it impracticable to venture out of the Texel without risking an engagement. The British admiral being obliged by tempestuous weather to leave his station, the Dutch availed themselves of the opportunity, and put to sea; but were descried by the English fleet, which immediately set sail in pursuit of them. On the 11th of October the English came up with, and attacked them off Camperdown; and after a gallant fight of four hours, eight ships of the line, including those of the admiral and vice-admiral, besides four frigates, struck their colours. The loss of the English in this memorable action amounted to 700 men; the loss of the Dutch was estimated at twice that number. The gallant Admiral Duncan was raised to the peerage, and received the title of Viscount Camperdown, with an hereditary pension.

About three months previous to this action Admiral Nelson, acting on fallacious intelligence, made an unsuccessful attack on Santa Cruz, in the island of Teneriffe; on which occasion the assailants sustained great loss, and Nelson himself had his arm shot off.

A. D. 1798.—As the French republic had at this time subdued all its enemies except England, the conquest of this country was the principal object of their hopes. The vast extent of territory which the French now possessed, together with the influence they had obtained over the councils of Holland, rendered them much more formidable than they had been at any former period. The circumstances of the British nation were, however, such as would discourage every idea of an invasion. Its navy was more powerful than it had ever been; the victories which had lately been gained over the Dutch and Spanish fleets, had confirmed the general opinion of the loyalty as well as bravery of its seamen; and all parties burying, for a time, all past disputes in oblivion, unanimously resolved to support the government. On the meeting of parliament, in January, a message from the king intimated that an invasion of the kingdom was in contemplation by the French. This communication gave rise to very active measures, which plainly manifested the spirit of unanimity which reigned in Great Britain. Besides a large addition made to the militia, every county was directed to raise bodies of cavalry from the yeomanry; and almost every town and considerable village had its corps of volunteers, trained and armed. The island was never before in such a formidable state of internal defence, and a warlike spirit was diffused throughout the entire population. A voluntary subscription for the support of the war also took place, by which a million and a half of money was raised towards defraying the extraordinary demands on the public purse.

While this universal harmony seemed to direct the councils of Great Britain, the Irish were greatly divided in their sentiments, and at length commenced an open rebellion. In the year 1791 a society had been instituted by the catholics and protestant dissenters, for the purpose of obtaining a reform in parliament, and an entire deliverance of the Roman catholics from all the restrictions under which they laboured on account of religion. This institution was projected by a person named Wolfe Tone; and the members, who were termed the *United Irishmen*, were so numerous, that their divisions and subdivisions were, in a short time, extended over the whole kingdom. Though a reform of parliament was

the ostensible object of this society, yet it soon proved that their secret but zealous endeavours were directed to the bringing about a revolution, and, by effecting a disjunction of Ireland from Great Britain, to establish a republican form of government similar to that of France. So rapidly did the numbers of these republican enthusiasts increase, and so confident were they of the ultimate success of their undertaking, that in 1797 they nominated an executive directory, consisting of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Arthur O'Connor, Oliver Bond, Dr. Mac Niven, and Counsellor Emmet. Their conspiracy was planned with such consummate art, and conducted with such profound secresy, that it would, doubtless, have been carried into effect, but for its timely discovery in March, by a person employed by the government, when the principal ringleaders were apprehended, and Fitzgerald was mortally wounded while resisting the officers of justice. A second conspiracy shortly afterwards was in the like manner detected, but not until a general insurrection had been determined upon, in which the castle of Dublin, the camp near it, and the artillery barracks, were to be surprised in one night, and other places were to be seized at the same moment. But the flame of rebellion was not easily extinguished. In May, a body of rebels, armed with swords and pikes, made attempts on the towns of Naas and Wexford; but they experienced a signal defeat from Lord Gosford, at the head of the Armagh militia, and four hundred of them were left dead on the field. They afterwards marched, 15,000 strong, against Wexford, and upon defeating the garrison, which sallied forth to meet them, obtained possession of the town. Subsequently they became masters of Enniscorthy, but being driven back, with great slaughter, from New Ross, they wreaked their vengeance upon their captives at Wexford in the most barbarous manner. On the twelfth of June, General Nugent attacked the rebels, 5000 in number, commanded by Munro, near Ballynahinch, and routed them with great slaughter. But their greatest discomfiture was that which they sustained in their encampment on Vinegar-hill, where General Lake attacked and completely routed them. Various other minor engagements ensued about this time, in all of which the rebels were defeated with considerable loss.

In the present divided and dangerous state of Ireland it was judged prudent by the legislature to appoint to the lieutenancy of that country a military man of acknowledged prudence and bravery. The person chosen for the station was Lord Cornwallis, who arrived at Dublin on the 20th of June. His first act was to publish a proclamation, offering his majesty's pardon to all such insurgents as would desert their leaders, and surrender themselves and their arms. This proclamation, and the resolute conduct of the government, had a great effect on the rebels, and the insurrection was in a short time suppressed. On the 23d of August, about eight hundred Frenchmen, under the command of General Humbert, who had come to the assistance of the rebellious Irish, landed at Killala, and made themselves masters of that town. But instead of being joined by a considerable body of rebels, as they expected, they were met by General Lake, to whom they surrendered as prisoners of war. An end was thus temporarily put to the Irish rebellion —a rebellion which, though never completely organized, was fraught with excesses on each side at which humanity shudders. It was computed at the time that not less than 30,000 persons in one way or other, were its victims.

The preparations which had been making for the invasion of England were apparently continued, but at the same time an armament was fitting out at Toulon, the destination of which was kept a profound secret. It consisted of thirteen ships of the line, with other vessels, amounting in all to forty-five sail, besides 200 transports, on board of which were 20,000 choice

troops, with horses, artillery, and an immense quantity of provisions and military stores. All Europe beheld with astonishment and apprehension these mighty preparations, and seemed to wait in awful expectation for the storm of war that was about to burst on some devoted land. This armament, which was under the command of General Bonaparte, set sail May 20th, and having taken possession of the island of Malta on the 1st of June, proceeded towards Egypt, where it arrived at the beginning of July; its ultimate destination being said to be the East Indies, *via* the Red Sea. Sir Horatio Nelson, who was sent in pursuit of the French fleet, being wholly ignorant of its destination, sailed for Naples, where he obtained information of the surrender of Malta, and accordingly directed his course towards that island. On his arrival he had the mortification to find that Bonaparte was gone, and conjecturing that he had sailed to Alexandria, he immediately prepared to follow. He was, however, again disappointed, for on reaching Alexandria he learned that the enemy had not been there. After this, the British squadron proceeded to Rhodes, and thence to Sicily, where they had the satisfaction of hearing that the enemy had been off Candia about a month before, and had gone to Alexandria. Thitherward they pressed all sail, and on the 1st of August descried the French fleet lying in Aboukir bay. Bonaparte had landed his army on the 5th of July, and having made himself master of Alexandria, he drew up his transports within the inner harbour of that city, and proceeded with his army along the banks of the Nile. The French fleet, commanded by Admiral Brueys, was drawn up near the shore, in a compact line of battle, flanked by four frigates, and protected in the front by a battery planted on a small island. Nelson decided on an immediate attack that evening, and regardless of the position of the French, led his fleet between them and the shore, so as to place his enemies between two fires. The victory was complete. Nine ships of the line were taken, one was burnt by her captain, and the admiral's ship, L'Orient, was blown up in the action, with her commander and the greater part of her crew The loss of the English was 900 sailors killed; that of the French far greater. The glorious conduct of the brave men who achieved this signal triumph was the theme of every tongue, and the intrepid Nelson was rewarded with a peerage and a pension.

The victory of the Nile produced a powerful effect throughout Europe. The formidable preparations which had menaced Asia and Africa with immediate ruin were overthrown, and seemed to leave behind them an everlasting monument of the extreme folly and uncertainty of human undertakings. The deep despondency which had darkened the horizon of Europe was suddenly dispelled, the dread of Gallic vengeance seemed to vanish in a moment, and the minds of men were awakened into action by the ardent desire of restoring tranquillity to Europe. A second coalition was immediately formed against France, under the auspices of Great Britain, and was entered into by Austria, Russia, the Ottoman Porte, and Naples. Towards the close of the year the island of Minorca surrendered, with scarcely a show of resistance, to General Stuart and Commodore Duckworth.

We must now take a glance of the state of British affairs in India. Tippoo Saib having entered into a secret correspondence with the French republic, the governor-general demanded an explanation of his intentions; and as this demand was not complied with, General Harris invaded his territories. After some slight engagements, the British army advanced to Seringapatam, the capital of Tippoo, and on the 4th of May, after a gallant and desperate resistance, they succeeded in taking it, the sultan being killed while defending the fortress.

A. D. 1799.—In consequence of the confederacy which had been formed against the French republic, the campaign of this year became particu-

larly interesting. A French army which had advanced into Suabia, under General Jourdan, was opposed by the Austrians under the archduke Charles, and being discomfited, was compelled to retreat into Switzerland. The Austrians pursued them as far as Zurich, where they were enabled to make a stand until they received reinforcements. In the meantime, an army of Austrians and Russians, under General Suwarrow, having obliged the French to relinquish their conquests in Italy, they determined to hasten to the assistance of the archduke; but being anticipated by the French general, Massena, the Austrians were obliged to retreat in great haste, and the Russians were surrounded so completely, that only 5,000, with their general, escaped. In fact, so severe were the several contests, that in the space of fifteen days 30,000 men on both sides fell victims to the unsparing sword.

While these events were transacting in Italy and Switzerland, an attempt was made by Great Britain to drive the French from Holland, and to reinstate the prince of Orange in his authority as stadtholder. A landing was accordingly effected at the mouth of the Texel, under Sir Ralph Abercrombie; and immediately afterwards the British fleet, commanded by Admiral Mitchell, entered the Zuider Zee, and captured eight ships of the line, besides some smaller vessels of war and four Indiamen. On the 13th of September the duke of York assumed the chief command of the army, which amounted to 35,000 men, including 17,000 Russians. This army was at first successful, and drove the French from their positions; but their reinforcements arriving, and the British commanders finding no support from the Dutch, a suspension of arms was agreed upon, and the duke resolved to relinquish the enterprise. Holland was consequently evacuated; and, as the price of being allowed to re-embark without molestation 8 000 seamen, Dutch or French, prisoners in England, were to be liberated.

After the battle of the Nile, Bonaparte led his army into Palestine, with the avowed intention of taking possession of Jerusalem, rebuilding the temple, and restoring the Jews. El-Arisch and Gaza surrendered to him, Jaffa was carried by storm, and he rapidly advanced as far as the city of Acre, which he invested with an army of 10,000 select troops; but here he met with an opponent who arrested his progress. The pacha had the assistance of that gallant Englishman, Sir Sidney Smith, whose former daring exploits on the coasts of France had rendered his name far more familiar than agreeable to Gallic ears. On the 20th of March, Bonaparte opened his trenches; but a flotilla conveying part of his besieging train had been captured by Sir Sidney Smith, who was on board the Tigre of 84 guns, then lying off Acre, and the enemy's guns were employed in its defence. However, the French made a breach, and attempted to carry the place by assault, but were again and again repulsed with great loss. An alternation of attacks and sorties followed for the space of sixty days, during which Bonaparte uselessly sacrificed an immense number of his bravest soldiers, and at last was compelled to raise the siege. Having received intelligence of the arrival of a Turkish army in Egypt, Napoleon returned from Palestine across the deserts of Arabia, and on the 25th of July obtained a great victory over the Turks near the Pyramids.

But he was now about to enter on a new theatre of action. Party dissensions in France, her danger of external foes, and the opportunity which was thereby afforded to the ambition of this extraordinary leader, seems to have suddenly determined him to leave Egypt. He accordingly left the army to General Kleber, and sailed with all imaginable secresy from Aboukir; his good fortune enabling him, and the few friends he took with him, to reach Frejus on the 7th of October, unobserved and unmolested. Finding that the people generally approved of the step he had taken, and that while the corruption and mismanagement of the directory had rendered them very unpopular, he was regarded as the good genius

of France, he in the true Cromwellian fashion, with the assistance of a strong party, dissolved the assembly of representatives, and usurped the government with the title of chief consul, which was at first conferred on him for ten years, but was afterwards confirmed for life.

In order to render his usurpation popular, Bonaparte began to make professions of a pacific character, and entered into a correspondence for a negotiation with the principal powers at war with the republic. In his communications with the allied sovereigns he departed from the forms sanctioned by the custom of nations, and personally addressed his letters to the monarchs. The substance of the note addressed to his Britannic majesty was conveyed in two questions, "Whether the war which had for eight years ravaged the four quarters of the globe, was to be eternal;' and "Whether there were no means by which France and England might come to a good understanding?" In answer to this letter, an official note was returned by Mr. Grenville, who dwelt much on the bad faith of revolutionary rulers, and the instability of France since the subversion of the ancient monarchy. The overture which was transmitted to the court of Vienna was of a similar nature, and experienced similar treatment; but the emperor of Russia, being disgusted with the conduct of Austria in the late campaign, withdrew from the confederacy.

A. D. 1800.—The often discussed question of a legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland engaged the attention of politicians at this time, and gave rise to much angry feeling. Some serious difficulties had arisen from the existence of independent legislatures in England and Ireland, and there was reason to fear that while separate interests were made paramount to the general good, old grievances might again lead to disaffection, and the result be a dismemberment of the empire. To prevent such an evil the ministers of the day considered their bounden duty; and though the measure at first met with great opposition, it was eventually carried by considerable majorities, and took place on the 1st of January, 1801. By this arrangement the Irish were to have a share of all the commerce of Great Britain, except such parts of it as belonged to chartered companies. The commons of Ireland to be represented in the imperial parliament by a hundred members; the spiritual and temporal peerage of that country by four bishops and twenty-eight lay-lords, holding their seats for life.

During the past winter and the early part of spring the greatest distress was felt by the poorer classes on account of the scarcity and extraordinary high price of bread; in order to mitigate which, an act was passed prohibiting the sale of that great necessary of life until it had been baked twenty-four hours, from a well-founded notion that the consumption of stale bread would be much less than new.

On the 15th of May, as the king was reviewing a battalion of the guards in Hyde Park, a ball was fired in one of the vollies by a soldier, which wounded a gentleman who was standing not many yards from his majesty; but whether it was from accident or design could not be discovered. And on the evening of the same day a much more alarming circumstance occurred at Drury-lane theatre. At the moment his majesty entered the royal box, a man stood up in the pit and discharged a pistol at the king; the ball providentially missed him, and the offender was immediately seized, when it appeared that his name was James Hatfield, formerly a private soldier, and that he was occasionally afflicted with mental derangement, from a wound he had received in the head. He was accordingly "provided for" as a lunatic. The consternation occasioned by these occurrences was succeeded by many signal proofs of affectionate loyalty, especially on the 4th of June, his majesty's birth-day.

The campaign of 1800 was opened with great resolution on both sides. Independently of the other troops of France, an additional army of 60,000 men was assembled at Dijon, and it was publicly announced in the French

papers, that it was intended as a reinforcement to the armies on the Rhine and in Italy, as circumstances might require. No one suspected that any important plan of military operations was concealed by the affected publicity of this arrangement, so no precaution was taken to obviate the consequences which might arise from its movements. The Austrians in Italy, under General Melas, attacked Massena in the territory of the Genoese; and being successful in several obstinate conflicts, the surrender of Genoa with its garrison followed. Just at this time Bonaparte suddenly joined the army of reserve at Dijon, crossed the Alps over Mount St. Bernard, which before had been deemed impracticable, and descended into the Milanese without opposition. Having received some powerful reinforcements from the army in Switzerland he placed himself in the rear of the Austrian army, and resolved on hazarding a battle. Their first encounter was the battle of Montobello, in which the French had the advantage; and it served as a prelude to the decisive battle of Marengo. The Austrians numbered 60,000; the French, 50,000; the former commencing the fight with unusual spirit and success. For a long time the defeat of the French seemed inevitable. But General Desaix having arrived with a reinforcement towards evening, a terrible carnage ensued, and the Austrians were totally routed. The loss on each side was terrific; the French stating theirs at 12,000, and the Austrians at 15,000. On the following day a cessation of hostilities was proposed by the allies, which was granted on condition of their abandoning Piedmont. Immediately after, Bonaparte re-established the Cisalpine republic.

On the 3rd of December the Austrian army, under the archduke John, was signally defeated at Hohenlinden, by General Moreau; their loss being 10,000 men and eighty pieces of cannon; the effect of which was, that the emperor was driven to the necessity of soliciting an armistice. This was followed by a treaty of peace, which was signed at Luneville, on the 9th of February, 1801.

A. D. 1801.—On the 1st of January a royal proclamation announced the royal style and title as "George the Third, by the grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith;" the absurd titular assumption of king of France being now laid aside. On the 3rd his Majesty's council took the oaths as privy councillors for the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; and the king presented the lord chancellor with a new great seal made for the union.

By the treaty of Luneville, Great Britain became the only opponent of the French republic, and was placed in a situation requiring more than common energy and prudence. Influenced by the capricious emperor Paul of Russia, the principal northern powers resolved on reviving the armed neutrality, and claimed a right of trading to the ports of France, without submitting to their vessels being searched. At this critical juncture the British ministry, on the 11th of February, resigned their offices. The ostensible cause was a misunderstanding relative to catholic emancipation. It was understood that Mr. Pitt had pledged himself to obtain a repeal of the disabilities legally pending over that body; but the king's objections to the measure were too deeply rooted, and too conscientiously formed (it being, as he believed, contrary to the obligation of his coronation oath), for the minister to remove them; added to which, there was the well-known dislike entertained by the protestants of Ireland to encounter a catholic magistracy, and the fears of the clergy of the established church. Owing to the indisposition of his majesty, a new ministry was not formed till the middle of March, when Mr. Addington was chosen first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer; Lord Eldon, lord high chancellor; the earl of St. Vincent, first lord of the admiralty; the lords Hawkesbury and Pelham, secretaries of state; and the Hon. Col. Yorke secretary of war. There is

little doubt that the new ministers were brought forward to do what their predecessors were unable or unwilling to accomplish, namely, the putting an end to the war, and evading the agitation of the catholic question. Mr. Addington, it is true, had given general satisfaction as speaker of the house of commons, and he had acquired the king's personal favours by his decorous manner and respectable character; but neither he nor his colleagues had any political reputation to entitle them to be entrusted with the pilotage of the vessel of the state, especially where it was necessary to steer her amid the rocks and breakers of a tempestuous sea. In order to counteract the designs of the northern confederates, an armament was fitted out in the British ports consisting of 17 sail of the line, with frigates, bomb-vessels, &c., and entrusted to the command of Admiral Sir Hyde Parker and Vice-Admiral Lord Nelson. The fleet embarked at Yarmouth on the 12th of March, and having passed the Sound with very trifling opposition, appeared before Copenhagen on the 30th. Batteries of cannon and mortars were placed on every part of the shore where they might be used in annoying the English fleet; the mouth of the harbour being protected by a chain, and by a fort constructed on piles. An attack on this formidable crescent was entrusted, at his own request, to Nelson, with twelve ships of the line and all the smaller craft. It began at ten o'clock in the morning, and was kept up on both sides with great courage and prodigious slaughter for four hours; by which time 17 sail of the enemy had been burnt, sunk, or taken; while three of the largest of the English ships, owing to the intricacies of the navigation, had grounded within reach of the enemy's land batteries. At this juncture Nelson proposed a truce, to which the prince of Denmark promptly acceded. The loss of the English in killed and wounded was 942; that of the Danes 1800. The sudden death of Paul, emperor of Russia, who, it has been authentically said, was strangled in his palace, caused a change in foreign affairs. His eldest son, Alexander, ascended the throne, and, renouncing the politics of his father, entered into a treaty of amity with England; the northern confederacy was consequently dissolved.

At the time the expedition to Copenhagen was on the eve of departure, a considerable British force had been sent to Egypt, in order to effect the expulsion of the French from that country. This was under the command of Sir Ralph Abercrombie, who on the 8th of March effected a disembarkation, with great spirit, in the face of the enemy, at Aboukir, the fort of which surrendered on the 19th. General Kleber, who commanded the French troops in Egypt after the departure of Bonaparte, had been assassinated, and Menou was now the general-in-chief. On the 13th a severe action took place, in which the English had the advantage; but on the 21st the celebrated battle of Alexandria was fought. The force on each side was about 12,000; and before daylight the French commenced the attack. A long, desperate engagement succeeded; but at length the assailants were defeated, and the famous corps of "Invincibles" almost annihilated. The loss of the French in killed, wounded, and prisoners, was upwards of 3500; that of the British 1400; among whom was the gallant Sir Ralph Abercrombie, who nobly terminated a long career of military glory. He was wounded in the thigh, about the middle of the day; but that he might not damp the ardour of his troops, he concealed his anguish until the battle was won.

The command of the British troops devolved on General Hutchinson, an able officer, and the intimate friend of Sir Ralph, who having made himself master of the ports of Rosetta, Cairo, and Alexandria, completed the conquest of Egypt about the middle of September; when the French capitulated, upon condition of their being conveyed, with their arms, artillery, &c., to their own country. A large detachment of troops from the

Indian army arrived, by way of the Red Sea, under Sir David Baird, just after the conclusion of the treaty.

The news of this important event reached England on the same day that the preliminaries of a peace with France were signed by Mr. Otto, on the part of the French republic, and Lord Hawkesbury, on the part of his Britannic majesty. The definitive treaty was concluded at Amiens on the 27th of March, 1802; by which Great Britain consented to restore all her conquests, except the island of Trinidad, and the Dutch possessions in Ceylon. The Cape of Good Hope was to remain a free port to all the contracting powers. Malta, with its dependencies, was to be evacuated by the British, and restored to the order of St. John of Jerusalem; while the island was to be placed under the protection and sovereignty of the king of Naples. Egypt was to be restored to the Sublime Porte, whose territories and possessions were to be preserved entire, as they existed previously to the war. The territories of the queen of Portugal were to remain entire; and the French agreed to evacuate Rome and Naples. The republic of the Seven Islands was recognised by France; and the fishery of Newfoundland was established on its former footing.

The restoration of peace was universally received with transports of joy, and was in itself a measure so necessary and desirable, that the terms on which it had been concluded were passed over in silence by the inhabitants of both countries. When the subject was alluded to in the house of commons, Mr. Sheridan observed, "It is a peace of which every man is glad, but of which no man is proud." But though this apparent tendency of the two nations to forget their mutual animosities seemed to prognosticate a long continuance of the blessings of peace, the happy prospect was soon interrupted by symptoms of jealousy which appeared between the respective governments.

Having in various ways gained the popular voice in his favour, Bonaparte was appointed consul for life, with the power of naming a successor. On this occasion, he instituted a republican order of nobility—the legion of honour—to be conferred on military men as a reward for skill and bravery, and on citizens who distinguished themselves by their talents or their strict administration of justice.

Before we enter upon a new chapter, we are bound to notice a treasonable conspiracy by certain obscure individuals, which, at the time, caused considerable alarm. Colonel Despard, an Irish gentleman of respectable family and connections, who had formerly given distinguished proofs of valour and good conduct, but had subsequently been confined in Cold-bath-fields prison for seditious practices, was apprehended at the Oakley-Arms, Lambeth, with thirty-six of his confederates, principally consisting of the labouring classes, and among them three soldiers of the guards. It appeared that on his liberation from prison, Despard induced a number of violent fellows to believe that they were capable of subverting the present government, and establishing a democracy. In order to effect this measure, it was proposed to assassinate the king and royal family, to seize the Bank and Tower, and imprison the members of parliament. Vast as these plans were, yet it appeared that the time, mode, and place for their execution, were arranged; though only fifty or sixty persons were concerned in it. Information having been conveyed to ministers of this bold conspiracy, its progress was narrowly watched, and at the moment when the designs of the traitors were ripe for execution they were suddenly dragged from their rendezvous and fully committed on a charge of treason. After a trial which lasted eighteen hours the colonel was found guilty; and on the 21st of February, 1890, this misguided man, with six fellow conspirators, was executed on the top of the new gaol in Southwark. Despard declined spiritual assistance, and met his fate without contrition, sorrow, or concern: the others suffered death with decency.

CHAPTER LXII.

THE REIGN OF GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)

A. D. 1803.—The treaty of Amiens proved delusive, and both combatants, jealous and watchful, stood ready to renew the conflict. The unbounded ambition of the French consul induced him to take every opportunity of insulting our ambassadors, in order to occasion a renewal of hostilities. Peace had hardly been concluded, when the whole fortresses of Piedmont were dismantled, and that country was annexed to France. The same measures were pursued with regard to Parma and Placentia; and a numerous army was sent against Switzerland, and that government was placed in the hands of the dependents of Bonaparte. Notwithstanding these and several other acts of tyranny, his Britannic majesty earnestly endeavoured to avoid a recurrence to arms, and seemed willing to suffer the most unwarrantable aggressions, rather than again involve Europe in the horrors of war. This was construed by the Corsican into a dread of his ill-gotten power. Some official papers were afterwards presented to the British ministry, in which he required that the French emigrants who had found shelter in England should be banished; that the liberty of the press in Britain should be abridged, because some of the newspapers had drawn his character with a truthful pen; and it appeared, indeed, that nothing short of a species of dictation in the domestic affairs of Great Britain was likely to satisfy him. Such insolent pretensions could not be brooked; all ranks of men seemed to rouse from their lethargy, and the general wish was to uphold the country's honour by a renewed appeal to arms.

The extensive warlike preparations going forward about this time in the ports of France and Holland, excited the jealousy of the British ministry; though it was pretended that they were designed to reduce their revolted colonies to obedience. An explanation of the views of the French government was requested by Lord Whitworth, the English ambassador, but he was openly insulted by the first consul, who had the indecency to intimate, in a tone of gasconade, that Great Britain was unable to contend single-handed with France. On the 12th of May Lord Whitworth presented the ultimatum of the British government, which being rejected, war was announced on the 16th, by a message from his majesty to parliament. Almost immediately upon this, Bonaparte issued a decree for the detention of all the English in France; in consequence of which infringement of international law, about 12,000 English subjects, of all ages, were committed to custody as prisoners of war.

This event was followed by the invasion of Hanover by a republican army under General Mortier, thus openly violating the neutrality of the German empire, and breaking the peace which been separately concluded with his majesty, as elector of Hanover. His royal highness the duke of Cambridge, who was at that time in Hanover, and had the command of a small body of troops, was resolved to oppose the progress of the invaders; but being urged by the regency to retire from the command, he returned to England. In a short time the French made themselves masters of the electorate, and committed the most flagrant acts of cruelty on the unfortunate inhabitants. The Elbe and the Weser being now under the control of the French, these rivers were closed against English commerce, and Bonaparte also insisted that the ports of Denmark should be shut against the vessels of Great Britain. In retaliation the British government gave orders for blockading the French ports.

But it appeared that all minor schemes of aggrandizement were to give place to the invasion and subjugation of Great Britain; for which purpose an immense number of transports were ordered to be built with

the greatest expedition; and a flotilla was assembled at Boulogne, sufficient to carry any army which France might wish to employ. This flotilla was frequently attacked by the English, and whenever any of their number ventured beyond the range of the batteries erected for their protection, they were generally captured by cruisers stationed off the coast to watch their motions. These mighty preparations, and the menacing attitude which was not allowed to relax on the opposite side of the channel, gave a new and vigorous impetus to British patriotism, and proportionably strengthened the hands of the government. Exclusive of the regular and supplementary militia, an additional army of 50,000 men was levied, under the title of the army of reserve; and in a few months, volunteer corps, amounting to 300,000 men, were armed in their country's defence.

While measures were being taken for defending the country against invasion, a new insurrection broke out in Ireland, which had for its object to form an independent Irish republic. It originated with Mr. Robert Emmet, brother to him who had been so deeply implicated in the rebellious transactions of 1798, and who had been expatriated. This rash attempt to disturb the public tranquillity was made on the 23d of July, when Emmet, with a crowd of desperadoes armed with pikes and fire-arms, marched through the principal streets of Dublin, and meeting the carriage of Lord Kilwarden, chief-justice of Ireland, who was accompanied by his nephew and daughter, the ruffians dragged them from the carriage, and butchered the venerable judge and Mr. Wolfe on the spot, but the young lady was allowed to escape. Being attacked in their turn by a small party of soldiers, some of the rioters were killed, and others seized. Emmet and several of the most active ringleaders, afterwards suffered the extreme penalty of the law for their offence. In the session of November, acts were passed to continue the suspension of the habeas corpus, and enforce martial law in Ireland.

In the West Indies the English captured St. Lucie, Demerara, and other islands. A British fleet also assisted the insurgent blacks of St. Domingo to wrest that island from the French; but it was not effected without a most sanguinary contest. It was then erected into an independent state, under its ancient Indian name of Hayti.

In the East Indies much greater triumphs were achieved; among these was the famous battle of Assaye (Sept. 23), where Major-general Arthur Wellesley, with a comparatively few troops, completely defeated the combined Mahratta forces commanded by Scindiah Holkar and the rajah of Berar.

A. D. 1804.—It was the opinion of men of all parties, that in the present crisis a stronger ministry than that which had been formed under the leadership of Mr. Addington, was absolutely necessary to direct the councils of Great Britain; and the friends of Mr. Pitt became most anxious that he should return to the administration on the renewal of war. The minister accordingly sought the aid of that great statesman as an auxiliary; but, adhering to his well-known maxim "to accept of no subaltern situation," Mr. Pitt plainly signified that the premiership must be his. "Aut Cæsar, aut nullus." Though many were disappointed to find that a powerful coalition, in which Mr. Fox and his most eminent colleagues were expected to be included, was not formed, yet the manifest necessity of a vigorous prosecution of the war excited a spirit of unanimity in the nation, and induced the parliament to second every motion of the ministry.

Great as was the power to which Bonaparte had by artful gradations advanced himself, it was not sufficient to satiate his ambition; and he resolved to secure to himself the title of emperor. In order to sound the inclinations of the people, a book had been published some time before, pointing out the propriety and expediency of creating him emperor of the

Gauls; after which, an overture, equally insolent and absurd, was made to Louis XVIII., offering him indemnities and a splendid establishment, if he would renounce his pretensions to the crown of France. This proposal being treated with the contempt it merited, Bonaparte resolved on taking away the life of the duke D'Enghein, eldest son of the duke of Bourbon, on a surreptitious charge of having engaged in a conspiracy against the first consul, and of serving in the armies of the emigrants against France. He had fixed his residence at Ettenheim, in the neutral territory of the elector of Baden, where his chief occupation was study, and his principal recreation the culture of a small garden. From this rural retreat he was dragged on the 15th of March, by a body of French cavalry, under the command of General Caulincourt, and carried the same day to the citadel of Strasburgh, where he remained till the 18th. On the 20th the duke arrived at Paris under a guard of gens d'armes, and, after some hours at the barrier, was driven to Vincennes. A military commission appointed to try him met the same evening in the castle, and the foul atrocity was completed by his being sentenced to immediate execution; which having taken place, his body was placed in a coffin partly filled with lime, and buried in the castle garden.

Bonaparte having now nothing to apprehend either from his declared or concealed enemies, prevailed on the people to confer on himself and his heirs the imperial dignity. The ceremony of his coronation accordingly took place, with remarkable solemnity, on the 19th of November; and in the following February he addressed the king of Great Britain a letter, soliciting the establishment of peace. The answer of his Britannic majesty acknowledged that no object would be dearer to him than such a peace as would be consistent with the security and interests of his dominions; but it added, that he declined entering into particular discussion without consulting his allies.

A. D. 1805.—Enraged at the perseverance of Great Britain, and elated by the unparalleled success which had attended all his measures, the French emperor seemed now to consider himself as the disposer of kingdoms, and disregarded all principles of justice and moderation. In order to secure his own personal aggrandizement he made an excursion to Italy, converted the Cisalpine republic into a kingdom, and assumed the title of king of Italy. He then united the Ligurian republic to France, and erected the republic of Lucca into a principality, in favour of his sister Eliza, who had married the senator Bacchiachi. After these unprecedented acts of aggression, he returned to France, and being once more resolved to effect the subjugation of the British isles, he repaired to Boulogne and reviewed his troops there, which were ostentatiously named "the army of England," and amounted to considerably more than a hundred thousand men.

Spain having been compelled, in consequence of its dependence on France, to become a party in the war with Great Britain, Bonaparte determined, by uniting the naval strength of both nations, to strike a blow in several parts of the world at the same time. The greatest activity accordingly prevailed in the French ports, where the fleets had hitherto remained inactive; and several squadrons having eluded the vigilance of the British cruisers, put to sea. A squadron of five ships arrived in the West Indies, and surprized the town of Rouseau in Dominica; but being gallantly opposed by General Provost, the governor of the island, they levied a contribution of five thousand pounds, and precipitately re-embarked their troops. They next proceeded to St. Christopher's, where, having made great pecuniary exactions, they seized all the ships in the Basseterre road. These prizes were sent to Gaudaloupe; and the French squadron, fearful of encountering the British fleet, returned to Europe.

In the meantime a formidable fleet of ten sail of the line, with 10,000

men on board, set sail from Toulon, under the command of Admiral Villeneuve; who, having proceeded to Cadiz, was there reinforced by the Spanish admiral, Gravina, and six large ships, and immediately embarked for the West Indies. When Lord Nelson received information that the French and Spaniards had put to sea, he supposed that they were destined for an attempt on Alexandria, and accordingly set sail in that direction. He traversed the Mediterranean with the utmost celerity, having a squadron of ten ships with him; but finding that he was mistaken in his conjectures, he concluded that the enemy had sailed for the West Indies. He immediately directed his course towards that quarter, and by driving the combined squadrons from island to island, he prevented them from making an attack on any of the British possessions; nay, so universal was the dread of Nelson's name, that they had no sooner arrived, than they consulted their safety in a precipitate flight, and hastily returned to Europe. When the brave Nelson was assured of the course of his adversaries, he dispatched a messenger to England, and immediately set sail in hopes of overtaking the fugitives. He arrived at Gibraltar on the 20th of July, and having refitted his ships, he resumed his position off Cape St. Vincent, sixty-three days after his departure from it for the West Indies.

On the arrival in London of the information of the enemy's retreat, a squadron, consisting of fifteen sail of the line, was dispatched under Sir Robert Calder, in the hope of intercepting them. On the 22d of July Sir Robert descried the object of his mission, off Ferrol; and, notwithstanding their great superiority, he did not hesitate a moment in bringing them to action. After an obstinate engagement, the unequal conflict terminated in the defeat of the enemy, who, having lost two large ships, proceeded in haste to Ferrol. Being reinforced by the admirals Grandallana and Gourdon, they weighed anchor, and retired to the harbour of Cadiz, where they were blockaded by Sir Robert Calder. Some dissatisfaction having been expressed in the public papers, relative to the conduct of the British admiral in the engagement off Ferrol, he applied for a court-martial to inquire into the subject; when, to his great astonishment, and to the regret of the whole navy, he was found guilty of an error of judgment, and sentenced to be reprimanded—a reproach which he, who had passed forty-six years with honour in the service, felt deeply.

Subsequently to his arrival at Cape St. Vincent, Admiral Nelson traversed the bay of Biscay in search of the enemy; but being oppressed with fatigues and disappointment, he resolved on returning to England He arrived at Portsmouth on the 18th of August, and having reached London on the 20th, experienced a most cordial and affectionate reception from his grateful countrymen. He would not, however, allow himself to remain in inactivity, and being offered the command of an armament that was then preparing, he without hesitation embraced the opportunity of serving his country. Having hoisted his flag on board the Victory, on the following day he put to sea, and on his arrival at Cadiz he received from Admiral Collingwood the command of the British fleet, which now consisted of twenty-seven sail of the line. On the 19th of October Nelson learned that the combined French and Spanish fleets, consisting of thirty-three sail of the line, had put to sea from Cadiz, under admirals Villeneuve and Gravina; and on the 21st he discovered them off Cape Trafalgar. He immediately ordered the fleet to bear up, in two columns, as directed by his previous plan of attack; and issued this admonitory signal—which has since become a national proverb—"England expects every man to do his duty." The windward column of the English ships was led by Lord Nelson, in the Victory; the leeward by Rear-admiral Collingwood, in the Royal Sovereign. About noon the awful contest commenced, by the leading ships of the columns piercing the enemy's line; the others breaking through in all parts, and engaging their adversaries at the muzzle of their

guns. The enemy fought with intrepid spirit; but the superior skill which opposed them was resistless. The fury of the battle was sustained for three hours, when many ships of the combined fleet having struck, their line gave way: nineteen sail of the line, with Villeneuve and two other flag officers, were taken; the other ships, with Admiral Gravina, escaped.

This splendid victory, so pre-eminent in the annals of Britain, was purchased with the life of her greatest naval commander. In the middle of the contest Lord Nelson received in his left breast a musket-ball, aimed at him from the ship with which he was engaged; and in about an hour afterwards he expired, displaying in his death the heroic firmness which had distinguished every action of his life. The loss of this gallant man damped the joy which the news of so important a victory would have excited; and it is difficult to say whether the general grief that was felt for the hero's death, or the exultation for so signal a triumph, preponderated. Many there were, most assuredly, who would have relinquished the victory to have saved the victim. His remains were deposited in St. Paul's cathedral, and were accompanied by a procession more extensive and magnificent than England had, on any similar occasion, beheld.

Of that part of the Cadiz fleet which had escaped, four ships were afterwards captured by Sir Richard Strachan, off Ferrol, and were conducted to a British port. Thus the enemy's marine was virtually annihilated, and the navy of England held, undisputed, the mastery of the seas.

It was far otherwise, however, with her continental projects and alliances. An alliance offensive and defensive had long been ineffectually negotiating with Russia, Austria, and Sweden; but it was not till the French emperor had arbitrarily annexed Genoa and Parma to his dominions, that a treaty was concluded. The objects of this formidable coalition were the liberation of Holland, Sardinia, Switzerland, and Hanover, from French tyranny; the restoration of tranquillity to the Italian states, and the re-establishment of safety and peace in all Europe. It was stipulated that the three continental powers should furnish 500,000 men, exclusive of the British troops. The military force at the disposal of France was 650,000, besides a considerable number of auxiliaries. By one article of the confederacy it was agreed that the continental powers should not withdraw their forces, nor Great Britain her subsidies, till a general pacification took place with the common consent of the contracting parties.

The dissatisfaction evinced against the French emperor in all the territories which he had seized, seemed only to raise his ambition. To insure the subjugation of Germany, he endeavoured to separate Austria from the other imperial states. He issued a manifesto, reprobating the folly and injustice of the confederate powers, and declaring that if hostilities were commenced against any of his allies, particularly against Bavaria, he would instantly march his whole army to revenge the affront. He said that the war was created and maintained by the gold and hatred of Great Britain, and boasted that he would fight till he had secured the independence of the Germanic body, and would not make peace without a sufficient security for its continuance. The Austrians, disregarding these threats, entered Bavaria with 55,000 men, and were vigorously supported by the hereditary states. These forces, with those furnished by Russia and the Tyrol, seemed to promise success; but through the precipitancy of the Austrians, the tardiness of the Russians, and the vigorous measures of Bonaparte, the great objects of the coalition failed, and the most disastrous reverses were experienced.

The French reached the banks of the Rhine in September, and effected a passage over the river; engaged the Austrians before the Russians could join them, and defeated them with great loss at Wertingen and Gunsburgh. In the meantime General Bernadotte, by the order of Bonaparte, entered the neutral territories of Franconia, and was there joined

by the Bavarian army of 20,000 cavalry and infantry, the Batavian division, and by the army of Holland, under Marmont. The losses sustained by the Austrians had hitherto been very inconsiderable; but on the 13th of October, Meningen, with its large garrison, surrendered to Marshal Soult. On the 19th, the Austrians making a sortie from the city of Ulm, and attacking Dupont's division, were defeated, and 15,000 of their men taken. A few days afterwards the Austrian general, Mack, who had shut himself up in Ulm, with 30,000 men, surrendered to the French, under very suspicious circumstances, and his whole army were made prisoners of war.

The first Russian division, under generals Kutusoff and Merveldt, having at length effected a junction with the Austrians, the French army, 110,000 strong, hastily advanced to attack them. The allied troops were unwilling to engage a force so much more numerous than their own, and awaited the arrival of the second Russian army. That arrival was, however, delayed for a very considerable time, by the menacing and impolitic opposition of the Prussian armaments. Had the king of Prussia, by joining the confederates, avenged the insult offered to his Franconian territories, the French would soon have been compelled to return home; but the ill-fated policy he now adopted was the cause of all the disasters which Europe afterwards suffered. The first Russian army, unable to maintain its position against the superior power of the enemy, were under the necessity of falling back upon Moravia, and in their rout had no alternative but that of crossing the Danube, above Vienna. The imminent danger with which his capital was now threatened, induced the emperor of Austria to propose an armistice, in hopes of gaining time for the arrival of reinforcements. Count Guilay was accordingly dispatched to the headquarters of Napoleon, with proposals for concluding a suspension of hostilities for a few weeks, as a preliminary step towards a negotiation for a general peace. Bonaparte expressed his readiness to accede to the armistice, on condition that the Austrian monarch would cause the allied army to return home, the Hungarian levy to be abandoned, and the duchy of Venice and the Tyrol to be occupied by the French.

The Russian armies having at length effected a junction with those of Austria, they marched towards Austerlitz, where the French were posted; but as the allied sovereigns were desirous of preventing the dreadful sacrifice of life, which was inevitable from the conflict of two such prodigious armies, the counts Stadion and Guilay were sent to Napoleon to propose an armistice. The French emperor supposing that they merely wished to lull him into a false security, beguiled them with artful compliments, and solicited an interview with the Emperor Alexander. He had previously discovered that the allies were rashly advancing against him when the utmost caution was necessary; and, in order to take full advantage of the circumstance, he commanded his army to feign a retreat, that his enemy might be confirmed in the idea of his being unable to resist their forces. The Russian emperor declined in his own person the proposed interview, but sent his aid-de-camp as a proxy, who returned after a long conference, fully persuaded that the French were reduced to the last extremities.

The French having by cautious movements kept up the idea of their own weakness and alarm, were attacked on the 1st of December, by the combined army; but when their artifices had been duly prolonged, Bonaparte brought up all his troops, and by the superiority of his numbers, gained a complete victory. This was the well-contested and memorable battle of Austerlitz, or, as it was often called, the battle of the "Three Emperors." The Austro-Russian armies, amounting to 80,000, were commanded by General Kutusoff and Prince Lichtenstein; and nearly 30,000 in killed, wounded, and prisoners, with 100 pieces of cannon, attested the triumph of Napoleon. In consequence of this, an armistice was four days

afterwards effected; and on the 26th of the same month, a pacific treaty was concluded at Presburg between France and Austria. By the terms agreed on, France retained possession of the Transalpine territories; Bonaparte was acknowledged king of Italy, but the crowns of France and Italy were to be forever separated, instead of being united under one head; and the new made king was invested with the power of appointing an acknowledged successor to the Italian throne. On the other hand, the French emperor guaranteed the integrity of the empire of Austria, in the state to which he had now reduced it, as well as the integrity of the possessions of the princes of the house of Austria, Russia, &c.

Prussia, which had insidiously held back, watching the progress of the campaign, determined for the present to preserve peace with France, and concluded a convention with that power, by which Hanover was provisionally exchanged for Anspach, Cleves, and Neufchatel. It has always, indeed, appeared to us that the policy of Prussia was constantly directed to the diminution of the Austrian power, in the hope that the imperial crown might be transferred to the house of Brandenburg: a feeling which Bonaparte insidiously encouraged as long as it suited his own views of aggrandizement.

A. D. 1806.—The campaign of 1805 having thus fatally terminated, and the Russian armies having returned across the Elbe, Napoleon resolved to take vengeance on the king of Naples, who had provoked his wrath by admitting some British and Russian troops into his dominions. On the morning after he had signed the peace of Presburg, the French emperor issued a proclamation from his head-quarters at Vienna, declaring that the Neapolitan dynasty had ceased to reign, and denouncing vengeance on the royal family. Immediately after this threatening manifesto reached Naples, the Russian troops re-embarked, and the British determined on retiring to Sicily, without waiting the arrival of the enemy. The crown of Naples was conferred on Joseph Bonaparte, who, being supported by a numerous French army, took possession of his kingdom on the 13th of February, 1806. The late king took refuge at Palermo, where he was protected by the troops and fleet of Great Britain.

As that part of the Neapolitan territories called Calabria persisted in opposing the invaders, Sir J. Stuart, commander of the British forces in Sicily, undertook an expedition for the purpose of restoring the legitimate sovereign. Having landed his troops, consisting of 4,800 men, he immediately advanced to attack the French general, Regnier, who occupied a strong position near the plains of Maida, with an army of 7000 men; but the British troops charged the enemy at the point of the bayonet, and obtained a glorious victory; the enemy's loss being 4000 men, killed, wounded, and prisoners, while that of the English was only 45 killed and 282 wounded! The battle of Maida led to the expulsion of the French from Calabria in less than a month; but such considerable reinforcements were received by Joseph Bonaparte that the authority of the new monarch was established at Naples, and the English being under the necessity of withdrawing their forces to the protection of Sicily, the Calabrians were obliged to submit.

Shortly after this Bonaparte erected Holland into a kingdom, which he bestowed on his brother, Louis, whose mild administration, while it gained him the good-will and affection of his subjects, incensed his despotic brother. He next subverted the Germanic constitution, and established the *confederation of the Rhine*, of which he declared that he had taken on himself the office of "protector."

These momentous transactions on the continent have necessarily interrupted our narration of those events which relate exclusively to Great Britain. An important acquisition was made by General Baird and Sir Home Popham, who, after surmounting the most formidable obstacles,

made themselves masters of the Cape of Good Hope, on the 10th of January, experiencing little resistance from the Dutch governor. This conquest was followed by the capture of three French ships of the line, part of a squadron that had escaped from the harbour of Brest, and which Sir J. Duckworth fortunately met with in the West Indies.

But no event that took place, favourable or otherwise, was of equal importance to the death of Mr. Pitt, which happened on the 23d of January. Excessive anxiety, application, and debility, added to the failure of his plan for delivering Europe from French tyranny, accelerated his death, and the last words which quivered on his lips were "Oh, my country!" By a vote of the commons, his remains were interred in Westminster abbey, with the greatest solemnity, and a monument was erected to him at the public expense. By the same vote, his debts were discharged by the public, and it was no small proof of his entire disinterestedness, that during a long administration of twenty years, he did not accumulate money, but died insolvent. This great man departed in the 47th year of his age; at a period, too, when such a master-mind seemed to be more than ever needed to counteract the vast designs and universal despotism of the tyrant of the continent.

Soon after the decease of Mr. Pitt, his colleagues in office unanimously resigned their employments, and a new ministry was formed, the chief members of which were Lord Grenville, first lord of the treasury; Mr. Fox, secretary of state for foreign affairs; and Mr. Erskine (created a peer), lord high chancellor. Negotiations for a treaty of peace were immediately opened, and from the cordiality with which the two governments commenced their proceedings the most happy consequences were anticipated; but it soon appeared that the immoderate ambition of the French ruler excluded for the present all hopes of an accommodation.

A measure which will forever reflect glory upon the British nation was brought about by the new administration; we mean, the abolition of the slave trade. The bill was introduced by Mr. Fox, and notwithstanding the opposition it encountered from those who were interested in its continuance, it passed through both houses with a great majority. This distinguished act of humanity was, in fact, one of his last measures; this celebrated and much respected statesman having expired at Chiswick-house, in his 59th year, on the 13th of September. Like his great rival, the late premier, he gave early indications of superior capacity, and, like him, he was educated for political life. It is rather remarkable, that notwithstanding the irreconcilable opposition between him and Mr. Pitt, he received similar honours from the representatives of the nation, and his remains were deposited in Westminster abbey, within a few inches of his political opponent.

We have before alluded to the ill feeling existing between Austria and Prussia, which had induced the latter to cultivate the friendship of France, to extend her influence and dominions into Germany, and to maintain a strict neutrality with the hostile powers. From this conduct, which for a certain time insured the peace and entirety of Prussia, many advantages were expected to result; yet, at the same time, the military system of the nation declined, and its reputation had greatly decreased. After the battle of Austerlitz, so fatal to the liberties of Europe, the king of Prussia became entirely subservient to the arbitrary will of Bonaparte; and, being instigated by that powerful tyrant, he took possession of the electorate of Hanover, by which means he involved himself in a temporary war with Great Britain. A peace, however, was in a short time concluded; and as his Prussian majesty was unable any longer to submit to the indignities imposed upon him, he entered into a confederacy with Great Britain, Russia, and Sweden. An instantaneous change took place in the conduct of the Prussian cabinet the precipitancy of whose present measures could

only be equalled by their former tardiness. The armies of the contending parties took the field early in October, and after two engagements, in which the success was doubtful, a general battle took place at Jena on the 14th of that month. The French were posted along the Saale, their centre being at Jena. The Prussians, under Prince Ferdinand, duke of Brunswick, were ranged between Jena, Auerstadt, and Weimar. The armies were drawn up within musket-shot of each other, and at nine in the morning about 250,000 men, with 700 cannon, were employed in mutual destruction. Courage and discipline on each side where nearly equal, but the French evinced superior military science. When the day was far gone, Augereau arrived with seasonable reinforcements, which being supported by a brilliant charge of Murat's cuirassiers, victory declared in favour of the French. Napoleon, from the height where he stood, saw the Prussians fly in all directions. More than 20,000 were killed or wounded, and 30,000 taken prisoners, with 300 pieces of cannon. Prince Ferdinand died of his wounds. A panic seized the garrison; all the principal towns of Prussia, west of the Oder, surrendered soon after the battle; and the remains of their army was driven as far as the Vistula. Blucher was compelled to capitulate at Lubec. Bonaparte now entered Berlin, and while there, received a deputation from the French senate, complimenting him on his wonderful successes, but recommending peace.

On the approach of the French to the Vistula, the Russian armies advanced with great rapidity to check their course; a formidable body of Swedes was assembled in Pomerania; and the king of Prussia having assembled his scattered troops, and reinforced them with new levies, prepared to face the enemy. General Benigsen, who commanded the Russian forces, and was in daily expectation of a reinforcement, was attacked at Pultusk, on the 26th of December; the engagement was very severe, but he succeeded in driving the enemy from the field of battle. This concluded the campaign.

A. D. 1807.—At the beginning of this year the bill for the emancipation of the Roman Catholics passed both houses of parliament, and was presented to the king to receive the royal assent. His majesty, conscientiously believing that he could not sign it without violating his coronation oath, and being desirous of testifying his attachment to the established religion, not only refused to sign the bill, but desired that his ministers would forever abandon the measure. This they refused; and on the dismissal of Lord Erskine and several of his colleagues, Lord Eldon was chosen lord chancellor; the duke of Portland, first lord of the treasury; and the Right Hon. Spencer Perceval, chancellor of the exchequer.

After the surrender of the Cape of Good Hope to the British arms an expedition was undertaken against the Spanish settlements in South America. They proceeded up the Rio de la Plata, and having surmounted innumerable difficulties, landed their troops near Buenos Ayres, and on the 28th of June, 1806, took possession of the town. A general insurrection having been excited soon afterwards, the British troops were compelled to abandon it, and it was found expedient to send to the Cape for reinforcements. Buenos Ayres was again attacked on the 7th of July 1807, by Rear-admiral Murray and General Whitelock. The soldiers being ordered to enter the town with unloaded muskets, were received by a most destructive fire from the houses, and after having lost 2,500 brave men, were forced to retire. A convention was then entered into with the Spanish commander, by which it was stipulated that a mutual restitution of prisoners should take place, and that the British troops should evacuate the country. For his unsoldierlike conduct in this fatal expedition, General Whitelock was tried by a court-martial on his return to England, and rendered incapable of serving his majesty in future.

We now return to the military operations on the continent. The battle of Pultusk had left the contending parties in circumstances nearly equal. Bonaparte had retired into winter-quarters, where he intended to have remained till the return of spring; but as the Russians were conscious of the advantages resulting to them from the rigorous climate, they were resolved to allow him no repose. The Russian general, Markow, accordingly attacked the French under Bernadotte, at Morungen in East Prussia, when a very severe action ensued, which terminated in favour of the allies. Another sanguinary encounter took place on the 8th of February, near the town of Eylau, when the fortunes of France and Russia seemed to be equally balanced, and each party claimed the victory. Immediately after this engagement Bonaparte dispatched a messenger to the Russian commander-in-chief, with overtures of a pacific nature; but General Benigsen rejected his offers with disdain, and replied that "he had been sent by his masters not to negotiate, but to fight." Notwithstanding this repulse, similar overtures were made by Bonaparte to the king of Prussia, and met with no better success. The weak state of the French army at this time seemed to promise the allies a speedy and fortunate termination of the contest; but the surrender of Dantzic totally changed the face of affairs, and by supplying the French with arms and ammunition, enabled them to maintain a superiority. On the 14th of June a general engagement ensued at Friedland, and the concentrated forces of the allies were repulsed with prodigious slaughter. On the 23d of the same month an armistice was concluded; and on the 8th of July a treaty of peace was signed at Tilsit, between the emperors of France and Russia, to which his Prussian majesty acceded on the following day.

The first interview between Bonaparte and the emperor Alexander took place on the 25th of June, on a raft constructed for that purpose on the river Niemen, where two tents had been prepared for their reception. The two emperors landed from their boats at the same time, and embraced each other. A magnificent dinner was afterwards given by Napoleon's guard to those of Alexander and the king of Prussia; when they exchanged uniforms, and were to be seen in motley dresses, partly French, partly Russian, and partly Prussian. The articles by which peace was granted to Russia were, under all the circumstances, remarkably favourable. Alexander agreed to acknowledge the kings of Bonaparte's creation, and the confederation of the Rhine. Napoleon undertook to mediate a peace between the Porte and Russia; Alexander having undertaken to be the mediator between France and England, or, in the event of his mediation being refused, to shut his ports against British commerce. The terms imposed on the king of Prussia were marked by characteristic severity. The city of Dantzic was declared independent; and all the Polish provinces, with Westphalia, were ceded by Prussia to the conqueror, by which means the king of Prussia was stripped of nearly half of his territories, and one-third of his revenues. All his ports were likewise to be closed against England till a permanent peace.

The unexampled influence which Napoleon had now acquired over the nations of Europe, to say nothing of that spirit of domination which he everywhere exercised, rendered it extremely improbable that Denmark would long preserve her neutrality; nay, the English ministers had good reasons to believe that a ready acquiescence to the dictates of the French emperor would be found in the court of Copenhagen. As it was therefore feared that the Danish fleet would fall into the hands of the enemy, it was thought expedient to dispatch a formidable armament to the Baltic and to negotiate with the Danish government. The basis of the negotiation was a proposal to protect the neutrality of Denmark, on condition that its fleet should be deposited in the British ports till the termination of the war with France. As this proposal was re-

jected, and as the general conduct of the Danes betrayed their partiality for the French, the armament, which consisted of twenty-seven sail of the line and twenty thousand land forces, under the command of Admiral Gambier and Lord Cathcart, made preparations for investing the city. A tremendous cannonading then commenced. The cathedral, many public edifices and private houses were destroyed, with the sacrifice of two thousand lives. From the 2nd of September till the evening of the 5th, the conflagration was kept up in different places, when, a considerable part of the city being consumed, and the remainder threatened with speedy destruction, the general commanding the garrison sent out a flag of truce, desiring an armistice, to afford time to treat for a capitulation. This being arranged, a mutual restitution of prisoners took place, and the Danish fleet, consisting of 18 sail of the line and 15 frigates, together with all the naval stores, surrendered to his Britannic majesty's forces. The Danish government, however, refused to ratify the capitulation, and issued a declaration of war against England. This unexpected enterprize against a neutral power served as an ostensible cause for Russia to commence hostilities against Great Britain; and a manifesto was published on the 31st of October, ordering the detention of all British ships and property.

The two grand objects to which the attention of Bonaparte was principally directed, were the annihilation of the trade of Great Britain, and the extension of his dominions. In order to attain the former of these objects, he, in November, 1806, issued at Berlin a decree, by which the British islands were declared to be in a state of blockade, and all neutral vessels that traded to them without his consent were subject to capture and confiscation. This new mode of warfare excited at first the apprehensions of the British merchants; but the cabinet were resolved to retaliate, and accordingly issued the celebrated *orders in council*, by which France and all the powers under her influence were declared to be in a state of blockade, and all neutral vessels that should trade between the hostile powers, without touching at some port of Great Britain, were liable to be seized. These unprecedented measures were extremely detrimental to all neutral powers, especially to the Americans, who were the general carriers of colonial produce. They, by way of retaliation, laid an embargo in all the ports of the United States, and, notwithstanding the extinction of their commerce, long persisted in the measure.

In the conduct pursued by Bonaparte with respect to Portugal, he resolved to act in such a manner as should either involve that nation in a war with England, or would furnish him with a pretence for invading it. He accordingly required the court of Lisbon, first, to shut their ports against Great Britain; secondly, to detain all Englishmen residing in Portugal; and thirdly, to confiscate all English property. In case these demands were refused, he declared that war would be declared against them, and, without waiting for an answer, he gave orders for detaining all merchant-ships that were in the port of France. As the prince-regent could not comply with these imperious demands without violating the treaties that existed between the two nations, he endeavoured to avoid the danger which threatened him by agreeing to the first condition. The ports of Portugal were accordingly shut up, but this concession served only to inflame the resentment of Bonaparte, who immediately declared "that the house of Braganza had ceased to reign," and sent an immense army into Portugal, under General Junot. In this critical situation the prince-regent removed his troops to the seaports, and when Junot entered his dominions he retired with his family to the Brazils.

The subversion of the government of Spain and the expulsion of the reigning family was the next step on the ladder of Napoleon's ambition. In order to accomplish this it was his first care to foment discord in the

royal family, which he was too successful in effecting. By encouraging the ambition of the heir-apparent, he excited the resentment of the reigning monarch, Charles IV., rendered them mutual objects of mistrust, jealousy, and hatred, and plunged the nation into anarchy and confusion. In this perplexed state of affairs, he invented an excuse for introducing his armies into Spain, and compelled Charles to resign the crown to his son, who was invested with the sovereignty, with the title of Ferdinand VII. The new-made king, with his father and the whole royal family, were shortly afterwards prevailed on to take a journey to Bayonne, in France, where an interview took place with the French emperor. On the 5th of May the two kings were compelled by Bonaparte to sign a formal abdication, and the infants Don Antonio and Don Carlos renounced all claim to the succession. This measure was followed by an imperial decree, declaring the throne of Spain to be vacant, and conferring it on Joseph Bonaparte, who had abdicated the throne of Naples in favour of Joachim Murat.

As the French forces, amounting to about 100,000 men, occupied all the strongest and most commanding positions of Spain, and as another army of 20,000 men, under Junot, had arrived in Portugal, it was imagined that the new sovereign would take possession of the kingdom without opposition. But no sooner had the news of the treatment of the royal family reached Spain, than a general insurrection broke out; juntas were formed in the different provinces, patriotic armies were levied, and the assistance of England was implored. The supreme junta of Seville assumed the sovereign authority in the name of Ferdinand VII., whom they proclaimed king, and declared war against France. Peace with Spain was proclaimed in London on the 5th of July; the Spanish prisoners were set free, clothed, and sent home; and everything that the Spaniards could desire, or the English afford, was liberally granted. The suddenness of the insurrection, the unanimity which prevailed, and the vigour with which it was conducted, amazed the surrounding nations, and called forth their exertions. The efforts of the Spaniards were crowned with astonishing success; the usurper Joseph was driven from the capital after having remained in it about a week; and the French, after losing about 50,000 men, were obliged to abandon the greatest part of the kingdom, and to retire to the north of the Ebro.

A. D. 1808.—Animated and encouraged by the successful resistance of the Spaniards, the Portuguese also displayed a spirit of patriotic loyalty, and a general insurrection took place in the northern parts of that kingdom. In the provinces from which the French had been expelled the authority of the prince-regent was re-established, and provisional juntas, like those of Spain, were formed. The supreme junta of Oporto having taken effectual measures for raising an army, dispatched ambassadors to England to solicit support and assistance. In consequence of this, an army under Sir Arthur Wellesley, consisting of 10,000 men, set sail from Cork on the 12th of July, and landed in Oporto, where, after a severe encounter, he compelled the French general, Laborde, to abandon a very strong position on the heights of Roleia. In the following night Laborde effected a junction with General Loison, and they retreated with their united forces towards Lisbon. The British army having been reinforced by a body of troops under General Anstruther, proceeded towards the capital in pursuit of the French. On the 21st of August, the French army under Junot, who had been created duke of Abrantes by Bonaparte, met the British troops at the village of Vimiera, when a very severe action ensued, and terminated in the total defeat of the French, whose loss in killed alone amounted to 3,500 men. Sir Hugh Dalrymple, who had been called from Gibraltar to take the command of the British forces, joined the army at Cintra on the day after this splendid victory, and con-

cluded a treaty which was thought in England to be disadvantageous, and became the subject of military inquiry; but Sir Arthur Wellesley giving his testimony in its favour, it may safely be inferred to have been wisely concluded; and such was the result of the investigation. It stipulated that the French should evacuate Portugal, with their arms, but leaving their magazines, and be transported to France in British ships, without any restriction in regard to future service; having leave to dispose of their private property (viz., their plunder acquired by contributions), in Portugal. The Russian fleet in the Tagus, consisting of nine ships of the line and a frigate, was to be surrendered to the British government, but to be restored after the peace, and the Russian officers and men to be conveyed home in English transports.

The convention of Cintra being carried into effect, the British forces advanced to Lisbon, and having remained in that city about two months, proceeded in different divisions towards Salamanca, in Spain. In the meantime an army of 13,000 men, under Sir David Baird, having landed at Corunna, was marching through the northern part of Portugal towards the same point. Bonaparte having, with an immense army, entered Spain, in order to conduct the operations of the war, the patriot troops under Belvidere, Blake, and Castanos, were successively defeated, and Napoleon entered Madrid in triumph. Sir John Moore, the commander-in-chief of the British army, being unable to keep the field in the presence of an enemy so much superior in numbers, while his own troops were suffering dreadfully from hunger and fatigue, retreated, in the midst of winter, through a desolate and mountainous country, made almost impassable by snow and rain; yet he effected his retreat with great rapidity and judgment, and arrived at Corunna Jan. 11, 1809. Soult took up a position above the town in readiness to make an attack as soon as the troops should begin to embark. On the 16th, the operation having begun, the French descended in four columns, when Sir John Moore, in bringing up the guards, where the fire was most destructive, received a mortal wound from a cannon-ball. General Baird being also disabled, the command devolved on Sir John Hope, under whom the troops bravely continued the fight until nightfall, when the French retreated with the loss of two thousand men, and offered no further molestation. The loss of the English in this battle was stated at between seven and eight hundred men; but their total loss in this arduous expedition was little less than six thousand, with their brave and noble commander, whose soldierly skill and general high qualities fairly entitled him to the respect and admiration in which he was universally held.

A. D. 1809.—The most vigorous exertions were now made by the French for the complete subjugation of Spain. Having defeated and dispersed several bodies of the Spanish troops, they sat down before Saragossa, and made themselves masters of it after a desperate and sanguinary assault. The French army then entered Portugal, under Marshal Soult, duke of Dalmatia, and took Oporto. On the arrival of another British armament, consisting of above thirty thousand men, under generals Wellesley and Beresford, Soult was obliged to retire from Portugal with considerable loss. Sir Arthur Wellesley advanced with rapidity into Spain, and having united his troops with a Spanish army of thirty-eight thousand men, under General Cuesta, they marched on Madrid. On the 26th of July General Cuesta's advanced guard was attacked by a detachment of the enemy, and as a general engagement was daily expected, Sir Arthur Wellesley took a strong position at Talavera. On the following day a very obstinate engagement commenced, which was continued with various success till the evening of the 28th, when the French retreated, leaving behind them seventeen pieces of cannon. The battle was most severe, the English losing in killed, wounded, and missing, six thousand

men, while the loss on the part of the French was estimated at ten thousand. For the great skill and bravery displayed in this action Sir Arthur Wellesley was created a peer, with the title of Viscount Wellington. The French army was commanded by Victor and Sebastiani; but soon afterwards the junction of Ney, Soult, and Mortier in the rear of the English, compelled them to fall back on Badajoz, and Cuesta remained in Spain to check the progress of the French.

Austria, stimulated by what was passing in Spain, had once more attempted to assert her independence; and Bonaparte had left the peninsula soon after the battle of Corunna, in order to conduct in person the war which was thus renewed in Germany. Hostilities had been declared on the 6th of April, when the archduke Charles issued a spirited address to the army preparatory to his opening the campaign. The whole Austrian army consisted of nine corps, in each of which were from thirty to forty thousand men. Bonaparte, in addition to the French corps, now congregated under his standard Bavarians, Saxons, and Poles; and such was his celerity of movement, and the impetuosity of his troops, that in the short space of one month he crippled the forces of Austria, and took possession of Vienna on the 13th of May. On the 21st and 22d of the same month, the archduke Charles, who had taken his position on the left bank of the Danube, engaged Bonaparte between the villages of Asperne and Essling, and completely defeated him, compelling him to retire to Loban, an island on the Danube. The Austrians were, however, so much weakened by this battle, as to be unable to follow up their success, and both armies remained inactive till the 4th of July, when Bonaparte, having been greatly reinforced, relinquished his situation amid a violent torrent of rain, and drew up his forces in order of battle on the extremity of the Austrian left wing. The allies were greatly disconcerted by this unexpected movement, and being obliged to abandon the strong position which they held, an engagement commenced near Wagram, under every disadvantage, when the French were victorious, and the Austrians retreated towards Bohemia. A suspension of hostilities was soon afterwards agreed on, which was followed by a treaty of peace, concluded at Schoenbrun, Oct. 15, by which the emperor of Austria was compelled to cede several of his most valuable provinces, to discontinue his intercourse with the court of London, and to close his ports against British vessels.

In the course of the summer was fitted out with great secrecy one of the most formidable armaments ever sent from the shores of England. It consisted of an army of 40,000 men, and a fleet of 39 sail of the line, 36 frigates, and numerous gun-boats, &c. The command of the first was given to the earl of Chatham, of the last to Sir R. Strachan. The chief objects of the enterprise were to get possession of Flushing and the island of Walcheren, with the French ships of war in the Scheldt; to destroy their arsenals and dock-yards, and to effect the reduction of the city of Antwerp. The preparations which had been made for this expedition, and the immense sums of money expended on it, raised the expectations of the nation to the highest pitch; but it was planned without judgment, and therefore necessarily terminated in loss and disgrace. On the arrival of the armament in the Scheldt, the contest between Austria and France had been decided; the military state of the country was widely different from what had been represented; and Antwerp, instead of being defenceless, was completely fortified. The attack on the island of Walcheren succeeded, and Flushing surrendered after an obstinate resistance of twelve days; but as the country assumed a posture of defence that was totally unexpected, all idea of proceeding up the Scheldt was abandoned, and the troops remained at Walcheren, where an epidemic fever raged. Of the fine army that left Portsmouth a few months before, one half

perished on the pestilential shores of Walcheren; and of the remainder, who returned in December, many were afflicted with incurable chronic diseases.

The other events of the year may be briefly told. The French settlement at Cayenne surrendered to an English and Portuguese force, and the island of Martinique was soon afterwards captured by British arms. A French fleet, consisting of ten sail of the line, which lay in the Basque roads, under the protection of the forts of the island of Aix, was attacked by a squadron of gun-boats, fire-ships, and frigates, under Lord Cochrane, who captured four ships, disabled several others, and drove the rest on shore. A gallant action was likewise performed by Lord Collingwood, who, on the 1st of October destroyed, in the bay of Rosas, three sail of the line, two frigates, and twenty transports. To these successes may be added, the reduction of some small islands in the West Indies, and the capture of a Russian flotilla and convoy in the Baltic, by Sir James Saumarez.

In the early part of the year, public attention was engrossed with a parliamentary inquiry into the conduct of his royal highness the duke of York, commander-in-chief; against whom Colonel Wardle, an officer of militia, had brought forward a series of charges, to the effect that Mrs. Mary Ann Clarke, a once favoured courtesan of the duke, had carried on a traffic in military commissions, with his knowledge and concurrence. During the progress of this investigation the house was fully attended, its members appearing highly edified by the equivocal replies and sprightly sallies of the frail one. But the duke, though guilty of great indiscretion, was acquitted of personal corruption by a vote of the house. He, however, thought proper to resign his employment. Various circumstances which afterwards transpired tended to throw considerable suspicion on the motives and characters of the parties who instituted the inquiry.

A. D. 1810.—The parliamentary session commenced with an inquiry into the late calamitous expedition to Walcheren; and after a long debate in the house of commons, the conduct of ministers, instead of being censured, was declared to be worthy of commendation. In the course of the discussion, Mr. Yorke, member for Cambridge, daily enforced the standing order of the house for the exclusion of strangers—a measure which was very unpopular, and became the subject of very severe animadversions in the London debating societies. John Gale Jones, the director of one of these societies called the "British Forum," having issued a placard, notifying that the following question had been discussed there:—"Which was a greater outrage on the public feeling, Mr. Yorke's enforcement of the standing order to exclude strangers from the house of commons, or Mr. Windham's attack on the press?" and that it had been unanimously carried against the former. Mr. Yorke complained of it as a breach of privilege, and Jones was committed to Newgate. On the 12th of March, Sir Francis Burdett, who had been absent when Mr. Jones was committed, brought forward a motion for his liberation, on the ground that his imprisonment by the house of commons was an infringement of the law of the land, and a subversion of the principles of the constitution. This motion being negatived, Sir Francis published a letter to his constituents, the electors of Westminster, in which he stated his reasons for objecting to the imprisonment of Mr. Jones, and adverted in very pointed terms to the illegality of the measure. This letter was brought forward in the house by Mr. Lethbridge, who moved that it was a scandalous publication, and that Sir Francis Burdett was guilty of a flagrant breach of privilege. After an adjournment of a week, these resolutions were carried; and a motion that Sir Francis Burdett should be committed to the Tower, was likewise carried by a majority of thirty-seven members. A warrant was accord-

ingly signed by the speaker of the house of commons, for the apprehension and commitment of the right honourable baronet. Sir Francis urged the illegality of the speaker's warrant, and resisted the execution of it till the 9th of April, when the serjeant-at-arms, accompanied by messengers, police officers, and detachments of the military, forced open the baronet's house, arrested him, and conveyed him, by a circuitous route, to the Tower. The greatest indignation prevailed among the populace when they heard of the apprehension of their favourite; and, having assembled on Tower hill, they attacked the military with stones and other missiles. For a time the soldiers submitted to the insults of the multitude; but finding that their audacity increased, they fired, and three of the rioters were killed. At the prorogation of parliament, on the 21st of June, Sir Francis was liberated from the Tower, and great preparations were made by his partizans for conducting him home, but he prudently declined the honour, and returned to his house by water, to avoid the risk of popular tumult. As for Mr. Gale Jones, who claimed a right to a trial, he refused to leave Newgate, and was at last got out by stratagem, loudly complaining of the double grievance of being illegally imprisoned and as illegally discharged.

On the 31st of May an extraordinary attempt at assassination was made on the duke of Cumberland. At about half-past two o'clock in the morning his royal highness was roused from his sleep by several blows about the head, which were proved to have been given by a sabre; and, jumping up to give an alarm, he was followed by the assassin, who cut him across the thighs. He then called his valet-in-waiting, who hastened to his master's assistance, and alarmed the house. Having closely inspected the room, to see if any one were concealed therein, they went to the porter's room to awaken Sellis, a Piedmontese valet; when, on forcing open the door, they found him stretched on the bed, with his throat cut. Subsequent circumstances made it evident that this wretch, after having failed in his attempt to assassinate the duke, had retired on the first alarm, and put an end to his own life. Next day a coroner's inquest was held on the body of Sellis, and after bestowing a patient attention to the evidence, the jury returned a verdict of *felo-de-se*. The assassin was believed to have been actuated by private resentment for some supposed injury, but nothing definite was elicited.

On the retreat of Lord Wellington at Talavera, the French armies advanced with astonishing rapidity; and having defeated and dispersed a Spanish army of 50,000 men, at the battle of Ocana, Nov. 19, they carried their victorious arms into almost every province of Spain. They were, however, much annoyed, and sometimes repulsed by the patriots, who, wandering from place to place, seized every opportunity of revenging themselves on their rapacious invaders. The French army in Portugal was greatly superior in numbers to the English, and was commanded by Marshal Massena, prince of Essling, who employed every artifice to induce Lord Wellington to leave the strong position which he held on the mountains. With this view he undertook, successively, the sieges of Cuidad Rodrigo and Almeida, both of which places, after a most spirited resistance, were compelled to surrender. All these stratagems of Massena could not induce the British general to hazard a battle under disadvantageous circumstances; and the cautious conduct of his lordship on this occasion, was as laudable as his courage and resolution had formerly been. Massena at length began to suspect that his opponent was actuated by fear; and therefore determined to attack him in his intrenchments, on the summit of the mountain of Buzaco. An engagement accordingly took place on the 27th of September, when the combined armies of England and Portugal completely defeated the French, who lost on the occasion upwards of 2000 men. A few days after this engagement, the British general, by an unexpected movement, retired towards Lisbon, and oc-

cupied an impregnable position on Torres Vedras; whither he was followed by Marshal Massena, who encamped directly in his front.

While these events were taking place in Spain and Portugal, the successful termination of some distant naval expeditions served to confirm the gallantry of that branch of the service. The Dutch settlement of Amboyne, with its dependent islands, surrendered to a British force Feb. 17. On the 8th of August, a party of 180 British seamen, under the command of Captain Cole, attacked Banda, the principal of the Dutch spice islands, and obliged the garrison, consisting of 1000 men, to surrender. The important islands of Bourbon and the Mauritius were likewise reduced, at the close of the year, by a British armament, under the command of Admiral Bertie and Major-General Abercrombie.

Several events took place at this time on the continent of Europe, not less remarkable for their novelty than for their importance. Bonaparte, having divorced the empress Josephine, espoused on the 11th of March the archduchess Maria Louisa, daughter of the emperor of Austria. On the 1st of July, Louis Bonaparte, king of Holland, after having made a fruitless attempt to improve the condition of his unfortunate subjects, abdicated the throne in favour of his eldest son. That exhausted country was immediately seized by Napoleon, and annexed to the French empire; Charles XIII. of Sweden, being advanced in age and having no children, chose for his successor Charles Augustus, prince of Augustinberg; but as this prince died suddenly, it became necessary to nominate his successor. The candidates for this high office were the prince of Holstein, the king of Denmark, and the French marshal Bernadotte, prince of Ponte Corvo. The latter being favoured by Napoleon and by the king of Sweden, he was unanimously chosen crown prince, and his installation took place on the 1st of November, in the presence of the assembled diet. A few days afterwards war was declared against Great Britain; all intercourse was prohibited, and the importation of colonial produce interdicted.

CHAPTER LXIII.

THE REIGN OF GEORGE III. [THE REGENCY.]

A. D. 1811.—One of the first legislative acts of this year was the appointment of the prince of Wales, under certain restrictions, as regent in consequence of a return of that mental malady with which the king had formerly been temporarily afflicted. The restrictions were to continue till after February 1, 1812. It was expected that a change of ministers would immediately take place, but the prince declined making any change in the administration, or to accept any grant for an establishment in virtue of his new functions.

The progress of events in the peninsula again claims our attention. Massena, who at the close of the preceding year, had posted himself at Santarem, met with such difficulties in procuring the necessary supply of provisions, that he was induced to abandon his position on the 5th of March, leaving behind him a considerable quantity of heavy artillery and ammunition. He continued his retreat through Portugal, closely pursued by Lord Wellington and General Beresford. Numerous skirmishes took place between the outposts of the hostile armies; but on the 16th of May a more important action ensued at the river Albuera, between Marshal Soult and General Beresford. The contest continued with great impetuosity for several hours, till at length victory declared in favour of the Anglo-Portuguese troops, and the French were compelled to retreat. The loss of the French was estimated at 9,000, among whom were five generals; the loss of the allies amounted to about half that number.

After this victory General Beresford invested the important city of Badajos, but was obliged to raise the siege, in consequence of the junction of the French armies under Soult and Marmont.

The war was at the same time conducted with great spirit in different parts of Spain. In Catalonia the operations of the French were crowned with success; but in Andalusia they were compelled to retire before the determined bravery of the allied forces. This army had landed at Algesiras, under General Graham, with the intention of attacking the French troops engaged in the siege of Cadiz. On the 5th of March they took a strong position on the heights of Barossa, where they were attacked on the 25th by a superior force of the enemy. After a remarkably severe engagement, the French retired in disorder, with the loss of 3,000 men; but the numerical inferiority of the allies precluded the hope of pursuing them with success. The subsequent events of the war in the peninsula, during this year, were neither numerous nor important. The French army, who had threatened to "plant their eagles on the walls of Lisbon, and to drive the English into the sea," were not only unable to carry their threat into execution, but were frequently defeated by troops which they had been taught to despise.

While the military prowess of England was thus displayed, the superiority of her navy was sufficiently manifested by the success which attended all its operations. A combined French and Italian squadron, consisting of five frigates and six smaller armed vessels, was encountered off the island of Lissa, in the gulf of Venice, by an English squadron composed of four frigates only; the contest was fierce and for a time doubtful, but at length British valour prevailed, and three of the enemy's frigates were taken. On the 21st of July, a French flotilla, consisting of twenty-six vessels, was attacked off the coast of Calabria, by an English frigate and a sloop, and the whole of them were captured without the loss of a man. These and other gallant encounters, though on a small scale, redounded much to our naval credit.

From the year 1807, when the celebrated "orders in council" were isssued, a secret discontent, indicative of hostilities, had evinced itself in the United States of America. This misunderstanding was greatly increased in the present year by an unfortunate encounter between the American frigate President, commanded by Commodore Rodgers, and the British sloop of war Little Belt, Captain Bingham. The particulars of this occurrence were reported by the captain of the Little Belt, who attributed the blame entirely to the Americans. At any rate, the American states prepared for war, which was soon afterwards declared.

During the months of November and December the internal tranquillity of the country was disturbed by frequent riots in the manufacturing districts of Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, and Leicestershire. The principal cause of discontent was the introduction of a new kind of machinery for stocking-weaving. The rioters assumed the name of Luddites, and they became so dangerous that the legislature deemed it necessary to use severe measures for their suppression.

A. D. 1812.—The restrictions which had been imposed upon the prince of Wales by the regency-bill were now withdrawn, it being the unanimous opinion of the medical authorities that there was not the slightest prospect of his majesty's return to a state of perfect sanity. The prince therefore assumed the full powers belonging to the sovereignty of Britain; and, contrary to general expectation, very little change was made in the cabinet. On the 13th of February, the regent, in a letter to the duke of York, declared that he "had no predilections to indulge, nor resentments to gratify;" intimating, however, a desire that his government might be strengthened by the co-operation of those with whom his early habits had been formed, and authorizing the duke to communicate his sentiments to

Lords Grey and Grenville. To this overture these noblemen replied, by unreservedly expressing the impossibility of their uniting with the present government, owing to their differences of opinion being too many and too important to admit of such union. The measures proposed for repealing the penal laws against the papists were agitated in both houses of parliament this session, but were negatived by a great majority.

The disturbances among the manufacturing classes, which began last year in Nottinghamshire, had extended into Lancashire, Cheshire, and the west-riding of Yorkshire. The property of individuals as well as the machinery was destroyed by nightly marauders; a system of military training was adopted, and secret oaths administered; in short, the number and daring spirit of the rioters, and the steadiness with which their plans were conducted, rendered them so formidable as to require the interposition of the legislature. A large military force was accordingly stationed in the disturbed counties, and by a rigid enforcement of the law, and the adoption of remedial measures for the distresses of the labouring poor, tranquillity was at length restored.

While the public mind was agitated by these occurrences, an event occurred which was at once truly lamentable and important. On the 11th of May, as Mr. Perceval, chancellor of the exchequer, was entering the lobby of the house of commons, about five o'clock, a person named Bellingham presented a pistol to his breast, and shot him through the heart. The act was so sudden and astounding that no one of the many individuals present precisely knew what had happened, and it was the fall of the martyr only, that developed the nature of the atrocious deed. The unfortunate gentleman fell back towards his left, against the door and the wall, exclaiming faintly, "O God!" the last words he utterred; for immediately, as if moved by an impulse to seek for safety in the house, he made an effort to rush forward, but merely staggered a few paces, and dropped down. Bellingham was taken without resistance, a few minutes afterwards. It appeared that he was a Liverpool ship-broker who had sustained some commercial losses in Russia, for which he thought the government was bound to procure redress, and his memorials on the subject being disregarded, he had worked up his gloomy mind to the monstrous conviction that he was justified in taking away the life of the prime minister. In the change of administration which took place in consequence of this melancholy circumstance, Lord Sidmouth was appointed secretary of state; the earl Harrowby, lord president of the council; and Mr. Vansittart, chancellor of the exchequer.

At the commencement of the campaign in the Spanish peninsula fortune seemed at first to favour the enemy, who, on the 9th of January, made themselves masters of the city of Valencia, which General Blake, after a feeble resistance, surrendered, with 16,000 men. The strong town of Peniscola, which, on account of its commanding situation, was of great importance to its possessors, was soon after surrendered to the French by the treachery of the governor. Serious as these misfortunes were to the allies, they were in a short time counterbalanced by the success which attended the exertions of the British commander. After a fortnight's siege, Lord Wellington carried Cuidad Rodrigo by assault, on the 19th of January; and on the 16th of April the strong city of Badajos surrendered to him, after a long and most obstinate resistance. After the capture of this city the allied armies proceeded, without opposition, to Salamanca, where they were received by the inhabitants with benedictions and acclamations. As the hostile armies were now so situated as to render a battle almost inevitable, Lord Wellington made his necessary dispositions, and as a favourable opportunity occurred on the 22d of July for attacking the enemy, he immediately took advantage of it. An action accordingly ensued, in which the French, after a determined and obstinate resistance, were

obliged to give way to the superior bravery of the assailants, and to retreat in the utmost confusion. The darkness of the night was very favourable to the fugitives, yet upwards of 7,000 prisoners were taken, with eagles, colours, cannon, and ammunition.

After taking possession of the Spanish capital, Wellington advanced to Burgos; but being detained a long time in besieging it, the enemy had an opportunity of concentrating their force, and of re-occupying Madrid. This was one of the last military transactions which took place on the peninsula during the year. For his eminent services, which though generally appreciated were not over-rated, the cortes bestowed on the British commander the title of duke of Cuidad Rodrigo, and constituted him generalissimo of the Spanish armies. The prince regent of Great Britain, also, who had previously conferred on him the title of earl, now raised him to the dignity of a marquis of the United Kingdom.

The foregoing outline of the transactions in Spain will put the reader in possession of the principal features of the war in that quarter. We must now direct his attention to events in the north of Europe. The fondly-cherished scheme of Bonaparte for ruining the finances of Great Britain by cutting off her commercial intercourse with Europe, was, through intrigue or intimidation, adopted by all the neutral powers. The stagnation of trade on the continent, though it was submitted to by their respective sovereigns, was very distressing to their subjects, especially the Russians, who had been accustomed to consider England as their natural ally. At length the emperor of Russia resolved to submit no longer to the arbitrary restrictions which the will of Napoleon had dictated; and a war between those great powers was the immediate result. In this contest the most considerable states in Europe were involved. The allies of France were the German states, Italy, Prussia, Austria, and Poland; to whom were opposed the combined powers of Great Britain, Russia, Sweden, and Spain.

Napoleon placed himself at the head of an immense army, and now commenced the ever-memorable struggle. After passing through Dresden, and visiting in rapid succession Dantzic and Konigsberg, he reached the Niemen, the frontier river of Russia, on the 23d of June. On the line of march were half a million of soldiers, in the highest state of equipment and discipline: to whom he issued a proclamation in his usual confident and laconic style: "Russia," said he, "is driven onwards by fatality; let her destinies be fulfilled, and an end put to the fatal influence which for the last fifty years she has had on the affairs of Europe. Let us cross the Niemen, and carry the war into her territories." On the other side vast preparations had also been made; and the army, consisting of about three hundred thousand men, was under the immediate command of the emperor Alexander, and his sagacious minister, Barclay de Tolly. The plan of the Russians was to draw the invaders from their resources; to make a stand only in favourable situations: and to weary the French by endless marches over the dreary plains, till the inclemency of a Russian winter should lend its aid to stop their ambitious career. Various partial engagements took place as the French advanced, the circumstances of which were so differently related in the bulletins of the opposite parties, that nothing is certain but the general result. Considering the immense masses of men that were in motion, the French proceeded with great rapidity, notwithstanding the checks they occasionally experienced, till the 7th of September, when the Russians determined to make a vigorous effort against their farther advance. The two armies met between the villages of Moskwa and Borodino, when a most sanguinary battle took place. On this occasion each of the hostile armies numbered 125,000 men, and when "night's sable curtain" closed the horrid scene, the bodies of forty thousand, either dead or wounded, were stretched on the field of

battle! Both parties claimed the victory, though the advantage was evidently on the side of the French, as they proceeded without farther opposition to Moscow, where they expected to rest from their toils in peace and good winter-quarters. About mid-day on the 14th the turrets of Moscow, glittering in the sun, were descried. The troops entered; but the city was deserted, and all was still. The capital of ancient Russia was not destined to be the abiding-place of its present occupants. A dense smoke began to issue from numerous buildings at the same instant. By order of the governor, Count Rostopchin, bands of incendiaries had been employed to work destruction. Public edifices and private houses suddenly burst into flames; and every moment explosions of gunpowder mingled with the sound of the crackling timbers, while frantic men and women were seen running to and fro, with flambeaux in their hands, spreading the work of destruction.

Paralysed, as it were, by the awful scene, and by the extreme danger which he could no longer fail to apprehend, Napoleon lingered five weeks among the reeking ruins of Moscow. Around him the Russians were daily increasing in strength, especially in cavalry; and it was not till Murat had been defeated, and the first snow had fallen, that he determined on retreat. At length he left the city of the czars, on the 19th of October, taking with him all the plunder that could be saved from the fire; having at the time one hundred thousand effective men, fifty thousand horses, five hundred and fifty field-pieces, and two thousand artillery wagons, exclusive of a motley host of followers, amounting to forty thousand. He had no choice left. To subdue the whole Russian army, and by that means to secure to himself an honourable peace, appeared beyond the verge of possibility; to return with all possible expedition was the only course to pursue; and he accordingly directed the march of his army towards Smolensko, where he arrived with his imperial guard on the 9th of November. Alternate frost, sleet, and snow made the weather insupportable; overcome by cold, hunger, and fatigue, the soldiers and their horses perished by thousands. At length, after taking leave of his marshals at Smorgony, December 5, Napoleon privately withdrew from the army, and reached Paris on the 19th. The Russians never relaxed in the pursuit till they reached the Vistula, and not a day passed in which some of the fugitives did not fall into their hands. By Christmas-day they estimated their captures at 41 generals, 1,298 officers, 167,510 privates, and 1,131 pieces of cannon: the grand army was, in fact, annihilated.

During the absence of Bonaparte in this disastrous expedition, an attempt was made to subvert his power at home, which, had it not been speedily suppressed, would probably have occasioned another revolution. The conductors of the conspiracy were the ex-generals Mallet, Lahorie, and Guidal, who, having framed a fictitious *senatus consultum*, went to the barrack of the first division of the national guards, and read a proclamation, stating that the emperor had been killed, and commanding the troops to follow them. The soldiers, little suspecting any forgery, obeyed, and suffered themselves to be led to different posts, where they relieved the guards. The conspirators then arrested the ministers of police, and having assassinated General Hullin, who had marched into the city with some troops, they attempted to seize the chief of the etat-major of Paris; but being arrested, they were committed to prison, and tried before a military commission, when the three generals and eleven others received sentence of death, which being put into execution, tranquillity was restored to Paris.

A. D. 1813.—The attempts made by ministers to arrange the differences between Great Britain and the United States were unsuccessful; the influence of President Madison, the English contend, being exerted in the rejection of all pacificatory proposals. The conquest of Canada was re

solved on by the Americans, and troops were dispatched into that country; but the vigilance of the British commanders baffled the scheme, and obliged them to desist from the enterprize. The Americans, however, were successful at sea, and captured several British frigates and other vessels.

After the retreat of Bonaparte from Russia, the emperor Alexander pursued the remaining French forces as far as Posen, a city in Poland. He was here joined by the king of Prussia, who, considering the present an advantageous opportunity for restoring the equilibrium of Europe, renounced his alliance with France, and concluded a treaty with Great Britain and her allies. In the meantime Bonaparte was using all his efforts to revive the spirit, and call forth the resources of his empire, and having appointed the empress regent during his absence, he joined his army, now consisting of 350,000 new troops. On the 7th of May the hostile armies engaged at Lutzen, in Upper Saxony, where the French were commanded by Bonaparte, and the allies by General Winzingerode. The conflict was long and bloody, and both parties claimed the victory. On the 19th, 20th, 21st, and 22d of the same month, severe actions took place, and not less than 40,000 were killed or wounded. On the 1st of June, at the suggestion of the emperor of Austria, Napoleon made proposals to the emperor Alexander for a suspension of hostilities; in consequence of which an armistice was concluded, which was to terminate on the 20th of July.

It now became necessary for Bonaparte to withdraw about twenty thousand of his best troops from Spain, to reinforce this grand army in the north of Europe. This diminution of the French force in the peninsula could not fail to gratify the Anglo-Spanish army; yet a concurrence of unavoidable circumstances prevented the marquis of Wellington from opening the campaign till about the middle of May. Having obliged the French to evacuate Salamanca, he pursued them with as much haste as possible, and having passed the Ebro, he came up with them at Vittoria, a town in the province of Biscay, where, on the 21st of June, a battle was fought between the allied troops under Lord Wellington, and the French, commanded by Joseph Bonaparte and Marshal Jourdan. Admirable bravery and perseverance were displayed by the allies, who completely vanquished the French, and took one hundred and fifty cannon and four hundred and fifteen wagons of ammunition. On the side of the allies there were seven hundred killed and four thousand wounded; and it was known that the loss of the French was much greater. Being hotly pursued, the French retreated across the Bidassoa into France. The baton of Marshal Jourdan being taken, was sent to the prince regent, who, in return, created the marquis of Wellington field-marshal of the allied armies of Great Britain, Spain, and Portugal. The Spanish government acknowledged their obligations to the British hero, by conferring on him the dignity of prince of Vittoria.

While the cause of rational freedom was so nobly sustained by Lord Wellington in this part of Spain, Sir John Murray had landed his troops at Tarragano, in order to invest that place. After he had made himself master of Fort St. Philippe, on being informed of the approach of Marshal Suchet, he, without waiting for information of the enemy's strength, disembarked his troops, leaving behind him his artillery. For this precipitation Sir John was severely censured by some political writers, and being tried at Winchester, in February, 1815, he was found guilty and adjudged "to be admonished in such a manner as his royal highness the commander-in-chief may think proper." His royal highness approved the sentence of the court, but as the conduct of Sir John Murray was attributed merely to an error of judgment, the case did not appear to him to call for any further observation.

After the battle of Vittoria the French army retreated with great pre-

cipitation into France, pursued by the light troops of the allies; and the marquis of Wellington caused the forts of Pampeluna and St. Sebastian to be immediately invested. When Bonaparte received intelligence of these successes of the British army, he dispatched Marshal Soult with some forces to check their progress. On the 13th of July the French marshal joined the army, and on the 24th he made a vigorous attack on the right wing of the allies, at Roncesvalles, commanded by General Byng. From that day till the 2d of August the hostile armies were continually engaged; the passes of the mountains were bravely disputed by the French, but the British were irresistible, and the French again retreated beyond the Pyrenees. The fortresses of St. Sebastian and Pampeluna surrendered to the British arms afterwards, and on the 7th of October Lord Wellington entered the French territory at the head of his army.

While in the south of Europe these transactions were taking place, a great crisis was at hand in the north. During the armistice, which had extended to the 11th of August, several attempts were made by the allies to obtain such a peace as would effect and confirm the safety and tranquillity of the continental states. These endeavours were, however, rendered abortive by the insolent pretensions of the French ruler, which induced the emperor of Austria to relinquish his cause, and to join in the alliance against him. Hostilities were resumed on the 17th of August, when Bonaparte immediately prepared to attack the city of Prague; but being informed that his Silesian army was exposed to imminent danger from the threatening posture of the allies, he was obliged to change his plan of operations. He accordingly left Bohemia, and made an attack on the allied army under the Prussian General Blucher, who was compelled to make a retrograde movement. The further progress of the French in this quarter was arrested by the advance of the grand army of the allies towards Dresden, which made the immediate return of Napoleon necessary. He accordingly advanced by forced marches to the protection of that city, and having thrown into it an army of 130,000 men, he awaited the attack of his enemies. The grand assault was made on the 26th of August, but as there was no prospect of taking Dresden by escalade, the allies abandoned the attempt, and took a very extended position on the heights surrounding the city, where they were attacked by the French on the following day, and obliged to retire with considerable loss. It was in this engagement that General Moreau, who had left his retreat in America to assist in restoring liberty to Europe, was mortally wounded, while conversing with the emperor Alexander. A cannon-ball, which passed through his horse, carried off one of his legs and shattered the other. He had both legs amputated, but survived his disaster only a few days, dying from exhaustion.

In the following month several well-contested battles took place, in which victory was uniformly in favour of those who contended against tyranny and usurpation. But as Leipsic was the point to which the efforts of the confederates were principally directed, Bonaparte left Dresden, and concentrated his forces at Rochlitz.

At this period an important accession was made to the allied cause, by a treaty with Bavaria, who agreed to furnish an army of fifty-five thousand men. The hostile armies were now both in the vicinity of Leipsic; the French estimated at about 200,000 men; the allies at 250,000. On the night of the 15th rockets were seen ascending, announcing the approach of Blucher and the crown prince of Sweden. At day-break on the 16th, the French were assailed along their southern front with the greatest fury, but they failing to make any impression, Napoleon assumed the offensive. Throughout the day, by turns, each party had the advantage; but at night-fall the French contracted their position, by drawing nearer

the walls of Leipsic. The following day was spent in making preparations for a renewal of the contest; and on the 18th another general engagement took place. The loss of the victors, during a battle which raged from the dawn of day till night, was severe, but that of the vanquished was infinitely more so. Above forty thousand of the French were either killed, wounded, or taken prisoners; seventeen battalions of Saxons, with their artillery, joined the ranks of the allies, who took also sixty-five pieces of cannon. The immediate fruits of this splendid victory were, the capture of Leipsic and of the Saxon king, of thirty thousand prisoners, and of all the baggage and ammunition of the flying foe.

The allies did not fail to follow up the advantages which had been gained, and their close pursuit of the French army rendered its retreat to the Rhine in some respects as calamitous as their recent flight from Russia. The troops under Blucher and Schwartzenburg, who had greatly distinguished themselves during the late encounters, entered the French territories on New-year's day, 1814. All the minor states of Germany now joined the grand alliance, the confederation of the Rhine was dissolved, and the continental system established by Bonaparte was broken up.

The spirit which had attended the march of the allied armies communicated itself to the United Provinces, and occasioned a complete revolution in that part of Europe. The arbitrary annexation of that country was detrimental to their commercial interests; and at length, on the approach of the allies to the Dutch frontier, the people of Amsterdam rose in a body, and with the rallying cry of "Orange Boven," universally displayed the orange colours, and proclaimed the sovereignty of that illustrious house. The example of Amsterdam was followed by the other towns, the independence of Holland was asserted, and a deputation sent to London, to announce the revolution and invite the prince of Orange to place himself at the head of his countrymen. The Dutch patriots were assisted with all the succours that England could furnish, and the prince of Orange went and assumed the reins of government, not under the ancient title of stadtholder, but as king of the Netherlands. Denmark, the only remaining ally of Bonaparte, was compelled, by the crown-prince of Sweden, to accept such terms as the allied sovereigns pleased to prescribe.

On the 1st of December the allied sovereigns issued from Frankfort a declaration explanatory of their views. "Victory," they said, "had conducted them to the banks of the Rhine, and the first use which they made of it was to offer peace. They desired that France might be great and powerful; because, in a state of greatness and strength, she constituted one of the foundations of the social edifice of Europe. They offered to confirm to the French empire an extent of territory which France, under her kings, never knew. Desiring peace themselves, they wished such an equilibrium of power to be established, that Europe might be preserved from the calamities which for the last twenty years had overwhelmed her." This declaration was based on moderation and justice, and in their conduct to France, the allies acted up to their professions.

A. D. 1814.—After his hasty retreat to Paris, the emperor assembled the senate, and neglected no means that were likely to rouse the spirit of the French to resist their invaders. Little effect was, however, produced by his appeals to the people, and he was under the necessity of appointing twenty-five commissioners, invested with absolute power, to accelerate the levy of new forces. Having confided the regency to the empress, he left Paris on the 25th of January, and placed himself at the head of such troops as he could muster. His dominions were at this time threatened on one side by the British troops under Wellington, and on the other by the allied forces commanded by their respective sovereigns and generals.

The army under the marquis of Wellington attacked Soult's on the 27th of February, and, after an obstinate battle, drove the enemy from a strong

position near Orthes; and on the 12th of March, a division under Marshal Beresford advanced to the important city of Bourdeaux, and entered it amid the acclamations of the inhabitants.

After the entry of the northern allies into France, several sanguinary contests took place, when Bonaparte, finding that it was impracticable to prevail by force, attempted to retrieve his affairs by negotiations. Plenipotentiaries appointed by the belligerent powers accordingly assembled at Chatillon, and the allies, whose moderation had on every occasion been particularly conspicuous, offered to sign preliminaries of peace, which would have secured to Bonaparte very important advantages. But these offers were rejected by Napoleon, who required that his family should be placed on foreign thrones, and insisted on terms incompatible with the liberties of Europe. The conferences were discontinued, and the allied sovereigns indignant at the conduct of one who displayed such an aversion to peace, resolved on vigorously prosecuting war. In all the engagements which ensued, the superiority of the allies was manifested. Napoleon now adopted the singular resolution of getting to the rear of his enemies, and by this ill-judged movement left open the road to Paris.

As soon as the Prussian and Austrian commanders could form a junction, they advanced, at the head of 200,000 combatants, towards the capital of France, and having gained a complete victory over the army commanded by Marmont and Mortier, under Joseph Bonaparte, they entered the city which capitulated on the 31st of March. The enthusiasm exhibited on this occasion surpassed the most sanguine expectations of the conquerors. The whole city seemed to rise *en masse*, and to hail the allies as the liberators of Europe and the avengers of tyranny. The white cockade was generally worn, the air resounded with shouts of "Vive le Roi, Louis XVIII!" "Vivent les Bourbons!" and the conquerors were welcomed with the acclamations of "Vive l'Empereur Alexandre!" "Vive le Roi de Prusse!" "Vivent nos liberateurs!"

The French senate now assembled and appointed a provisional government, at the head of which was the celebrated Talleyrand, prince of Benevento. At a subsequent meeting they declared that Napoleon Bonaparte and his family had forfeited all claim to the throne, and that the army and nation were consequently absolved from the oaths of allegiance to him. The senate then directed their attention to the choice of a sovereign; and after a long consultation, in which there was considerable difference of opinion, they determined to recall the Bourbons. Marshal Marmont, after obtaining a promise that the life of the emperor should be spared, and that his troops might pass into Normandy, joined the allies at the head of twelve thousand men.

Bonaparte, who had retired to Fontainbleau, finding that he had been deposed by the senate, and that the allies were fully determined not to treat with him as the ruler of France, now offered to abdicate in favour of his infant son; but this was peremptorily rejected, and he solemnly abdicated his usurped crown on the 6th of April, on which day a new constitution was given to France, and Louis XVIII. was recalled to the throne of his ancestors. As soon as the emperor Alexander was informed of this event, he proposed, in the name of the allied sovereigns, that Napoleon Bonaparte should choose a place of retreat for himself and family. By a mistaken sense of generosity, the small island of Elba, situated in the Mediterranean, between Corsica and the Tuscan coast, was given to him, in full sovereignty, with an annual revenue of two millions of francs, to be paid by the French government; and, what was a still more extravagant stretch of misplaced liberality, a further allowance of two millions five hundred thousand francs was to be allowed to the different branches of his family; who, as well as Napoleon, were to be suffered to retain their

usurped titles. The principality of Parma was also settled on Maria Louisa, his wife, in which she was to be succeeded by her son.

Louis, who had for several years resided at Hartwell in Buckinghamshire, having accepted the basis of the constitution, made a public entry into London, and was accompanied to Dover by the prince regent, from whence his majesty embarked for Calais, being conveyed to that port by the duke of Clarence. He entered Paris on the 3rd of May, where he was favourably received by the inhabitants, but the soldiery were far from appearing satisfied with the change which had been so suddenly wrought. On the same day Bonaparte, after a variety of adventures, in which he had several narrow escapes from the populace, arrived at his abode in Elba.

Owing to some unaccountable delay in the transmission of the treaty concluded at Paris, or to the envy of Marshal Soult, who hoped to defeat his opponent, a sanguinary battle was fought near Toulouse, on the 10th of April, between his army and that of the marquis of Wellington. But this useless and deplorable effusion of blood only added fresh trophies to those already gained by the British commander. The last action of the peninsular war was fought at Bayonne, in which Sir John Hope was wounded and taken prisoner, and General Andrew Hay was killed.

Among the minor transactions of this period we must not omit that at the close of the preceeding year Hanover was recovered by the crown prince of Sweden, who also reduced Holstein and Westphalia. The king of Denmark joined the grand alliance, and Dantzic surrendered after a long siege. The British, however, were repulsed, with considerable loss, in the attempt to take the strong fortress of Bergen-op-Zoom.

A treaty of peace and amity was, on the 30th of May, concluded at Paris, between his Britannic majesty and his most Christian majesty, by which it was stipulated that the kingdom of France should retain its limits entire, as it existed previously to the revolution; that Malta should be ceded to Great Britain; and that, with the exception of Tobago, St. Lucie, and the Mauritius, all other possessions held by the French in January, 1792, should be restored. These and a few minor conditions being arranged at the time, it was agreed that all other subjects should be settled at a congress, to be held at Vienna by the high contracting parties, at some future period. The return of peace was celebrated by illuminations, feastings, and every joyful demonstration that so happy an event could inspire.

A. D. 1815.—We now resume our brief narrative of the events which were occuring on the other side of the English channel. Louis XVIII. devoted his attention to the re-establishment of order in the government, and endeavoured by every kind and conciliatory act to soothe the animosities that still rankled in the bosoms of the royalists, republicans, and Bonapartists. The new constitution, which was modelled upon that of England, was readily accepted by the senate and legislative body. The conscription was abolished; the unsold property of the emigrants was restored to them; the shops, which, during the republic and the reign of Bonaparte, had always remained open on Sundays, were now ordered to be closed, and the liberty of the press was restricted.

A congress of the allied powers was now held at Vienna, for the purpose of making such political and territorial regulations as should effectually restore the equilibrium of power, and afford a more certain prospect of permanent tranquillity. But a state of tranquillity was not so near as their sanguine wishes contemplated. An event happened ere their deliberations were brought to a conclusion, which made it necessary for them to lay aside their pen, and once more take up the sword. The restless and intriguing spirit of Napoleon was not to be confined to the isle of Elba, and the allied armies were no sooner withdrawn from France, than he meditated a descent on its coast. He accordingly took advantage of the first opportunity

that offered of leaving the island, attended by the officers and troops who had followed him thither, with many Corsicans and Elbese, and landed at Cannes, in Provence, on the 1st of March.

The news of his landing was instantly conveyed to Paris, and large bodies of troops were sent to arrest his progress, and make him prisoner. But Louis was surrounded by traitors; the army regretted the loss of their chief who had so often led them to victory; they forgot his desertion of their comrades in the moment of peril, and doubted not that his return would efface their late disgrace, and restore them to that proud pre-eminence from which they had fallen. At his approach, the armies that had been sent to oppose him openly declared in his favour, and he pursued his journey to Paris, augmenting his numbers at every step, till all resistance on the part of the king was deemed useless. On reaching the capital, he was received by the inconstant multitude with acclamations as loud as those which so recently had greeted the arrival of Louis. Such is the instability of what is termed popular favour. The unfortunate king retired first to Lisle, and then to Ghent.

When the allied sovereigns were informed that Napoleon had broken his engagements, and saw that his bad faith was fully equal to his ambition, they published a declaration to the effect that Bonaparte, having violated the convention, had forfeited every claim to public favour, and would henceforth be considered only as an outlaw. In answer to this, he published a counter-declaration, asserting that he was recalled to the throne by the unanimous voice of the nation, and that he was resolved to devote the remainder of his life in cultivating the arts of peace.

In the meantime preparations for war were made by all the allied powers. The English, whose army, under the command of the duke of Wellington, was at this time in the Netherlands, resolved not to leave the man they had once conquered in quiet possession of the throne of France, and every engine was put in motion to re-assemble the troops. Bonaparte, likewise, actively prepared for the contest that was to decide his fate. He collected together all the disposable forces of France, and led them towards the Netherlands, hoping to arrive before fresh troops could come to the aid of the English and Prussians, and thus defeat them and get possession of Brussels.

The army under the immediate direction of the French emperor, including the corps of Grouchy, amounted to upwards of 150,000 men, with 350 pieces of cannon. In an order of the day, issued the 14th of June, he said, "the moment has arrived for every Frenchman who has a heart, to conquer or perish." The allied troops in Flanders were yet quiet in their cantonments. The Prusso-Saxon army formed the left, the Anglo-Belgian army the right. The former was 115,000 strong, commanded by the veteran Blucher; the latter about 80,000, commanded by the duke of Wellington, whose head-quarters were at Brussels; those of Blucher were at Namur, about sixteen leagues distant.

On the 15th of June the memorable campaign of 1815 was begun, by Napoleon driving in the advance posts of the Prussians on the river Sambre, while Marshal Ney crossed the river at Marchiennes, repulsed the Prussians, and drove back a Belgian brigade to Quatre-Bras. In the evening, at eleven o'clock, the duke of Wellington (who, together with the duke of Brunswick, and the principal officers then in Brussels, were participating in the festivities of a ball, given by the duchess of Richmond), received a dispatch from Marshal Blucher, informing him that Bonaparte was on his march to Brussels, at the head of an hundred and fifty thousand men. The dance was suspended, and orders issued for assembling the troops. On the 16th was fought the battle of Ligny, in which Blucher was defeated, and forced to retreat to Wavre, having narrowly escaped being taken prisoner. On the same day the duke of Wellington had di-

rected his whole army to advance on Quatre-Bras, with the intention of succouring Blucher, but was himself attacked by a large body of cavalry and infantry, before his own cavalry had joined. In the meantime the English, under Sir Thomas Picton, and Belgians, under the duke of Brunswick, had to sustain the impetuous attacks of the French, commanded by Marshal Ney, who was eventually repulsed, though with considerable loss. In this action fell the gallant duke of Brunswick, who was universally and deservedly lamented. The whole of the 17th was employed in preparations for the eventful battle that ensued.

The retreat of Blucher's army to Wavre rendered it necessary for Wellington to make a corresponding retrograde movement, in order to keep up a communication with the Prussians, and to occupy a position in front of the village of Waterloo. Confronting the position of the allies was a chain of heights, separated by a ravine, half a mile in breadth. Here Napoleon arrayed his forces, and having rode through the lines and given his last orders, he placed himself on the heights of Rossome, whence he had a complete view of the two armies.

About a quarter before eleven o'clock the battle began by a fierce attack on the British division posted at Hougomont; it was taken and retaken several times, the English guards bravely defending and eventually remaining in possession of it. At the same time the French kept an incessant cannonade against the whole line, and made repeated charges with heavy masses of cuirassiers, supported by close columns of infantry, which, except in one instance, when the farm of La Haye Sainte was forced, were uniformly repulsed. Charges and counter-charges of cavalry and infantry followed with astonishing pertinacity. The brave Sir Thomas Picton was shot at the head of his division; a grand charge of British cavalry then ensued, which for a moment swept everything before it; but, assailed in its turn by masses of cuirassiers and Polish lancers, it was forced back, and in the desperate encounter Sir William Ponsonby and other gallant officers were slain. Soon after this, it is said, the duke felt himself so hard pressed, that he was heard to say, "Would to God night or Blucher would come." As the shades of evening approached, it appeared almost doubtful whether the troops could much longer sustain the unequal conflict; but at this critical moment the Prussian cannonade was heard on the left. Bonaparte immediately dispatched a force to hold them in check, while he brought forward the imperial guards, sustained by the best regiments of horse and foot, amid shouts of "Vive l'empereur," and flourishes of martial music. At this moment the duke of Wellington brought forward his whole line of infantry, supported by the cavalry and artillery, and promptly ordered his men to "charge!" This was so unexpected by the enemy, and so admirably performed by the British troops, that the French fled as though the whole army were panic-stricken. Napoleon, perceiving the recoil of his columns on all sides, exclaimed, "it is all over," and retreated with all possible speed. The French left the field in the utmost confusion and dismay, abandoning above one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon. They were pursued by the victors till long after dark, when the British, exhausted by fatigue, halted; the Prussians therefore continued the pursuit, and nothing could be more complete than the discomfiture of the routed army: not more than forty thousand men, partly without arms, and carrying with them only twenty-seven pieces out of their numerous artillery, made their retreat through Charleroi. The loss of the allies was great; that of the British and Hanoverians alone amounted to thirteen thousand. Two generals and four colonels were among the killed; nine generals and five colonels were wounded; among them was Lord Uxbridge, who had fought gallantly, and was wounded by almost the last shot that was fired by the enemy. Such is the general, though necessarily meagre, outline of the ever-memorable battle of Waterloo:

evincing one of the noblest proofs upon record of British valour, and of the talents of a great national commander.

Bonaparte returned to Paris, in the gloominess of despair, and admitted that his army was no more. The partisans of Louis looked forward to the restoration of the Bourbons; another party desired a republic; while the Bonapartists showed their anxiety to receive Napoleon's abdication, and to make Maria Louisa empress-regent during her son's minority. Meanwhile the representatives of the nation declared their sittings permanent, and some of the members having boldly asserted that the unconditional abdication of Bonaparte could alone save the state, the declaration was received with applause, and the fallen emperor was persuaded once more to descend from his usurped throne.

A commission was appointed to repair to the allied armies with proposals of peace, but the victors had formed a resolution not to treat but under the walls of Paris. The duke of Wellington then addressed a proclamation to the French people, stating that he had entered the country not as an enemy, except to the usurper, with whom there could be no peace nor truce, but to enable them to throw off the yoke by which they were oppressed. Wellington and Blucher continued their march to Paris with little opposition, and on the 30th it was invested. The heights about the city were strongly fortified, and it was defended by fifty thousand troops of the line, besides national guards and volunteers. On the 3d of July, Marshal Davoust, the French commander, concluded a convention with the generals-in-chief of the allied armies, who stipulated that Paris should be evacuated in three days by the French troops; all the fortified posts and barriers given up; and no individual prosecuted for his political opinions or conduct. The provisional government now retired, and on the 6th Louis made his public entry into Paris, where he was hailed by his fickle subjects with cries of "Vive le roi!" The military, however, though beaten, were still stubborn, and it required some time and address to make them acknowledge the sovereignty of the Bourbons.

Bonaparte in the meantime had reached the port of Rochefort in safety, from whence he anxiously hoped to escape to America; but finding it impossible to elude the British cruisers, he went on board the Bellerophon, one of the vessels blockading the coast, and surrendered himself to Captain Maitland. Prior to this he had sought to stipulate for a free passage, or to surrender on condition of being allowed to reside in England in honourable exile; but neither proposal could be listened to; the allied powers, aware of his restless and intriguing disposition, had determined upon the island of St. Helena as his future residence, and that there he should be kept under the strictest guard. The Bellerophon proceeded to Torbay; Napoleon was transferred to the Northumberland, commanded by Admiral Sir G. Cockburn, and, attended by some of his most attached friends and domestics, he in due course reached his destination, but not without violently protesting against the injustice of his banishment, after having thrown himself upon the hospitality of the British nation.

Murat, the brother-in-law of Napoleon, having joined the allies when he found the career of his friend and patron growing to a close, rejoined him again on his return from Elba; but having been driven from the throne of Naples, he joined a band of desperadoes, and landed in Calabria, where, being speedily overcome and taken, he was instantly shot. Marshal Ney (who had promised Louis to bring Napoleon, "like a wild beast in a cage, to Paris") and Colonel Labedoyere, suffered for their treachery; but Lavalette, who was sentenced to the same fate, escaped from prison, disguised in his wife's clothes, and, by the assistance of Sir Robert Wilson, Mr. Hutchinson, and Mr. Bruce, got out of the country undiscovered.

A congress was held at Vienna, and several treaties between the allied powers and France were finally adjusted. (Nov. 20.) The additions made

to the French territory by the treaty of 1814 were now rescinded; seventeen of the frontier fortified towns and cities of France were to be garrisoned by the allies for five years; one hundred and fifty thousand troops, as an army of occupation under the duke of Wellington, were to be maintained for the same space of time; and a sum of 900,000,000 francs was to be paid as an indemnity to the allies. It was further agreed, that all the works of art which had been plundered by the French from other countries, should be restored. Thus the master-pieces of art deposited in the gallery of the Louvre (the Venus de Medicis, the Apollo Belvidere, &c., &c.), were reclaimed by their respective owners—an act of stern justice, but one which excited the utmost indignation among the Parisians.

In order to secure the peace of Germany, an act of confederation was concluded between its respective rulers, every member of which was free to form what alliances he pleased, provided they were such as could not prove injurious to the general safety, and in case of one prince being attacked, all the rest were bound to arm in his defence. Thus ended this long and sanguinary warfare, the events of which were so rapid and appalling, and their consequences so mighty and unlooked-for, that future ages will be tempted to doubt the evidence of facts, and to believe that the history of the nineteenth century is interwoven with and embellished by the splendour of fiction.

A. D. 1816.—It has been justly observed, that "it was only after the storm had subsided that England became sensible of the wounds received in her late tremendous struggle. While hostilities lasted, she felt neither weakness nor disorder. Though a principal in the war, she had been exempt from its worst calamities. Battles were fought, countries were overrun and desolated, but her own border remained unassailable. Like a spectator viewing securely the tempest at a distance, she was only sensible of its fury by the wreck of neighbouring nations, wafted at intervals to her shores. The cessation of hostilities in 1815, was like the cessation of motion in a gigantic machine, which has been urged to its maximum velocity. One of the first results of peace was an enormous diminution in the war expenditure of the government. During the last five years of the war, the public expenditure averaged 108,720,000*l*. During the first five years of peace, it averaged 64,660,000*l*. Peace thus caused an immediate reduction of nearly fifty millions in the amount of money expended by government in the support of domestic industry.

At the commencement of the session the ministers were defeated in attempting to continue the property tax for one year longer; and, chagrined at this result, they abandoned the war duty on malt, thereby relinquishing a tax that would have produced 2,000,000*l*. The bank restriction bill was extended for two years longer, and another ineffectual attempt was made in favour of the Roman catholic claims.

The house was now informed, by a message from the prince regent, that a matrimonial alliance was about to take place between his daughter and Prince Leopold of Saxe Cobourg: upon which parliament voted an annual provision of 60,000*l*. for supporting a suitable establishment, and, in the event of the decease of the princess, 50,000*l*. per annum was secured to his royal highness for life. The nuptials were solemnized with becoming splendour, on the 2d of May, at Carlton house. In the July following the princess Mary gave her hand to her cousin the duke of Gloucester.

The event next demanding notice, was one which placed the glory of British arms and British humanity in a conspicuous light. The Algerines and their neighbours, the Tunisians, had long been in the habit of committing atrocities on the subjects of every Christian power that happened to fall into their hands. Repeated remonstrances had been made, without procuring redress, and it was now determined that this horde of pirates

should either accede to certain proposals, or suffer for so long and barbar ously defying the laws of civilized nations. Accordingly, Lord Exmouth was sent with a fleet to the states of Barbary, to conclude a treaty of peace between them and the kings of Naples and Sardinia, to abolish Christian slavery, and to obtain from them a promise to respect the flag of the Ionian islands, which had lately become an independent country. The beys of Tunis and Tripoli acceded to all these demands; but the dey of Algiers demurred, as far as regarded the abolition of slavery. Shortly after, notwithstanding this treaty, a considerable number of unarmed Christians, who had landed at Bona, having been massacred by the Mohammedans, Lord Exmouth returned and commenced a furious bombardment of the city of Algiers, which lasted six hours; the contest was severe; eight hundred of the assailants fell in the action, and the British ships suffered considerably, but the gallant admiral had the satisfaction of demolishing the Algerine batteries, and destroying their shipping, arsenal, and magazine, while the dey was forced to agree to the abolition of Christian slavery, and the release of all within his dominions.

The distresses of the labouring and manufacturing classes, and the high price of provisions, at length produced serious disturbances in various parts of England. The malcontents in the eastern counties broke out into open violence, and were not suppressed without the assistance of the military. In London similar attempts were made. Mr. Hunt, a popular demagogue, had on the 15th of November convened a public meeting in Spa-fields, to draw up a petition to the regent. On the 2d of December another meeting was called to receive the answer to their petition. While this meeting was awaiting the arrival of Mr. Hunt, a band of desperadoes appeared on the ground with a tri-coloured flag and other banners, headed by a young man named Watson, who, after using violent language from a wagon, proceeded towards the city, accompanied by a vast crowd of the populace. On arriving at Snow-hill they plundered the shop of Mr. Beckwith, a gunsmith; and a person named Platt, who remonstrated against the proceeding, was shot at and wounded by young Watson. They then hurried on towards the Royal-exchange, where they were met by a body of the police, headed by Mayor Wood, who ordered the gates to be shut, and seized several who had arms. The mob plundered some more gunsmiths' shops in the Minories, but the military coming to the aid of the civil power, several of the rioters were apprehended, and the remainder dispersed. One, named Cashman, suffered capital punishment, but the ringleader contrived to effect his escape to America, although a large reward was offered for his apprehension.

A. D. 1817.—In the regent's speech at the opening of parliament, allusion was made to the popular discontents, which he ascribed to the efforts of designing persons to mislead the people. On his return through St. James' park an immense mob had assembled, who saluted him with groans and hisses, and as he passed the back of Carlton-house the glass of the royal carriage was perforated either by a stone or the ball from an air-gun. To meet the public exigencies, his royal highness soon after surrendered fifty thousand pounds per annum of his income. This example was followed by the marquis Camden, who patriotically gave up the fees of the tellership of the exchequer, valued at thirteen thousand pounds per annum, reserving only the salary of two thousand seven hundred pounds. Alas! the noble marquis had no imitators; but though his generous example was not followed, the deed will not be wholly obliterated from his country's annals.

A melancholy event now occurred. The princess Charlotte, daughter of the regent and consort of Prince Leopold, expired on the 5th of November, after having given birth to a dead child. The untimely fate of this amiable princess caused a regret which was universally expressed.

Her unostentatious and frank demeanour, her domestic virtues and benevolent disposition, had inspired the people with a high idea of her worth, and they fondly anticipated that under her auspices the glory and prosperity of England would again become resplendent.

There is little else of a domestic nature to record this year, if we except the three days' trial of William Hone, the parodist, who was arraigned upon criminal information as a profane libeller of parts of the liturgy. He was tried by Lord Ellenborough and Mr. Justice Abbott; and having conducted his defence with unusual ingenuity and perseverance, he not only came off victor, but actually pocketed the sum of three thousand pounds, the amount of a public subscription, raised to remunerate him for having undergone the perils of a government prosecution, or as a reward for the *laudable* intention of bringing into contempt both church and state!

A. D. 1818.—The parliamentary session was opened by commission. The habeas corpus act was restored, and a bill passed to screen ministers from the legal penalties they might have incurred through the abuse of their power during the time of its suspension. At the same time meetings were held in nearly every populous town throughout the country, for the purpose of petitioning for parliamentary reform. When the sessions closed on the 10th of June, the parliament was dissolved, and writs issued for new elections. All the ministerial candidates in the city of London were thrown out, and Sir Samuel Romilly and Sir Francis Burdett were returned for Westminster; but in the country the elections passed off quietly, and little change was produced in the parliamentary majority of ministers.

Queen Charlotte, who had been some time indisposed, expired at Kew, in the 75th year of her age, and the 58th of her marriage with the king. Owing to her exemplary conduct the court of England was pre-eminent for its strict decorum.

The year 1818 was fertile in royal marriages; the princess Elizabeth was married to the prince of Hesse Homberg; the duke of Clarence to the princess of Meinengen; the duke of Kent to the princess dowager Leinengen, sister to Prince Leopold; and the duke of Cambridge to the princess of Hesse Cassel.

The British army returned from France, which they had lately occupied, according to the stipulations of the treaty at the restoration of Louis XVIII. Towards the close of the year the expedition which had been sent to explore the arctic regions also returned to England, but without accomplishing their object—the progress of the vessels having been so impeded by the ice.

A. D. 1819.—The country was still pregnant with disaffection, and the doctrine of annual parliaments and universal suffrage was advocated by demagogues as the only remedy for a corrupt state of the representation. At length the meetings assumed a very serious aspect; one of which, from its being attended with fatal consequences, and having given rise to much subsequent discussion, it is necessary to describe. This was the "Manchester reform meeting." It was originally convened for the choice of a parliamentary representative, and had been fixed to take place on the 4th of August; but in consequence of a spirited notice put forth by the magistrates, declaring that the intended meeting was illegal, it was postponed, and hopes were entertained that it would ultimately have been abandoned. However, new placards were issued for the 16th, and "parliamentary reform" was substituted for the original object. A piece of ground called St. Peter's field was the spot chosen for this exhibition; and hither large bodies of men, arrayed in regular order, continued to march during the whole of the morning, the neighbouring towns and villages pouring out their multitudes for the purpose of centering in this focus of radical discontent. Each party had its banner, with some

motto thereon inscribed, characteristic of the grand object they had in view, mottoes which have since become familiar even to ears polite—such as "No Corn Laws," "Annual Parliaments," "Vote by Ballot," "Liberty or Death," &c. Nay, such was the enthusiasm of the hour that among them were seen two clubs of "female reformers," their white flags floating in the breeze. At the time Mr. Hunt took the chair not less than fifty thousand persons—men, women, and children—had assembled, and while he was addressing his audience, a body of the Manchester yeomanry cavalry came in sight, and directly galloped up to the hustings, seizing the orator, together with his companions and their banners. A dreadful scene of terror and confusion ensued, numbers being trampled under the horses' feet, or cut down. Six persons were killed, and about a hundred wounded. Coroners' inquests were held on the dead bodies, but the verdicts of the juries led to no judicial proceeding; true bills, however, were found against Hunt, Moorhouse, Johnson, and seven others, for a conspiracy to overturn the government, but at the same time they were admitted to bail.

Public meetings were now held in all the principal towns in the kingdom, and addresses were presented to the regent and the parliament, condemnatory of the civil and military authorities at Manchester, which were met by counter-addresses, calling for the repression of sedition, &c. At the opening of parliament the subject underwent a thorough discussion, and amendments to the address were moved in both houses, characterising the Manchester proceedings as unconstitutional; they were, however, negatived by overwhelming majorities. At the same time strong measures were resorted to for preventing the occurrence of similar disorders, by passing certain preventive and prohibitory acts of parliament, afterwards familiarly known as the "six acts." These, though decidedly coercive, seemed called for by the state of the country, and received the ready sanction of the legislature.

On the 23d of January, 1820, died at Sidmouth, in his 53d year, Prince Edward, duke of Kent; leaving a widow, and one child, the Princess Victoria, then only eight months old. The duke had never mixed much in the turmoil of politics, his life having been chiefly spent in the army, where he obtained a high character for bravery, but was regarded as a too strict disciplinarian.

Scarcely had the news of the duke's decease reached the more distant parts of Great Britain, before the death-knell of his venerable father, George III., was heard. The bodily health of his majesty had of late been fast declining, and on the 29th of January he expired. Some lucid intervals, though few, had been noticed during the time he laboured under his distressing malady; but he had long been blind, and latterly deafness was added to his other afflictions. The king was in the 82d year of his age, and the 60th of his reign; leaving six sons and four daughters living at the time of his decease. His remains were interred in the royal vault at Windsor.

In speaking of the character of George the Third, no one will deny that he appeared invariably to act up to the dictates of his conscience; as a monarch, he studied the welfare of his subjects; as a father, he neglected not the honour and happiness of his children. He left a name unsullied by any particular vice, and his memory will be honoured by posterity for the goodness of his heart, for his piety, clemency, and fortitude.

CHAPTER LXIV.

THE REIGN OF GEORGE IV.

A. D. 1820.—George the Fourth, eldest son of the late venerable monarch, who had exercised sovereign power as regent during his royal father's mental incapacity, was immediately proclaimed king, and the new reign commenced without any expectation of official changes. At the very moment of his accession, and for some time before, a most atrocious conspiracy existed, having for its object the assassination of the whole of his majesty's ministers. The sanguinary intentions of the conspirators render a detail of their plans necessary.

Several wretched individuals, headed by Arthur Thistlewood—a man who had formerly been a lieutenant in the army, but who had subsequently suffered fine and imprisonment for challenging Lord Sidmouth to fight a duel, and was now reduced to indigence—hired a stable in Cato-street, Edgeware-road, for the express purpose of assembling there and consulting on the best plan of putting the design into execution. The time chosen for the commission of the bloody deed was on the occasion of a cabinet-dinner at Lord Harrowby's, in Grosvenor-square; they intended to proceed in a body to his lordship's house, and, having gained admission by stratagem, murder all present. Acting on previous information from one of the conspirators, who had associated with them for the purpose of their betrayal, Mr. Birnie, a Bow-street magistrate, with twelve of the patrol, went to Cato-street, and there, in a hay-loft, they found the conspirators assembled. The entrance was by a ladder, which some of the police officers ascended, and on the door being opened, twenty-five or thirty men appeared armed. A desperate struggle ensued in the dark, the lights having been extinguished, and Smithers, one of the police, was run through the body by Thistlewood: meantime, a company of the foot guards, commanded by Captain Fitzclarence, arrived at the place of rendezvous, which they surrounded, and succeeded in capturing nine of the desperadoes. Thistlewood and the rest escaped; but he was afterwards taken in an obscure lodging at Finsbury, while in bed. They were all found guilty; and five of them, namely, Thistlewood, Ings, Brunt, Tidd, and Davidson, were hanged and then decapitated at the Old Bailey; the other five had their sentences commuted for transportation. About the same time the trial of Hunt and others took place at York, for their conduct at Manchester on the 16th of August; Hunt was sentenced to be imprisoned in Ilchester jail for two years and six months, and Healy, Johnson, and Bamford to one year's imprisonment in Lincoln jail.

The country had been in a very unsettled state in consequence of the foregoing proceedings, but they were treated as matters of little importance when compared with a scene that followed: we mean the trial of Queen Caroline. Her majesty had been six years absent from England, and for the last twenty-three years she had been separated from her husband. She had been charged with connubial infidelity, and a rigid investigation into her conduct had taken place; but though an undignified levity had been proved against her, the charge of criminality was not established; yet was she visited with a kind of vindictive persecution that rendered her life a burden. The prince had declared he would not meet her in public or in private; and among the magnates of rank and fashion his anathema operated with talismanic power; she was consequently put out of the pale of society, of which she had been described to be "the grace, life, and ornament." Thus neglected and insulted, she sought for recreation and repose in foreign travel; and during her absence rumour was busy at home in attributing to her amours of the most degrading kind. It was currently reported that the princess of Wales was living in adultery

with an Italian named Bergami, whom, from the menial station of a courier, she had created her chamberlain, and familiarly admitted to her table. To elicit evidence and investigate the truth of these reports, a commission had been appointed under the direction of Sir John Leach, who proceeded for that purpose to the continent; and the result of his inquiries was, that the English ministers abroad were not to give the princess, in their official character, any public recognition, or pay her the respect due to her exalted station.

On the death of George III. the first step taken to degrade her was the omission of her name in the liturgy; but she was now queen of England; and notwithstanding an annuity of 50,000*l.* per annum was offered on condition of her permanently residing abroad, and not assuming, in the event of the demise of the crown, the title of queen, she indignantly rejected the proposal, challenged the fullest inquiry into her conduct, and returned to England on the 6th of June, with a full determination to face her enemies. She was accompanied by Alderman Wood and Lady Hamilton, and her entry into London was greeted with the joyful acclamations of assembled multitudes.

The charges against the queen being resolutely persisted in by her accusers, and her guilt as pertinaciously denied by her defenders, all attempts at reconciliation failed, and a secret committee of the house of lords proceeded to examine the inculpatory documents contained in the "green bag." On the 5th of July Lord Liverpool presented a bill of pains and penalties against the queen, providing that her majesty be degraded from her rank and title, and her marriage with the king dissolved. The queen protested against these proceedings at every step, and was occasionally present during the examination of witnesses. Meanwhile, the excitement was intense. Guilty or not guilty, the public sympathized with her as a woman who had been subject to systematic persecution for a quarter of a century, carried on by a man as relentless as he was licentious; and however great her delinquencies might be, her persecutor was the last man in his dominions who could justify himself in pursuing the object of his hate with cruel vindictiveness. During all this time addresses and processions in honour of the queen kept the metropolis in such a ferment that its mechanics and artizans appeared as if engaged in a national saturnalia. Sir Robert Gifford, the attorney-general, assisted by the solicitor-general, conducted the prosecution; Mr. Brougham, Mr. Denman, and Dr. Lushington, the defence. The proceedings having at length been brought to a close, the lords met on the 2d of November, to discuss the second reading of the bill of degradation. Some declared their conviction of the queen's guilt; others as confidently asserted her innocence; while several denied both the justice and expediency of the bill, and would not consent to brand with everlasting infamy a member of the house of Brunswick. Upon a division for a second reading there was a majority of 28. Some were in favour of degradation, but not divorce. Upon the third reading of the bill, the ministerial majority was reduced to 9; when Lord Liverpool immediately announced the intention of government to abandon the further prosecution of this extraordinary proceeding. The filthy details, as they fell from the lips of well-paid Italians, couriers, valets, and chambermaids, while under examination, were given with prurient comments in the newspapers; and thus a mass of impurity was circulated throughout the country, more contaminating, because more minutely discussed and dwelt upon, than anything that was ever publicly recorded in the chronicles of shamelessness. On the 23d the parliament was suddenly prorogued; and on the 29th the queen, attended by a cavalcade of gentlemen on horseback, went in state to St. Paul's to return thanks for her happy deliverance.

A D. 1821.—On opening the parliamentary session, his majesty men-

tioned the queen by name, and recommended to the house of commons a provision for her maintenance. At first she declined to accept any pecuniary allowance until her name was inserted in the liturgy; but she subsequently altered her determination, and an annuity of 50,000*l.* was settled upon her.

During this session the subject of parliamentary reform excited much interest; the borough of Grampound was disfranchised for its corruption; and the necessity of retrenchment in all the departments of government was repeatedly urged by Mr. Hume, whose persevering exposition of the large sums that were uselessly swallowed up in salaries and sinecures made a great impression on the public, and though none of his motions were carried, the attention of ministers was thereby directed to the gradual diminution of the enormous expense incurred in the different public offices.

The anticipated coronation was now the all-absorbing topic. The queen having, by memorial to the king, claimed a right to be crowned, her counsel were heard in support of her claim, and the attorney and solicitor-general against it. The lords of the council decided that queens-consort were not *entitled* to the honour—a decision which *the king was pleased to approve*. The 19th of July was the day appointed for the august ceremony, preparations for which had long been making; and nothing more magnificent can be imagined than the appearance of Westminster-abbey and hall. The covered platform, over which the procession moved from the hall to the abbey was 1,500 feet in length; and on each side of the platform an amphitheatre of seats was erected, to accommodate one hundred thousand spectators. Every spot in the vicinity from which a view of the gorgeous pageant could be obtained was covered with seats and galleries, for which the most extravagant prices were given. As early as two o'clock in the morning the streets were filled with the carriages of persons going to witness the ceremony; and before five a considerable number of the company had taken their places at the hall. It had been currently reported that the queen would be present as a spectator of the scene; and so it proved; for about five o'clock her majesty arrived in her state-carriage; but no preparation had been made for her reception, and, not having an admission-ticket, she had to bear the humiliating indignity of a stern refusal, and was obliged to retire! The king arrived at ten, and the procession moved from the hall towards the abbey, his majesty walking under a canopy of cloth of gold, supported by the barons of the cinque-ports, among whom was Mr. Brougham, the queen's legal adviser and leading counsel! The ancient solemnity of the coronation in Westminster-abbey occupied about five hours; and when the king re-entered the hall, with the crown on his head, he was received with enthusiastic cheers. Soon after five o'clock the royal banquet was served; and the king, having dined with and drank the health of "his peers and his good people," left the festive scene. The populace were afterwards gratified with a balloon ascent, boat-races on the Serpentine, a grand display of fire-works in Hyde-park, and free admission to the various theatres. The expenses of the coronation amounted to two hundred and thirty-eight thousand pounds.

It has been seen that the queen made an ineffectual attempt to witness the coronation of her royal husband. The proud spirit of the house of Brunswick, which had borne up against a load of regal oppression and the contumely of sycophantic courtiers, was now doomed to yield before a slight bodily attack. Eleven days after her majesty had been repulsed from the doors of Westminster-hall, she visited Drury-lane theatre, from which place she retired early on account of a sudden indisposition, and in one week more this heroic female was a corpse As long as she was an object of persecution, she was the idol of popular applause; those even who did not account her blameless, felt for her as the victim of a heart

less system of oppression. But the excitement in her favour soon began to subside, and it was believed that the comparatively little interest which the public seemed to take in her favour on the day of the coronation, sunk deep into her heart. She died August the 7th, aged 52; leaving the world, as she herself declared, without regret. Her body lay in state at Brandenburg-house, her villa near Hammersmith; and on the 19th, it was conveyed through London, on its way to Harwich, the port of embarkation for its final resting-place at Brunswick. Countless multitudes had assembled to join in the procession; and when it was discovered that a circuitous route had been prescribed for the funeral train, in order to avoid passing through the streets of the metropolis, the indignation of the people knew no bounds, and in an affray with the guards two lives were lost. By obstructing and barricading the streets the people succeeded in forcing the procession through the city, and the royal corpse was hurried with indecent haste to the place of embarkation. On the 24th of August the remains of the queen reached Brunswick, and were deposited in the family vault of her ancestors.

We shall now turn for a moment to notice some events of importance, though not connected with the domestic history of Great Britain. The first is the death of Napoleon Bonaparte, who died of cancer in the stomach, aged 51. The disease was constitutional, but it had probably been accelerated by mental agitation and the unhealthy climate of St. Helena. Those who wish to know the character of this extraordinary man must read it in his actions, under the various and varying aspects of his fortune. His aim was to astonish and aggrandize, to uphold or trample upon justice, as best suited the object he had in view. Before his love of universal domination, every other passion and principle was made to give way: religion, honour, truth—all were sacrificed to personal ambition. In his will he expressed a wish that his "ashes might repose on the banks of the Seine, in the midst of the French people, whom he loved so well." That wish has since been gratified.

In Spain, Portugal, and Naples, a sort of revolutionary crisis had commenced. Encouraged by the discontents of the middle ranks, the troops, under the influence of Riego and other gallant officers, succeeded in making Ferdinand swear fidelity to the constitution of 1812. Similar conduct was pursued by the people of Portugal, whose declared objects were the establishment of a constitutional monarchy. And in Naples the popular mind took the same direction, and effected the same object.

A. D. 1822.—This year, though not marked by any great event, was one of interest as regarded important questions in parliament. Among the leading, were agricultural distress in England, and scarcity and distress in Ireland. Some changes during January took place in the cabinet; ministers strengthened themselves by a union with the Grenville party; and Lord Sidmouth retired from his office of home secretary, to make room for Mr. Peel.

On the 5th of February the king opened parliament, and took occasion to express regret that his visit to Ireland had failed to produce tranquillity. He also admitted that agriculture had to contend with unexpected difficulties, but congratulated the house on the prosperity which attended the manufactures and commerce of the country.

The state of Ireland did indeed demand attention. On one hand, coercive measures were necessary to repress the disorder that reigned through the island, for, owing to the daring nocturnal bands of White boys, &c., neither life nor property was safe. On the other, so universal was the failure of the potato crop that the price was quadrupled, and the peasantry of the south were in a state of starvation. To meet the former evil, it was found necessary to suspend the habeas corpus act, and to renew the insurrection act. To alleviate the latter, a committee was

formed in London, and corresponding committees in different parts of the country; British sympathy was no sooner appealed to than it was answered with zealous alacrity; and such was the benevolence of individuals that large funds were speedily at their disposal, so that before the close of the year the subscriptions raised in Great Britain for the relief of the distressed Irish amounted to 350,000*l.*; parliament made a grant of 300,000*l.* more; and in Ireland the local subscriptions amounted to 150,000*l.*; making altogether a grand total of 800,000*l.*

From the beginning of the year to the end of the session in August, the houses were occupied on questions of the highest importance; agricultural distress, for which various remedial measures were proposed; Lord John Russell's plan for a parliamentary reform; Mr. Vansittart's scheme for relieving the immediate pressure of what was called the "dead weight;" the currency question, which referred to the increased value of money caused by Mr. Peel's act of 1819, for the resumption of cash payments: the improvement of the navigation laws, &c.

Parliament was prorogued on the 6th of August, and on the tenth the king embarked at Greenwich for Scotland. On the 15th he landed at Leith, and the 19th held a levee in the ancient palace of Holyrood, where he appeared in the Highland costume. Having enjoyed the festivities which his loyal subjects of Edinburgh provided for the occasion, he re-embarked on the 27th, and in three days was again with his lieges in London.

During his majesty's absence intelligence was brought him of the death of the marquis of Londonderry, secretary of state for the foreign department. This nobleman, who had been the leading member of government, was in his 54th year, and in a temporary fit of insanity committed suicide, by cutting the carotid artery. In consequence of his tory principles and the share he took in effecting the union with Ireland, he was the most unpopular member of the administration, but he was highly respected in private life, and enjoyed the personal esteem of his sovereign.

Little of domestic interest occurred this year, but a few words relative to foreign affairs are requisite. The congress at Verona terminated in December; the allied sovereigns were disposed to re-establish the despotism of Ferdinand in Spain, in opposition to the cortes; but to this policy England objected, denying the right of foreign powers to interfere in the affairs of the Peninsula. The "sanitary cordon," established on the frontiers of France for the avowed purpose of preventing the fever which raged at Barcelona from spreading to that country, changed its name to "army of observation," while the design of the French government to check the progress of revolutionary principles in Spain were developed, and, indeed, soon afterwards openly expressed.

A. D. 1823.—On the death of Lord Londonderry, Mr. Canning, who was about to set out to India as governor-general, relinquished that employment, and accepted the vacant secretaryship, as one more congenial to his taste, and for the duties of which he was supposed to be perfectly efficient. Some popular changes now took place in the ministry. Mr. Vansittart, chancellor of the exchequer, resigned in favour of Mr. Robinson, and accepted the chancellorship of the duchy of Lancaster, with a seat in the upper house and the title of Lord Bexley; and Mr. Huskinson was made president of the board of trade, in room of Mr. Arbuthnot. Parliament was prorogued by commission on the 19th of July; much altercation having taken place between Mr. Canning and his political opponents, who plainly convinced him that he was not "reposing on a bed of roses." But he had the satisfaction at the close of the session of dwelling on the flourishing condition of all branches of commerce and manufactures, and a considerable abatement of the difficulties felt by the agriculturists at its commencement.

In April the French army of observation crossed the Pyrenees: and the duke of Angouleme, its commander, published an address to the Spainards, declaratory of the objects of this interposition in their affairs; defining it to be, the suppression of the revolutionary faction which held the king captive, that excited troubles in France, and produced an insurrection in Naples and Piedmont. They then marched onward, and, without meeting any resistance of consequence, occupied the principal towns and fortresses. In October the city of Cadiz surrendered, and French interference terminated with the liberation of Ferdinand from the cortes, who in all their movements had carried the unwilling king with them. The French then retraced their steps, leaving forty thousand men in possession of the fortresses, to maintain the authority of the Spanish king in case of a reaction.

A. D. 1824.—Favourable as the political aspect of Great Britain appeared at the commencement of 1823, there was now an evident improvement in almost every branch of commercial industry; while the cultivators of the soil found their condition materially assisted by natural causes, without the aid of legislatorial interference. It was therefore a pleasing task for Mr. Robinson, when he brought forward his budget, to describe in glowing terms the general prosperity of the country, and declare his intention of effecting an annual saving of £375,000 by reducing the interest of the four per cent. stock to three and a half. But a course of prosperity in England, like true love's course, "never did run smooth" for any length of time. There was now an abundance of capital, and money was accordingly to be had at low rates of interest. Safe investments were difficult to be found at home; hence foreign loans were encouraged, till there was scarcely a state in the Old or New World which had not the benefit of English capital. It was a rare era, too, for the gambling speculations of a host of needy adventurers; and, under pretext of having discovered advantageous modes of employing money, the most absurd schemes were daily set afloat to entrap the avaricious and unwary. Many of these devices were so obviously dishonest, that the legislature at length interfered to guard the public against a species of robbery in which the dupes were almost as much to blame as their plunderers. A resolution passed the house of lords declaring that no bill for the purpose of incorporating any joint-stock company would be read a second time till two-thirds of the proposed capital of the company had been subscribed. This certainly checked the operations we have alluded to; but the evil had been allowed to proceed too far, as experience proved.

A convention between Great Britain and Austria was laid on the table of the house of commons, by which the former agreed to accept £2,500,000 as a final compensation for claims on the latter power, amounting to £30,000,000—a composition of one shilling and eight-pence in the pound!

Among matters of domestic interest, although not of a nature, perhaps, to demand notice in a condensed national history, we may mention two occurrences which supplied the public with fertile topics of discourse. We allude to the trial of John Thurtell, who was executed for the murder of William Weare, as they were proceeding in a gig towards the cottage of their mutual friend Probert, near Elstree, where they had been invited to take the diversion of shooting: and also to the execution of Mr. Fauntleroy, the banker, who was tried and found guilty of forging a power of attorney for the transfer of stock. The first-mentioned offender against the laws of God and man was the son of a respectable alderman at Norwich; but by associating with gamblers, and indulging in brutal sports, he had contracted habits of ruffianism to which such a course of life almost invariably leads. The latter violator of a sacred trust had committed forgeries to the enormous extent, as was asserted at the time, of about a quarter of a million.

A. D. 1825.—One of the first steps in legislation this year was an act to suppress the catholic association of Ireland. Daniel O'Connell assumed to be the representative and protector of the catholic population in that country, and continued to levy large sums from the people, under the absurd and hypocritical pretence of obtaining "justice for Ireland." Subsequently a committee of the lords sat to inquire into the general state of that country; and in the evidence it clearly appeared that the wretched state of existence to which the peasantry were reduced was greatly aggravated by their abject bondage to their own priests, and that while the arch agitator and his satellites were allowed to inflame the passions of the people, and delude them into a belief that they were oppressed by their connexion with Great Britain, no remedy within the power of the legislature presented itself.

The catholic relief bill passed in the house of commons, but was rejected in the lords by a majority of 178 against 130. The debate was carried on with great animation; and, in the course of it, the duke of York strenuously declared against further concession to the catholics. "Twenty-eight years," said he, "have elapsed since the subject was first agitated; its agitation was the source of the illness which clouded the last ten years of my father's life; and, to the last moment of my existence, I will adhere to my protestant principles—so help me God!"

We have seen what an astonishing impulse had been given to speculations of all kinds last year by the abundance of unemployed capital and the reduction of interest in funded property. The mania for joint-stock companies was now become almost universal. During the space of little more than a twelvemonth, two hundred and seventy-six companies had been projected, of which the pretended capital was £174,114,050. Though many of these were of an absurd character, and nearly all held out prospects that no sane man could expect to see realized, yet the shares of several rose to enormous premiums, especially the mining adventures in South America. But a fearful re-action was at hand.

Several country banks stopped payment in December, and among them the great Yorkshire bank of Wentworth and Company. A panic in the money market followed; and in a few days several London bankers were unable to meet the calls upon them. On the 12th December the banking-house of Sir Peter Pole & Co., stopped payment. This caused great dismay in the city, it being understood that forty-seven country banks were connected with it. During the three following days five other London banking firms were compelled to close; and in a very short space of time, in addition, sixty-seven country banks failed or suspended payments. The merchants of the city of London, at the head of whom was Mr. Baring, feeling that something was necessary to restore confidence, assembled at the mansion-house, and published a resolution to the effect that "the unprecedented embarrassments were to be mainly attributed to an unfounded panic; that they had the fullest reliance on the banking establishments of the country, and therefore determined to support them, and public credit, to the utmost of their power."

In two days after this declaration, the Bank of England began to re-issue one and two pound notes for the convenience of the country circulation. For one week, 150,000 sovereigns per day were coined at the Mint, and post-chaises were hourly dispatched into the country to support the credit, and prevent the failure, of the provincial firms which still maintained their ground.

A. D. 1826.—The effects of the panic were severely felt; but it must be admitted that the Bank of England made strenuous efforts to mitigate pecuniary distress, and the course pursued by government was steady and judicious. The main ingredient in producing the mischief had been the facility of creating fictitious money; ministers, therefore, prohibited the

circulation of one pound notes, while incorporated companies were allowed to carry on the business of banking. Beyond this they could scarcely go: it was next to impossible that they could afford an effective guarantee against future panics, over-trading, or the insolvency of bankers.

On the 2d of February parliament was opened by commission. The royal speech adverted to the existing pecuniary distress, and showed that it was totally unconnected with political causes. It also alluded to measures in contemplation for the improvement of Ireland. After sitting till the end of May, the parliament was dissolved, and active preparations were made for a general election.

Certain leading questions had now got such possession of the public mind, that, at most of the elections, tests were offered and pledges required from the several candidates. The most important of these were catholic emancipation, the corn laws, and the slave trade: and out of the members returned for England and Wales, one hundred and thirty-three had never before sat in parliament. It was observed that now, for the first time, the catholic priests of Ireland openly began not only to take an active part in elections, but to inculcate the doctrine that opposition to an anti-catholic candidate was a christian duty. The English radicals were also extremely noisy and active in their endeavours to return Cobbett, Hunt, and others of that clique; but for the present they were unsuccessful.

The new parliament was opened by the king in person. No business of any great importance was brought before the house; but an exposé of the numerous joint-stock companies that had been established was made by Alderman Waithman. He observed that six hundred had been formed, most of them for dishonest purposes; the directors forcing up or depressing the market as they pleased, and pocketing the difference between the selling and buying prices. As members of the house were known to be directors of some of these bubble companies, he moved for a committee of inquiry with reference to the part taken by members of parliament in the joint-stock mania of 1824–5–6.

A few foreign occurrences claim our notice. The death of Alexander, emperor of Russia, a powerful ally of England, and a noble and benevolent prince, who sincerely desired the good of his people. It was his wish that his brother Nicholas should succeed him; and, in compliance with that wish, the grand duke Constantine, who was next heir to the throne, publicly renounced his right to the succession in favour of his younger brother.—Also, the death of John VI., king of Portugal and titular emperor of Brazil, whither he had retired, with his court, on the invasion of Portugal by Bonaparte.—Missolonghi, the last asylum of the Greeks, taken by storm, by the combined Egyptian and Turkish forces, who, rendered furious by the bravery of the besieged, put all the males to the sword, and carried the women and children into slavery.—The destruction of the Janissaries by Sultan Mahmoud, followed by an entire remodelling of the Turkish army, and the introduction of European military discipline.—Remarkable coincidence in the deaths of two ex-presidents of the United States of America: Mr. Adams and Mr. Jefferson not only expiring on the same day, but that day being the fiftieth anniversary of the declaration of American independence.

A. D. 1827.—We closed our last record with a notice of the deaths of two distinguished men on trans-Atlantic ground. We are compelled to commence the present year with the decease of an illustrious individual in England. His royal highness Augustus Frederick, duke of York, presumptive heir to the throne, and commander-in-chief of the army, at the head of which he had been thirty-two years, and under whose administration it had won imperishable laurels, died on the 5th of January, in the 64th year of his age. In person he was noble and soldierlike, in disposi-

tion frank, amiable and sincere; in the discharge of his official duties, impartial and exact.

The first topic of domestic interest was the change of ministry, which took place in consequence of Lord Liverpool, the premier, being suddenly disabled by a stroke of apoplexy, which, though he survived the attack nearly two years, terminated his public life. His lordship was free from intrigue and partisanship, and his official experience enabled him to take the lead in conducting the ordinary affairs of the government, but his oratory was commonplace, and he was incapable of vigorously handling the great questions which during his premiership agitated the country.

Nearly two months elapsed before the vacancy occasioned by Lord Liverpool's illness was filled. The king then empowered Mr. Canning to form a new ministry, of which he was to be the head; and he accordingly began to make arrangements. But he met with almost insuperable difficulties, for within forty-eight hours after he had received his majesty's commands, seven leading members of the cabinet—his former colleagues—refused to serve under him, and sent in their resignations. In this perplexity he waited on the king, who suspected there was not only a confederacy against Mr. Canning, but also a disposition to coerce the royal will. The king was not likely to withdraw his support from the minister, and ultimately a mixed administration entered on the duties of office. Mr. Canning, premier; earl of Harrowby, president; duke of Portland, privy seal; Viscount Dudley, foreign secretary; Mr. Sturges Bourne, home secretary; Mr. Huskisson, board of trade; C. Wynn, board of control; Viscount Palmerston, secretary of war; Lord Bexley, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster; Lord Lyndhurst, lord chancellor. The other ministerial appointments were, Sir John Leach, master of the rolls; Sir A. Hart, vice-chancellor; Sir James Scarlett, attorney-general; Sir N. Tindal, solicitor-general; duke of Clarence, lord-high-admiral; marquis of Anglesea, master-general of ordnance; duke of Devonshire, lord-chamberlain; duke of Leeds, master of the horse; and W. Lamb, secretary for Ireland. Subsequently, the marquis of Lansdowne accepted the seals of the home department, and Mr. Tierney was made master of the mint.

A treaty which had for its object the pacification of Greece, by putting an end to the sanguinary contest between the Porte and its Grecian subjects, was signed at London, on the 6th of July, by the ministers of Great Britain, France, and Russia.

From the hour that Mr. Canning undertook the office of premier he had been suffering under a degree of nervous excitement which made visible inroads on his constitution; but it was expected that a little repose during the parliamentary recess would reinvigorate him. Not so, for on the 8th of August he expired, the immediate cause of his death being an inflammation of the kidneys. This highly gifted statesman, who was in the 57th year of his age, was not less remarkable for scholastic acquirements, than for brilliant oratory and pungent wit; weapons which he often used with success in demolishing the more solid arguments of his opponents. In politics he was a tory, though possessing the good sense to avow and act upon liberal principles. He was long the efficient representative of Liverpool, and his constituents were proud of one who, while he shone in the senate, combined the graces of scholarship with elegant manners and amiability of temper.

On the death of Mr. Canning there were but few changes in the ministry. Lord Goderich became the new premier, and Mr. Herries chancellor of the exchequer; the duke of Wellington resumed the command of the army, but without a seat in the cabinet.

The treaty for attempting the pacification of Greece, not being palatable to the sultan, he declined the mediation of the allied powers, and recom

menced the war furiously against the Greeks. To put a stop to this, the combined fleets proceeded to the bay of Navarino, with a determination to capture or destroy the Turkish fleet which lay there, if Ibrahim Pacha refused listen to pacific overtures. No satisfaction being obtained, Admiral Codrington, followed by the French ships, under De Rigny, and the Russian squadron, entered the bay; and after four hours from the commencement of the conflict, which had been carried on with great fury, the enemy's fleet was wholly destroyed, and the bay strewn with the fragments of his ships.

A. D. 1828.—It was seen from the first, that the Goderich ministry did not possess the ingredients for a lasting union. Differences between the leading members rendered his lordship's position untenable, and he resigned his seals of office. Upon this the king sent for the duke of Wellington, and commissioned him to form a new cabinet, with himself at the head; the result was, that his grace immediately entered into communication with Mr. Peel, and other members of Lord Liverpool's ministry, who had seceded on the elevation of Mr. Canning; and, with very few exceptions, the same parties once more came into power. The duke, on becoming the first lord of the treasury, resigned the office of commander-in-chief.

On the 8th of May the catholic claims were again brought forward, when Sir Francis Burdett moved for a committee of the whole house on this subject, with a view to a conciliatory adjustment. After a three nights' debate, this was carried by a majority of six. A conference with the lords was then held, after which there was a two nights' debate in the lords, when the duke of Wellington opposed the resolution, and it failed.

In Ireland, during the Canning and Goderich ministries, all was comparatively still; but this year the excitement of the people, led on by the popular demagogues, was greatly increased by the formation of a Wellington and Peel administration. The Catholic Association was again in full activity; Mr. O'Connell was returned for Clare, in defiance of the landed gentry of the county; the priests seconded the efforts of itinerant politicians, and, in the inflated rhetoric of Mr. Shiel, "every altar became a tribune at which the wrongs of Ireland were proclaimed." Meanwhile, ministers looked supinely on, till the smouldering embers burst into a flame, which nothing within their power could extinguish. How could it, indeed, be otherwise, when the marquis of Anglesea, the king's representative, wrote a letter to Dr. Curtis, the titular catholic primate of Ireland, to the effect that the settlement of the catholic question was unavoidable, and recommending the catholics to "agitate," but refrain from violence, and trust to the legislature. What more could the great agitator himself require than such an ally? It is true that the marquis was forthwith recalled from the government of Ireland for writing the said letter—*but he was not impeached.*

The repairs and improvements of Windsor castle, which had been for a long time in hand, were this year completed, and the king took possession of his apartments, December 9th. A parliamentary grant of 450,000*l.* had been devoted to this truly national edifice, and great ability was shown in retaining the principal features of the original building, while studying the conveniences of modern civilization.

At the latter end of the year, owing to the discovery of a systematic plan of murder having been pursued by some wretches at Edinburgh, an indescribable feeling of horror and disgust pervaded the country. It appeared, on the trial of William Burke and Helen M'Dougal, who lodged in a house kept by a man named Hare, that they had been in the habit of decoying persons into the house, where they first made them intoxicated, and then suffocated them. The bodies were then sold for anatomical purposes, and no questions asked respecting the mode in which they had

been procured. The number of their victims it was difficult to ascertain, though Burke confessed to upwards of a dozen. This wretch was executed amid the exultations and execrations of an immense concourse of spectators; and the system of strangulation which he had practised was afterwards known by the term of *Burking*.

The foreign events of this year bear too little on English history to render necessary more than a mention of them. In April Russia declared war against Turkey. The destruction of the Turkish fleet at Navarino left the former power masters of the Black Sea; and on land 115,000 Russians were assembled to open the campaign on the Danube. Several great battles were fought, the Turks offering a much more effectual resistance to their invaders than was anticipated; at length the Russians retired from the contest, but did not return to St. Petersburgh till October. The affairs of Greece had gone on more favourably in consequence of the war between Turkey and Russia; and, assisted by France and England, that country was restored to the rank of an independent nation.

A. D. 1829.—Soon after the opening of parliament, ministers declared their intention to bring forward the long-agitated question of catholic emancipation, in order to put an end to it forever. In Ireland the catholic population was estimated at five millions and a half, whereas not more than one million and three quarters were protestants; but in England, Scotland, and Wales, the number of catholics fell short of a million. It was well known that the duke of Wellington's repugnance to the measure had been gradually abating; that he thought the security of the empire depended upon its being carried; and that he had laboured hard to overcome the king's scruples. These being at length removed, Mr. Peel, in a long, cautious, and elaborate speech, introduced the "Catholic relief bill" into the house of commons on the 5th of March. Its general objects were to render catholics eligible to seats in both houses of parliament, to vote at the election of members, and to enjoy all civil franchises and offices, upon their taking an oath not to use their privileges to "weaken or disturb the protestant establishment." As it was a course of policy which the whigs advocated, it had their support; the chief opposition coming from that section of the tory party who felt it to be a measure dangerous to the protestant institutions of the country. The majority in favour of the bill, however, at the third reading, was 320 to 142. In the upper house a more resolute stand was made against it; the lords Eldon, Winchelsea, Tenterden, and others, backed by the archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the bishops of London, Durham, and Salisbury, in the most solemn manner denouncing it as a measure pregnant with the most imminent peril to church and state as by law established. It was, however, carried on the 10th of April, and received the royal assent on the 13th.

A few official changes followed. Sir Charles Wetherell, attorney-general, was dismissed for his anti-catholic opposition to the ministers, and Sir James Scarlett appointed. Chief-justice Best was elevated to the peerage by the title of Lord Wynford; and was succeeded in the common-pleas by Sir Nicholas Tindal, the solicitor-general, whose office was given to Mr. Sugden.

The year 1830 commenced without any circumstance occurring in or out of parliament worth relating. The position of ministers was a difficult one, but it was what they had a right to expect. By conceding catholic emancipation they had lost the support of their most influential friends, and they were now compelled to accept as auxiliaries those hybrid whigs, whose co-operation, to be permanent, must be rewarded by a share in the government. But the stern unbending character of "the duke" would not allow him to share even the glory of a conquest with mercenaries whom he could not depend on; and, therefore, as the tories were divided, it was clear that their rule was fast drawing to a close.

An event, by no means unexpected, now took place. For a considerable time past the king had been indisposed, and he was rarely seen beyond the limits of his royal domain at Windsor; where, when he was well enough to take exercise, he would enjoy a forest-drive, or amuse himself by fishing and sailing on his favourite Virginia-water. But gout and dropsy had made sad havoc on the royal invalid; and in April bulletins of his health began to be published. His illness gradually increased from that time to the 26th of June, the day on which he died. After a severe paroxysm his majesty appeared to be fainting, and, exclaiming "this is death," in a few minutes he ceased to breathe.

CHAPTER LXV.

THE REIGN OF WILLIAM IV.

A. D. 1830, June 26.—William Henry, duke of Clarence, third son of George III., succeeded to the throne as William IV., being at the time of his accession in the 65th year of his age. This monarch was brought up to the navy, having entered the service as a midshipman in 1779, on board the Royal George, a 98-gun-ship, commanded by Captain Digby; and, by regular gradations, he became rear-admiral of the blue in 1790. From that time he saw no more active service afloat, although he wished to share in his country's naval glories; and nothing was heard of him in his professional capacity, till Mr. Canning, in 1827, revived the office of lord-high admiral, which for more than a century had been in commission. He, however, resigned it in the following year, the duke of Wellington, as prime minister, disapproving of the expense to which the lord-high-admiral put the nation, by an over-zealous professional liberality.

On the 23d of July parliament was prorogued by the king in person, the royal speech being congratulatory as to the general tranquillity of Europe, the repeal of taxes, and certain reforms introduced into the judicial establishment of the country.

It was, notwithstanding, a period pregnant with events of surpassing interest, but as they chiefly belong to the history of France, the bare mention of them is all that is here necessary. An expedition on a large scale was fitted out by the French, with the ostensible view of chastising the Algerines for their piratical insults; but it ended in their capturing the city, and in taking measures to secure Algeria as a French colony. Then came the revolutionary struggle on the appointment of the Polignac ministry, which ended in the expulsion of Charles X. from the throne of France, and the elevation of Louis Philippe, duke of Orleans, as "king of the French," who swore fidelity to the constitutional charter.

This great change in the French monarchy was effected with less bloodshed, and in far less time, than could have been anticipated by its most sanguine promoters; for, from the date of the despotic ordinances issued by the ministers of Charles X., to the moment that the duke of Orleans accepted the office of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, preparatory to his being elected king, only four days elapsed, during two of which there were some sharply contested battles between the citizens and the royal troops under Marmont. Of the citizens three hundred and ninety were killed on the spot, and of two thousand five hundred wounded, three hundred died. Of the royal guard, three hundred and seventy-five were killed and wounded, and of gens-d'armes two hundred and two.

A similar revolution in Belgium followed. When that country was joined to Holland in 1815, to form the kingdom of the Netherlands, and thereby raise a powerful bulwark on the frontier of France, it was avowedly a mere union of political convenience, in which neither the national

character, the institutions, nor the religion of the inhabitants was consulted. No sooner did the outbreak in Paris become known, than Brussels, Liege, Namur, Ghent, Antwerp, and other cities, showed an inveterate spirit of hostility to their Dutch rulers, and insurrections, which soon amounted to a state of civil war, were general throughout Belgium. The kingdom of the Netherlands having been created by Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, Russia, and France, these powers assumed a right of mediation between the belligerents; and on the 4th of November a protocol was signed at London, declaring that hostilities should cease, and that the troops of the contending parties should retire within the limits which formerly separated Belgium from Holland.

The effect of these successful popular commotions abroad was not lost upon the people of England; and "parliamentary reform" became the watch-word of all who wished to harass the tory ministry. The duke of Wellington was charged, though most unjustly, of having given his support, or at least been privy to the arbitrary measures of the Polignac ministry; and a clamour was raised against him and his colleagues which was beyond their power to control.

By degrees the small ministerial majority dwindled away, and in less than a fortnight from the assembling of parliament the tories found themselves in a minority of 29, on a motion for the settlement of the civil list. This was a signal for the Wellington ministry to resign, and their seals of office were respectfully tendered to the king on the following day, November 16.

The celebrated "reform ministry" immediately succeeded; at the head of which was Lord Grey, as first lord of the treasury. The other members of the cabinet were the marquis of Lansdowne, lord-president; Lord Brougham, lord-chancellor; Viscount Althorp, chancellor of the exchequer; Viscount Melbourne, home secretary; Viscount Palmerston, foreign secretary; Viscount Goderich, colonial secretary; Lord Durham, lord privy seal; Lord Auckland, president of the board of trade; Sir James Graham, first lord of the admiralty; Lord Holland, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster; Honourable Charles Grant, president of the India board; and the earl of Carlisle, without any official appointment. Among the ministers who had no seats in the cabinet, were Lord John Russell, paymaster-general; the duke of Richmond, postmaster-general; the duke of Devonshire, lord-chamberlain; Marquis Wellesley, lord-steward; Sir T. Denman, attorney-general; and Sir W. Horne, solicitor-general. The Marquis of Anglesea was invested with the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland, and Lord Plunkett was its lord-chancellor.

During the autumn of this year a novel and most destructive species of outrage prevailed in the agricultural districts of the south of England, arising from the distressed condition of the labouring population. Night after night incendiary fires kept the country in a constant state of alarm, and farming-stock of every description was consumed. There was no open rioting, no mobs; nor did it appear that it was connected with any political object. In the counties of Kent, Hants, Wilts, Bucks, and Sussex, these disorders rose to a fearful height; threatening letters often preceding the conflagrations, which soon after night-fall would simultaneously burst out, and spread over the country havoc and dismay. Large rewards were offered for the discovery of the offenders, the military force was increased, and special commissions were appointed to try the incendiaries. Altogether upwards of eight hundred offenders were tried, the greater part of whom were acquitted; and among those convicted, four were executed, and the remainder sentenced to different terms of transportation and imprisonment.

In referring to foreign affairs, we have to notice: 1. The trial of the French ministers, Polignac, Peyronnet, Chantelauze, and Ranville, on a

charge of high treason for the part they took in enforcing the "ordinances" of Charles X., which led to the memorable revolution of July. 2. The Polish insurrection. This arose from the grand duke Constantine of Russia having severely punished some of the young military students at Warsaw for toasting the memory of Kosciusko. The inhabitants, assisted by the Polish regiments, after a sanguinary contest in the streets, compelled the Russians to retire to the other side of the Vistula. However, dreading the resentment of their tyrannical masters, they afterwards endeavoured to effect an amicable settlement; but the emperor Nicholas refused to listen to their representations, and threatened them with condign punishment. Meanwhile, the Poles prepared to meet the approaching conflict, and General Joseph Chlopicki was invested with the office of "dictator." 3. The death of Simon Bolivar, the magnanimous "liberator" of Columbia, who expired, a voluntary exile, at San Pedro, December 17, in the 48th year of his age.

A. D. 1831.—On the 3d of February parliament re-assembled, and it was announced that a plan of reform would speedily be introduced by Lord John Russell. In the meantime Lord Althorp brought forward the budget; by which it appeared that the taxes on tobacco, newspapers, and advertisements were to be reduced; and those on coals, candles, printed cottons, and some other articles, abolished.

The subject of parliamentary reform continued to absorb all other political considerations, and was looked forward to with intense interest. In announcing his scheme, Lord John Russel proposed the total disfranchisement of sixty boroughs, in which the population did not amount to two thousand, and the partial disfranchisement of forty-seven, where the population was only four thousand. The bill, after a spirited discussion of seven days, was read a first time. The second reading was carried on the 22d of March, by a majority of *one*; and on General Gascoyne's motion for the commitment of the bill, there was a majority against ministers of eight. Three days afterwards, on a question of adjournment, by which the voting of supplies was postponed, this majority had increased to twenty-two; whereupon the ministers tendered their resignations to the king. These he declined to accept, but adopted the advice of Earl Grey, who recommended a dissolution of parliament, which took place on the 22d of April.

On the 14th of June the new parliament met, and was opened by the king in person. On the 25th Lord John Russell made his second attempt. The debate lasted three nights, and on a division there was a majority of one hundred and thirty-six in favour of the bill. It then underwent a long and severe scrutiny in committee; every clause was discussed, and many imperfections remedied. These occupied the house till the 19th of September, when, after another debate of three nights, the bill was carried by a majority of one hundred and nine, and taken up to the lords—where it failed.

That we may not interrupt the thread of our narrative, we pass on to April 14, 1832; when, after a four nights' debate in the house of lords, this popular bill was carried by a majority of *nine*. After this, innumerable difficulties were raised, but the majority on its third reading was one hundred and six to twenty-two.

We shall now briefly refer to a few occurrences hitherto omitted. The Russians sustained a severe defeat at Wawz, after a battle of two days, their loss being fourteen thousand men; their opponents the Poles, suffered comparatively little. But on the 30th a Polish corps, under Dwernicki, being hard pressed by the Russians, retreated into Austrian Gallicia, and surrendering to the Austrian authorities, were treated as prisoners and sent into Hungary. In short, after bravely encountering their foes, and struggling against superior numbers, Warsaw capitulated, and the idea of

Polish independence was farther removed than ever.—In June, Prince Leopold was elected king of Belgium by the congress at Brussels, his territory to consist of the kingdom of the Netherlands, as settled in 1815.

On the 7th of September the coronation of their majesties took place; but, as compared with the gorgeous display and banqueting when George IV. was crowned, it must be considered a frugal and unostentatious ceremony. There was, however, a royal procession from St. James' palace to Westminster-abbey; and in the evening splendid illuminations, free admission to the theatres, and a variety of other entertainments.

On the 21st of October, the London Gazette contained precautions to be adopted against the spread of the Asiatic cholera, that dreadful pestilence having lately extended from Moscow to Hamburgh. It was ordered that a board of health should be established in every town, to correspond with the board in London, and effectual modes of insuring cleanliness, free ventilation, &c. were pointed out. These precautionary measures were doubtless of great use, and worthy of the paternal attention of a humane government; but owing, as was supposed, to the quarantine laws having been evaded by some persons who came over from Hamburgh and landed at Sunderland, the much-dreaded infection visited many parts of Great Britain, and produced indescribable alarm among all ranks of people.

One other event, that we would fain omit altogether, remains to be mentioned among the domestic occurrences of the year. On the 29th of October the city of Bristol became the scene of dreadful riots, which were not overcome till that large commercial town appeared to be on the verge of total destruction. Sir Charles Wetherell, an uncompromising opponent of the reform bill, was recorder of Bristol; and maledictions on his head were freely uttered by the base and vulgar, for the vigorous stand he made against the bill during its progress through the commons. On the recorder's making his public entrance the cruel storm commenced, and did not cease till the third day, by which time, besides immense destruction of private property, the mansion-house, custom-house, excise-office, and bishop's palace were plundered and set on fire; the prisons were burst open, and their inmates set at liberty; and during one entire day, Sunday, the mob were unresisted masters of the city. On Monday morning, when the fury of the rioters had partly spent itself in beastly orgies, and many had become the victims of excessive drinking in the rifled cellars and warehouses, the civil magistrates appeared to awake from their stupor, and, with assistance of the military, this "ebullition of popular feeling," as it was delicately termed by some who had unconsciously fanned the flame, was arrested. The loss of property was estimated at half a million. The number of rioters killed, wounded, or injured, was about 110; but of these, far more suffered from the vile excesses of intemperance, and from being unable to escape from the flames which they had themselves kindled, than from the sabres of the soldiery or the truncheons of constabulary protectors. One hundred and eighty were taken into custody, and tried by a special commission; when four were executed and twenty-two transported. Their trials took place on the 2d of January, 1832. Not many days afterwards Lieutenant-colonel Brereton, who had command of the troops, committed suicide, pending an inquiry into his conduct by court-martial. He was charged with not having displayed the firmness and decision necessary for quelling a tumult of such magnitude. That more energy and decision ought to have been shown at the commencement, by the civil power, is evident: how far the colonel was in error is very questionable. The whole transaction proves to what excesses the unbridled fury of the populace will lead during a period of political excitement, and ought to serve as a perpetual warning to all those unquiet spirits who love to "ride on the whirlwind," but know not how to "direct the storm."

A. D. 1832.—Having in our previous notice stated the result of the long continued contest respecting parliamentary reform, we have now only to describe the changes effected in the representative system when the bills came into operation. As soon as the royal assent was given to the English reform bill (June the 7th), congratulatory addresses and other peaceful demonstrations of public joy were very generally indulged in; but if we may judge by the triumphant chuckle of the victors and the lofty scorn of the vanquished, the angry invectives of the late political disputants were neither forgotten nor forgiven. Yet, though the war of words had not wholly passed away, it was now as a mere feather in the balance—the reform bill had become the law of the land.

During the months of February, March, and April, the cholera became very prevalent, not only in the country towns and villages in the north of England, where it first appeared, but also in the metropolis. Every possible attention was paid to the subject by government; parochial and district boards were forthwith organized, temporary hospitals got ready for the reception of the sick, and every measure that humanity and prudence could suggest was resorted to, to check the progress of the malady. The virulence of the disease abated during the three succeeding months, but at the end of the summer it appeared again as malignant as ever. In the whole year, the deaths from cholera, within the limits of the bills of mortality, amounted to 3,200; and the total number of deaths exclusive of London, was 24,180; the amount of cases being 68,855. In Paris, 1000 deaths occurred during the first week of its appearance there; nay, so fatal was it, that out of 45,675 deaths which took place in the French capital in 1832, the enormous number of 19.000 was occasioned by cholera. This frightful epidemic next appeared in Canada and the United States. It thus made the tour of the globe; beginning, as was supposed, in Hindostan; then devastating Moscow and the northern parts of Europe; visiting Great Britain and France; and lastly, crossing the Atlantic.

In this year's obituary are the names of several men of eminence. From among them we select—Sir James Mackintosh, an eloquent writer and statesman.—Jeremy Bentham, celebrated as a jurist and law reformer; a man who had his own specifics for every disease of the body-politic, but who never had the happiness to see one of them effect a cure. Sir Walter Scott, the "wizard of the north," as some of his eulogists have called him; a romance writer and poet, of acknowledged merit, who for a long period enjoyed a popularity unknown to any of his cotemporaries. He possessed an extraordinary union of genius and industry, and had he been satisfied with his literary gains, instead of joining in the speculations of his printers and publishers, his latter days would, in all probability, have been spent, as they ought, in the enjoyment of ease and affluence.

A. D. 1833.—On the 29th of January the first reform parliament was opened by commission, and on the 5th of February the king delivered his speech in person. Among other topics of interest, he emphatically dwelt upon the increasing spirit of insubordination and violence in Ireland, and on the necessity which existed for entrusting the crown with additional powers for punishing the disturbers of the public peace, and for strengthening the legislative union of the two kingdoms. This led to the passing of the insurrection acts in the following month; empowering the lord-lieutenant to prohibit public meetings of a dangerous tendency; suspending the writ of habeas corpus; authorizing domiciliary visits by magistrates, &c.

Great Britain had in 1807 abolished the "slave trade," but *slavery itself* was now to become extinct in the West Indies. By the act for the "abolition of colonial slavery," all children under six years of age, or born after August 1, 1834, were declared free; all registered slaves above

six years became, from the same date, apprenticed labourers, with weekly pay, either in money or by board and lodging, possessing, at the same time, all the rights and immunities of freemen. In effecting so great a change, it was necessary that the owners of slaves should receive some adequate compensation. To meet this object, ministers at first proposed advancing a loan of fifteen millions to the West India proprietors; but the idea of a *loan* was soon converted into a *gift*, and of a still higher amount; the sum of £20,000,000 being finally voted to the slave-owners as a liberal compensation for the losses they might sustain by this humane measure. An end was thus put to a question which had agitated the religious portion of the community from the day that Mr. Wilberforce first stood forward as the champion of African emancipation.

With regard to renewing the charter of the Bank of England, there were questions on which the legislature were divided; the majority, however, insisted on the expediency of continuing the exclusive privileges of the bank, so that it should remain the principal and governing monetary association of the empire.

A. D. 1834.—The desire to move onward in legislating for and removing everything that seemed to obstruct the progress of "liberal" principles, was the natural consequence of the reform bill; and at the commencement of the year the "pressure from without" was felt by ministers to be a most inconvenient appendage to their popularity. This state of things could not long remain; and on Mr. Ward bringing forward a motion in the house of commons for appropriating the surplus revenue of the Irish church to the purposes of government, it appeared that there existed a difference of opinion in the cabinet as to the mode in which the motion should be met. The majority was in its favour; but the appropriation of church property to other than ecclesiastical uses was incompatible with the notions of Mr. Stanley, Sir James Graham, the earl of Ripon, and the duke of Richmond; and they accordingly resigned their places in the ministry. This happened May 27th; the 28th being the anniversary of the king's birth-day, the Irish prelates presented an address to his majesty, in which they strongly deprecated ecclesiastical innovations. The king promptly replied, and in an unstudied speech of considerable length, warmly expressed his attachment to the church. He said that he had always been friendly to toleration in its utmost latitude, but opposed to licentiousness, and that he was fully sensible how much both the protestant church and his own family were indebted to the revolution of 1688; emphatically and somewhat naively adding, "The words which you hear from me are spoken from my mouth, but they proceed from my heart."

The rupture with the ministers above-named was speedily followed by another, which ended in the resignation of Earl Grey, the premier. In the communications which had from time to time been made by ministers to Mr. O'Connell on Irish affairs, it had been confidently stated to him that when the Irish coercion bill was renewed, the clauses prohibitory of meetings would not be pressed; nevertheless, the obnoxious clauses appeared in the bill; and Mr. O'Connell declared that he considered it dissolved the obligation of secrecy under which the communication had been made. Lord Althorp finding himself unable to carry the coercion bill through the commons, with the clauses against public meetings, sent in his resignation; and as Earl Grey considered himself unable, without the assistance of Lord Althorp as ministerial leader in the house of commons, to carry on the government, he also resigned.

An arrangement was, however, soon effected to form another ministry, Lord Althorp consenting to resume the chancellorship of the exchequer under the premiership of Viscount Melbourne. The new cabinet then stood thus: Viscount Melbourne, first lord of the treasury; Lord Brougham, lord-chancellor; Viscount Althorp, chancellor of the

exchequer; Marquis of Lansdowne, president of the council; Earl of Mulgrave, privy seal; Viscount Duncannon, home secretary; Viscount Palmerston, foreign secretary; Spring Rice, colonial secretary; Lord Auckland, first lord of the admiralty; Charles Grant, president of the India board; Marquis of Conyngham, postmaster-general; Lord Holland, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster; Lord John Russell, paymaster of the forces; and E. J. Littleton, secretary for Ireland.

An event now took place which was regarded as a national calamity, not merely on account of the loss sustained, but also from the historical and personal associations connected with it. On the evening of the 16th of October a fire broke out in one of the offices at the lower end of the house of lords, which continued to rage throughout the night, and was not completely extinguished for several days. Great anxiety was felt for the safety of that ancient edifice, Westminster-hall; and even the venerable and magnificent gothic pile opposite, Westminster-abbey, was at one period in great danger; but nothing that skill or intrepidity could achieve was neglected in arresting the progress of the flames; and though the two houses of parliament were destroyed, neither the hall nor the abbey sustained material damage; and the libraries and state papers in the lords and commons were preserved. The fire, as appeared on inquiry, was caused by negligence, in burning the exchequer-tallies in a building adjoining the house of lords.

One month after the destruction of the houses of parliament the Melbourne ministry was summarily dismissed. On the 14th November, Lord Melbourne waited on his majesty at Brighton to take his commands on the appointment of a chancellor, in the room of Lord Althorp, removed, by the death of his father, Earl Spencer, to the house of peers. The king, it is said, objected to the proposed re-construction of the cabinet, and made his lordship the bearer of a letter to the duke of Wellington, who waited upon his majesty, and advised him to place Sir Robert Peel at the head of the government. Sir Robert was at the time in Italy, whither a courier was dispatched, and the baronet arrived in London, Dec. 9, saw the king, and accepted the situation. Thus again, though for a brief space, the tory party, or conservatives, as they were now called, were in the ascendant.

A. D. 1835.—The Melbourne cabinet had been looked upon as the dregs of the Grey ministry; and the losses it had sustained by the withdrawal of the earl of Durham, the Stanley section, and the noble premier himself, had not been supplied by men of suitable talents. The public, therefore, had no great reason for regret, when the king so suddenly dispensed with their services. Yet when the same men were entrusted with the reins of government who had been the strenuous opposers of reform, an instantaneous outcry burst forth, and the advent of toryism was regarded by the populace with feelings of distrust and dread. Sir Robert Peel, however, explicitly declared that he considered the reform bill as a final and irrevocable settlement; and he appealed to several measures that had formerly emanated from himself, as proofs that he was not opposed to the redress of grievances. But when, on the 30th of March, Lord John Russell brought forward his resolution—"that the house should resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to consider the temporalities of the church of Ireland," the motion was met by Sir E. Knatchbull with a direct negative, and after a long and stormy debate, ministers found themselves in a minority of 33. The bill was then discussed in committee; and after three nights' debate there was still a majority against them of 27. Finding that neither concessions nor professions of liberality were of any avail, the duke of Wellington in the upper house, and Sir Robert Peel in the lower, announced their resignations; the latter at the same time declaring, that though thwarted by the commons, he parted with them on friendly terms.

These changes in the ministry sadly impede us in the progress of this succinct history; but as they engrossed universal attention at the time, so must they now be related, as affording the readiest clue to the principal transactions in the arena of politics. Once more, then, we see Lord Melbourne as the premier; Lord John Russell, home secretary; Palmerston, foreign secretary; Right. Hon. Spring Rice, chancellor of the exchequer; marquis of Lansdowne, president of the council; the other appointments filled nearly as they were when the "liberals" were in power, except that the great seal was put in commission.

Let us a moment pause in our domestic narrative, to mention a diabolical contrivance in France, which might have involved Europe in another scene of blood and tumult but for its providential failure. On the 28th of July, during the festivities of the annual commemoration of the revolution of 1830, as Louis Philippe, attended by his sons and a splendid suite, was riding along the line of the national guard, on the boulevard of the Temple, an explosion like a discharge of musketry took place from the window of an adjoining house, which killed Marshal Mortier and another general officer, besides killing or wounding nearly forty other persons. But the king, who was the object of this indiscriminate slaughter, with his three sons, escaped unhurt. The assassin, who was a Corsican named Fieschi, was seized by the police in the act of descending from the window by a rope, and wounded by the bursting of some of the barrels of his "infernal machine." The deadly instrument consisted of a frame upon which were arranged twenty-five barrels, each loaded with bullets, &c., and the touch-holes communicating by means of a train of gunpowder. On his trial he made no attempt to deny his guilt, but nothing could be elicited to prove that any formidable conspiracy existed, or that he was influenced by any political party to undertake the horrid act. The atrocious attempt, however, served for a convenient pretext to introduce a series of severe laws for the prevention and punishment of state crimes and revolutionary attempts.

We shall close our sketch of this year's occurrences by briefly noticing the deaths of two persons, who, in their career for popular applause, attained a more than ordinary share of notoriety. The one was Henry Hunt, late M.P., for Preston, who had figured as a leader among the radicals, and whose zeal for "the people" at the too memorable meeting at Manchester had been rewarded by a long imprisonment in Ilchester jail. He was originally a respectable and wealthy Wiltshire farmer; but having renounced the charms of country life for the euphonious greetings of "unwashed artisans," he for many years continued to hold undivided empire over their affections. In personal appearance Mr. Hunt was a fine specimen of the English yeoman; he was naturally shrewd, uniting caution with boldness, but, above all, greedy of political popularity. During the latter part of his life, his name, which used to grace the walls in juxta-position with "universal suffrage," was allied with "matchless blacking;" and it was while he was on a journey of business through the south-western counties that he met with his death, owing to a violent fit of paralysis with which he was seized as he was alighting from his phæton at Alresford, Hants. His more distinguished cotemporary and coadjutor, though sometimes powerful rival, was William Cobbett, M.P. for Oldham; a man remarkable for persevering industry, and of unquestionable talents, who, from following his father's plough, and afterwards serving with credit as a British soldier in America, passed the greater part of his life in the unceasing strife of politics, and was able, by the force of his extraordinary and versatile powers as a writer, to keep a strong hold on public opinion for nearly half a century. He died in June, not three months after his quondam friend, Mr. Henry Hunt.

A. D. 1836.—The year opened auspiciously, both with regard to its com

mercial prospects and its political aspect. The whole manufacturing districts were in a state of activity; money was abundant wherever tolerable security was offered; and though an immense absorption of capital was taking place in extensive public undertakings, such as railways, some of which were already highly successful, there was very little of that wild spirit of adventure which ten years before had nearly brought the country to the brink of ruin. Mercantile confidence rested upon a better basis than it had done for a long time past; the ports bore ample evidence of the prosperity of British commerce; and though there were still just complaints of agricultural distress, they were partial rather than general.

In the obituary for this year are several distinguished names: Lord Stowell, aged 90, an eminent civilian, many years judge of the high court of admiralty, and brother of lord-chancellor Eldon.—Nathan Meyer Rothschild, the greatest millionaire of the age; a man who in conjunction with other members of his family on the continent may be said to have governed the European money market.—James Wood, the rich, eccentric, and penurious banker of Gloucester.—James Mill, the historian of British India.—Charles X., ex-king of France, who died an exile in Illyria, in the 80th year of his age.—And the Abbé Sieyes, who under all the phases of the French revolution maintained an elevated station, and on the fall of the republic became a count and peer of the empire.

A. D. 1837.—It was remarked at the commencement of the previous year that symptoms of prosperity appeared in all the leading branches of commercial industry. But over-trading, led on and encouraged by over-banking, again produced evils. During the year 1836 no less than forty-five joint-stock banks had been established. It was therefore natural that one of the subjects recommended to the attention of parliament in the opening speech, should be "a renewal of the inquiry into the operation of joint-stock banks." Little progress, however, was made, when an event occurred which for a time absorbed all matters of minor interest.

The public had been apprised by the publication of bulletins, that his majesty was seriously ill, and on the 20th of June his death was announced as having taken place early that morning. He was perfectly conscious of his approaching fate, and had expressed a wish to survive the anniversary of the battle of Waterloo on the 18th. The good old king was so far gratified; but the symptoms of internal decay rapidly increased, and he breathed his last, as his head rested on Queen Adelaide's shoulder, in the presence of the archbishop of Canterbury, the dean of Hereford, &c., faintly articulating, "Thy will be done." The queen's attentions to her afflicted consort had been unremitting; for twelve days she did not take off her clothes, but was constantly in the sick chamber administering consolation. His majesty was in the 72d year of his age, and had nearly completed the seventh year of his reign. The royal corpse lay in state till the 8th of July, when it was deposited in St. George's chapel, Windsor. The duke of Sussex attended as chief mourner; and the queen dowager was present in the royal closet during the funeral service.

Many were the eulogiums pronounced upon the deceased monarch; but no testimony was more just, or more characteristic of his real qualities, than the following tribute by Sir Robert Peel. He said, "it was the universal feeling of the country, that the reigns of government were never committed to the hands of one who bore himself as a sovereign with more affability, and yet with more true dignity—to one who was more compassionate for the sufferings of others—or to one whose nature was more completely free from all selfishness. He did not believe that, in the most exalted or in the most humble station, there could be found a man who felt more pleasure in witnessing and promoting the welfare of others."

CHAPTER LXVI

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA.

A. D. 1837.—Intelligence of his majesty's death having been officially communicated to the Princess Victoria and the duchess of Kent, at Kensington palace, preparations were immediately made for holding a privy council there at eleven o'clock. A temporary throne was erected for the occasion; and, on the queen being seated, the lord-chancellor administered to her majesty the usual oath, that she would govern the kingdom according to its laws and customs, &c. The cabinet ministers and other privy councillors then present took the oaths of allegiance and supremacy; and the ministers having first resigned their seals of office, her majesty was graciously pleased to return them, and they severally kissed hands on their re-appointment.

By the death of William IV. the crowns of the United Kingdom and Hanover were dissevered through the operation of the salic law excluding females from the Hanoverian kingdom, which consequently descended to the next heir, the duke of Cumberland; and Adelaide, as queen-dowager, was entitled to £100,000 per annum, settled upon her for life in 1831, with Marlborough-house and Bushy-house for residences.

On the 20th of October the new parliament assembled, when her majesty opened in person the business of the session. In her progress to and from the house, the queen was received by the populace with the strongest demonstrations of enthusiasm. The speech, which her majesty delivered in a clear, audible voice, concluded with the following sentence: "The early age at which I am called to the sovereignty of this kingdom, renders it an imperative duty that, under Divine Providence, I should place my reliance upon your cordial co-operation, and upon the love and affection of all my people." In the house of lords, the address in answer to her majesty's gracious speech was moved by her uncle the duke of Sussex, who "trusted he might be allowed to express his conviction that when the chroniclers at a future period should have to record the annals of her reign, which had so auspiciously commenced, and which, with the blessing of God, he trusted would be continued for many years, they would not be written in letters of blood, but would commemorate a glorious period of prosperity, the triumphs of peace, the spreading of general knowledge, the advancement of the arts and manufactures, the diffusion of commerce, the content of all classes of society, and the general welfare of the country."

No great progress was made during the first session of Victoria's parliament in settling the various important subjects under discussion. At its close, however, the civil list bill was passed; it provided a total sum of three hundred and eighty-five thousand pounds, which was thus classed: 1, privy purse, sixty thousand pounds; 2, salaries of household and retired allowances, one hundred and thirty-one thousand two hundred and sixty pounds; 3, expenses of household, one hundred and seventy-two thousand five hundred pounds; 4, royal bounty, &c., thirteen thousand two hundred pounds; 5, pensions, one thousand two hundred pounds; unappropriated moneys, eight thousand and forty pounds. On the 23d her majesty went in person to give it her royal assent, and then adjourned the parliament to the 16th of January.

A. D. 1838.—For some time there had been symptoms of discontent in Lower Canada, fomented by the old French party, which at length broke out into the appearance of a civil war. To check an evil so pregnant with mischief, it was deemed advisable that no ordinary person should be sent out to that important colony. Accordingly, it was notified in the London Gazette, Jan 16, that the earl of Durham, G.C B. was appointed governor-

general of "all her majesty's provinces within and adjacent to the continent of North America, and her majesty's high commissioner for the adjustment of certain important affairs affecting the provinces of Lower and Upper Canada." His lordship did not arrive in Canada till nearly the end of May. Actual contests had taken place between considerable parties of the insurgents and the troops under Lieutenant-colonel Wetherall, who had succeeded in driving them from all the villages on the line of the river Richelieu. At length, on the 13th of December, Sir John Colborne himself marched from Montreal to attack the chief post of the rebels at the Grand Brulé. On the following day an engagement took place in the churchyard of St. Eustache, when the loyalist army proved once more victorious, eighty of the enemy having been killed, and one hundred and twenty taken prisoners. Dr. J. O. Chenier, their leader, was slain and the town was more than half burned down. On the 15th, on Sir John Colborne's approach to the town of St. Benoit, a great portion of the inhabitants came out bearing a white flag and begging for mercy, but in consequence of the great disloyalty of the place, and the fact of the principal leaders having been permitted to escape, some of their houses were fired as an example. Dr. Wolfred Nelson, one of the rebel leaders, having been nine days concealed in the woods, was brought in prisoner to Montreal. In the Upper Province, a body of rebels, which occupied a position about three miles from Toronto, threatening that city, were successfully attacked and dispersed on the 7th of December, by Sir Francis Bond Head, at the head of the armed citizens, with such reinforcements as had spontaneously joined them from the country. The rebels had, however, established a camp on Navy island, on the Niagara river; and many citizens of the United States were implicated in the insurrectionary movements there and elsewhere on the frontier.

On the 3d of March a sharp engagement took place between her majesty's troops and the insurgents, in which the latter were totally defeated at Point Pele island, near the western boundary of the British possessions. This island had been occupied by about five hundred men, well armed and equipped; when Colonel Maitland, in order to dispossess them, marched from Amherstburgh with a few companies of the 32d and 83d regiments, two six-pounders, and some volunteer cavalry. The action that followed assumed the character of bush-fighting—the island, which is about seven miles long, being covered with thicket, and the pirates outnumbering the troops in the proportion of nearly two to one. Ultimately, however, they were driven to flight, leaving among the dead, Colonel Bradley, the commander-in-chief, Major Howdley, and Captains Van Rensellaer and M'Keon, besides a great many wounded and other prisoners. The insurgents being thus foiled in their daring attempts, it is not necessary, for the present, for us to allude further to Canadian affairs, than to observe that some of the most active ringleaders were executed, and others transported to the island of Bermuda.

In narrating the domestic occurrences of this year, we have to commence with one which, like the great conflagration of the houses of parliament, filled the inhabitants of the metropolis with alarm. Soon after ten o'clock on the evening of the 10th January, a fire broke out in the Royal Exchange. The firemen were promptly on the spot, but owing to an intense frost, great delay was occasioned before their services became effective. Every effort was made, but the work of destruction went on, from room to room and from one story to another, till that fine building, with its various offices and royal statues, was utterly demolished. It was remarked by those present, that at twelve o'clock, when the flames had just reached the north-west angle of the building, the chimes struck up, as usual, the old tune "There's nae luck about the house," and continued for about five minutes. The effect was extraordinary; for although the

fire was violently raging, and discordant sounds arose in every quarter, the tune was distinctly heard.

A. D. 1839.—Canada again demands our notice. Lord Durham had been sent out with extraordinary powers to meet the exigency of affairs in that colony. It was now admitted that he had exceeded the scope of those powers, by deciding on the guilt of accused men, without trial, and by banishing and imprisoning them; but the ministers thought it their duty to acquiesce in passing a bill, which, while it recited the illegality of the ordinance issued by his lordship, should indemnify those who had advised or acted under it, on the score of their presumed good intentions. The ordinance set forth that "Wolfred Nelson, R. S. M. Bouchette, and others, now in Montreal jail, having acknowledged their treasons and submitted themselves to the will and pleasure of her majesty, shall be transported to the island of Bermuda, not to return on pain of death; and the same penalty is to be incurred by Papineau, and others who have absconded, if found at large in the province." Government had intended merely to substitute a temporary legislative power during the suspension of, and in substitution for, the ordinary legislature; and as the ordinary legislature would not have had power to pass such an ordinance, it was argued that neither could this power belong to the substituted authority.

The passing of the indemnity act made a great sensation as soon as it was known in Canada; and Lord Durham, acutely feeling that his implied condemnation was contained in it, declared his intention to resign and return immediately to England, inasmuch as he was now deprived of the ability to do the good which he had hoped to accomplish.

Meanwhile, the Canadas again became the scene of rebellious war and piratical invasion. The rebels occupied Beauharnois and Acadie, near the confluence of the Richelieu and the St. Lawrence, establishing their head-quarters at Napierville; and their forces mustered, at one time, to the number of eight thousand men, generally well armed. Several actions took place; and Sir John Colborne, who had proclaimed martial law, concentrated his troops at Napierville and Chateauquay, and executed a severe vengeance upon the rebels whom he found there, burning the houses of the disaffected through the whole district of Acadie. But it was a part of the plan of the traitors and their republican confederates to distract the attention of the British commander and to divide the military force, by invading upper Canada; and at the moment Sir John Colborne was putting the last hand to the suppression of the rebellion in Beauharnois and Acadie, eight hundred republican pirates embarked in two schooners at Ogdensburgh, fully armed, and provided with six or eight pieces of artillery, to attack the town of Prescott, on the opposite side of the river. By the aid of two United States steamers, they effected a landing a mile or two below the town, where they established themselves in a windmill and some stone buildings, and repelled the first attempt made to dislodge them, killing and wounding forty-five of their assailants, among whom were five officers; but on Colonel Dundas arriving with a reinforcement of regular troops, with three pieces of artillery, they surrendered at discretion. Some other skirmishes subsequently took place, chiefly between American desperadoes who invaded the British territory and the queen's troops; but the former were severely punished for their temerity. The conduct of Sir John Colborne elicited the praise of all parties at home; and he was appointed governor-general of Canada, with all the powers which had been vested in the earl of Durham.

The adjustment of a boundary line, between Maine and New-Brunswick, had been a subject of dispute from the time the independence of the States was acknowledged in 1783. Though the tract in dispute was of no value to either claimant generally as likely to become profitable under cultivation, yet some part of it was found necessary to Great Britain as a

means of communication between New-Brunswick and the Canadas, and thus through all the British colonies. Great Britain had, moreover, since 1783, remained in *de facto* possession of the desert, as far as a desert can be said to be occupied. At length, however, the state of Maine invaded this debateable land, and several conflicts took place, which for a time seemed likely to involve Great Britain and America in a general war. The colonists showed great alacrity and determination in defending their right to the disputed territory; and it was eventually agreed that both parties were to continue in possession of the parts occupied by them respectively at the commencement of the dispute, until the federal government and Great Britain should come to a definitive arrangement.

The proceedings of parliament had lately been watched with interest, the state of parties being too nicely balanced to insure ministerial majorities. On the 9th of April leave was given to bring in a bill, on the motion of Mr. Labouchere, to suspend the executive constitution of Jamaica. It appeared that, in consequence of a dispute between the governor and house of assembly, no public business could be proceeded with; and it was proposed by this bill to vest the government in the governor and a council only—to be continued for five years. When the order of the day for going into committee on the Jamaica bill was moved, it was opposed by Sir Robert Peel, in a speech in which he exposed the arbitrary provisions of the bill, the enormous power it would confer on the governor and commissioners, and the impossibility of imposing an effectual check on the abuse of power exercised at a distance of three thousand miles. In support of the view he had taken, Sir Robert alluded to the mode of treating refractory colonies, formerly suggested by Mr. Canning, who had declared that "nothing short of absolute and demonstrable necessity should induce him to moot the awful question of the transcendental power of parliament over every dependency of the British crown; for that transcendental power was an arcanum of empire which ought to be kept back within the penetralia of the constitution." After an adjourned debate, May the 6th, the house divided, when there appeared for going into committee 294, against it 289, the majority for ministers being only five. The next day Lord John Russell and Lord Melbourne stated, that in consequence of this vote, the ministry had come to the resolution to resign, it being evident that with such a want of confidence on the part of so large a proportion of members in the house of commons, and the well-known opposition in the house of lords, it would be impossible for them to administer the affairs of her majesty's government in a manner which could be useful and beneficial to the country.

The fierce and cruel contest that had raged for the last three years in the Spanish peninsula, between the Carlists and Christinos, was now virtually terminated by the active and soldier-like conduct of Espartero, the queen's general and chief. The British legion had some time since withdrawn, the queen's party daily gained ground, and Don Carlos had found it necessary to seek refuge in France.

In narrating the affairs of Britain, it will be observed that we are necessarily led, from time to time, to advert to the events which take place in British colonies and possessions, wherever situate and however distant. For a considerable time past the government of India had been adopting very active measures, in consequence of the shah of Persia, who was raised to the throne mainly by British assistance, being supposed to be acting under Russian influence, to the prejudice of this country. Stimulated by Russia, as it appeared, the Persian undertook an expedition to Herat, an important place, to which a small principality is attached, in the territory of Affghanistan. Lord Auckland, the governor-general of India, thereupon determined to send an army of thirty thousand men towards Candahar, Caboul, and Herat; and this force was to be joined

by about forty-five thousand men, furnished by Runjeet Singh, the sovereign of the Punjaub. In the meantime it appeared that the Persians had suffered great loss at Herat. It was soon afterwards rumoured that the chiefs of Affghanistan were prepared to meet a much stronger force than the Anglo-Indian government, though reinforced by Runjeet Singh, could bring into the field, and that they would listen to no terms of accommodation. The next accounts, however, announced that the British had entered Candahar, that the difficulties experienced with respect to provisions had vanished, and that the troops were received with open arms. Shah Soojah was crowned with acclamation; and the army proceeded forthwith to Caboul.

On the 21st of September the fort of Joudpore, in Rajpootana, surrendered to the British; and that of Kurnaul, in the Deccan, on the 6th of October. The camp of the rajah was attacked by General Willshire, which ended in the total rout of the enemy. A very great quantity of military stores were found in Kurnaul, and treasure amounting to nearly 1,000,000*l.* sterling. In the camp an immense quantity of jewels was captured, besides 150,000*l.* in specie. The shah of Persia consented to acknowledge Shah Soojah as king of Affghanistan; but Dost Mahomed, the deposed prince, was still at large, and there was no doubt that a widely ramified conspiracy existed among the native chiefs to rise against the British on the first favourable opportunity.

The country had been much disturbed during the year by large and tumultuous assemblages of the people, of a revolutionary character, under the name of *chartists;* and many excesses were committed by them in the large manufacturing towns of Manchester, Bolton, Birmingham, Stockport, &c., that required the strong arm of the law to curb. This was alluded to in her majesty's speech, at the close of the session of parliament, as the first attempts at insubordination, which happily had been checked by the fearless administration of the law.

On the 10th of December a special commission was held at Monmouth, for the trial of the chartist rebels at Newport, before Lord-chief-justice Tindal, and the judges Park and Williams, the chief-justice opening the proceedings with a luminous and eloquent charge to the grand jury. Accordingly, on the 12th, true bills were returned against John Frost, Charles Waters, James Aust, William Jones, John Lovell, Zephaniah Williams, Jenkin Morgan, Solomon Britton, Edmond Edmonds, Richard Benfield, John Rees, David Jones, and John Terner (otherwise Coles), for high treason. In order to comply with the forms customary in trials for high treason, the court was then adjourned to Dec. 31, when John Frost was put to the bar. The first day was occupied in challenging the jury; the next day the attorney-general addressed the court and jury on the part of the crown, and the prisoner's counsel objected to the calling of the witnesses, in consequence of the list of them not having been given to the prisoner, Frost, agreeably to the terms of the statute; on the third day the evidence was entered into; and on the eighth day, after the most patient attention of the court and jury, a verdict of guilty was recorded against Frost, with recommendation to mercy. The trials of Williams, and Jones each occupied four days, with a like verdict and recommendation. Walters, Morgan, Rees, Benfield, and Lovell pleaded guilty, and received sentence of death, the court intimating that they would be transported for life. Four were discharged, two forfeited their bail, and nine, having pleaded guilty to charges of conspiracy and riot, were sentenced to terms of imprisonment not exceeding one year. Frost, and the other ringleaders on whom sentence of death had been passed, were finally transported for life.

The spirit of chartism, though repressed, was not subdued. Sunday, January 12th, had been fixed on for outbreaks in various parts of the coun-

try; but by the precautionary measures of government and the police their designs were frustrated. Information was afterwards received that the chartists intended to fire the town of Sheffield. They began to assemble, but troops and constables being on the alert, they succeeded in taking the ringleaders, but not before several persons were wounded, three of whom were policemen. An immense quantity of fire-arms, ball-cartridges, iron bullets, hand-grenades, fire-balls, daggers, pikes, and swords were found, together with a quantity of crowfeet for disabling horses. The ringleaders were committed to York castle, and at the ensuing assizes were tried, found guilty, and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment, of one, two, and three years. At the same time four of the Bradford chartists were sentenced to three years' imprisonment, and three from Barnsley for the term of two years. At the same assizes, Feargus O'Connor was convicted of having published, in the *Northern Star* newspaper, of which he was the editor and proprietor, certain seditious libels; and the noted demagogue orators, Vincent and Edwards, who were at the time undergoing a former sentence in prison, were convicted at Monmouth of a conspiracy to effect great changes in the government by illegal means, &c., and were severally sentenced to a further imprisonment of twelve and fourteen months. In various other places, also, London among the rest, chartist conspirators were tried and punished for their misdeeds.

A. D. 1840.—For the space of two years and a half the British sceptre had been swayed by a "virgin queen;" it was therefore by no means surprising that her majesty should at length consider that the cares of regal state might be rendered more supportable if shared by a consort. That such, indeed, had been the subject of her royal musings, was soon made evident; for, on the 16th of January, she met her parliament, and commenced her most gracious speech with the following plain and unaffected sentence:—"My lords and gentlemen: Since you were last assembled I have declared my intention of allying myself in marriage with the prince Albert of Saxe-Cobourg and Gotha. I humbly implore that the Divine blessing may prosper this union, and render it conducive to the interests of my people, as well as to my own domestic happiness."

There could be no reasonable ground for caviling at her majesty's choice. The rank, age, character, and connexions of the prince, were all in his favour; and the necessary arrangements were made without loss of time. A naturalization bill for his royal highness was immediately passed; and Lord John Russell moved a resolution authorizing her majesty to grant fifty thousand pounds a year to the prince for his life. This was generally thought to be more than sufficient, and Mr. Hume moved as an amendment, that the grant be twenty-one thousand pounds; however, on a division there was a majority of 267 against the amendent. Upon this, Colonel Sibthorp moved a second amendment, substituting thirty thousand pounds, which was supported by Mr. Goulburn, Sir J. Graham, and Sir R. Peel, who considered thirty thousand pounds a just and liberal allowance for the joint lives of the queen and the prince, and for the prince's possible survivorship, should there be no issue; if an heir should be born, then the thirty thousand might properly be advanced to fifty thousand pounds; and, should there be a numerous issue, it would be reasonable to make a still further increase, such as would befit the father of a large family of royal children.

On the 6th of the ensuing month, the bridegroom-elect, conducted by Viscount Torrington, and accompanied by the duke his father, and his elder brother, arrived at Dover; and on the 10th "the marriage of the queen's most excellent majesty with the field-marshal his royal highness Francis Albert Augustus Charles Emanuel, duke of Saxe, prince of Saxe-Cobourg and Gotha, K. G., was solemnized at the chapel-royal, St. James'." The processions of the royal bride and bridegroom were con-

ducted in a style of splendour suitable to the occasion. The duke of Sussex gave away his royal niece; and at that part of the service where the archbishop of Canterbury read the words, "I pronounce that they be man and wife together," the park and Tower guns fired. In the afternoon her majesty and the prince proceeded to Windsor castle, a banquet was given at St. James' palace to the members of the household, which was honoured by the presence of the duchess of Kent, and the reigning duke and hereditary prince of Saxe-Cobourg, and the day was universally kept as a holiday throughout the country; grand dinners were given by the cabinet ministers, and in the evening the splendid illumination of the metropolis gave additional eclat to the hymeneal rejoicings.

For many months past there had been an interruption to those relations of amity and commerce which for a long period had been maintained between England and China. It originated in the determination on the part of the Chinese government to put an end to the importation of opium into the "celestial empire," and the opposition made to that decree by British merchants engaged in that traffic. Early in the preceding year a large quantity of opium, belonging to British merchants, was given up, on the requisition of Mr. Elliot, the queen's representative at Canton, to be destroyed by the Chinese authorities. The quantity seized was twenty thousand chests, supposed to be worth £2,000,000; and Mr. Elliot pledged the faith of the government he represented, that the merchants should receive compensation.

The English government was naturally desirous to keep on good terms with a country from which so many commercial advantages had been derived; but the Chinese authorities daily grew more arrogant and unreasonable, and several outrages against the English were committed. At length, in an affray between some seamen of the Volage and the Chinese, one of the latter was killed; and on Captain Elliot having refused to deliver up the homicide to Commissioner Lin, the most severe and arbitrary measures were immediately taken to expel all the British inhabitants from Macao. This hostile conduct was quickly followed by an outrage of a still more serious character. The Black Joke, having on board one passenger, a Mr. Moss, and six Lascars, was obliged to anchor in the Lantaod passage, to wait for the tide. Here she was surrounded by three mandarin boats, by whose crews she was boarded, five of the Lascars butchered, and Mr. Moss shockingly mutilated. These proceedings gave rise to further measures of hostility. On the 4th September, Captain Elliot came from Hong Kong to Macao in his cutter, in company with the schooner Pearl, to obtain provisions for the fleet. The mandarins, however, on board the war-junks, opposed their embarkation, when Captain Elliot intimated that if in half an hour the provisions were not allowed to pass, he would open a fire upon them. The half hour passed, and the gun was fired. Three war-junks then endeavoured to put to sea, but were compelled by a well-directed fire of the cutter and the Pearl to seek shelter under the walls of Coloon fort. About six o'clock the Volage frigate hove in sight, and the boat of Captain Douglas, with twenty-four British seamen, attempted to board the junk, but without success. The boat's crew then opened a fire of musketry, by which a mandarin and four Chinese soldiers were killed, and seven wounded. The result, however, was, that the provisions were not obtained, and that the Chinese junks escaped; while, instead of any approach to a better understanding between the two countries, it was regarded rather as the commencement of a war, which, indeed, the next news from China confirmed.

On the appearance of another British ship, the Thomas Coutts, at Whampoa, Commissioner Lin renewed his demand for the surrender of the murderer of the Chinese, and issued an edict commanding all British ships to enter the port of Canton and sign the opium bond, or to depart

from the coast immediately. In case of non-compliance with either of these conditions, within three days, the commissioner declared he would destroy the entire British fleet. On the publication of this edict, Captain Elliot demanded an explanation from the Chinese admiral, Kawn, who at first pretended to enter into a negotiation, but immediately afterwards ordered out twenty-nine war-junks, evidently intending to surround the British ships. The attempt ended in five of the junks being sunk, and another blown up, each with from 150 to 200 men on board, and on the rest making off, Captain Elliot ordered the firing to cease.

A decree was now issued by the emperor prohibiting the importation of all British goods, and the trade with China was consequently at an end; but the American ships arrived and departed as usual. In the meantime preparations on a large scale were making in India to collect and send a large force to China, so as to bring this important quarrel to an issue. Several men-of-war and corvettes, from England, and various stations, were got ready, and the command given to Admiral Elliot to give the expedition all the co-operation possible.

A great sensation was caused in the public mind by an attempt to assassinate the queen. On the 10th of June, as her majesty was starting for an evening drive, up Constitution-hill, in a low open carriage, accompanied by Prince Albert, a young man deliberatetly fired two pistols at her, but happily without effect. His name proved to be Edward Oxford, the son of a widow who formerly kept a coffee-shop in Southwark. He was about eighteen years of age, and had been lately employed as a pot-boy in Oxford-street, but was out of place. He was instantly seized, and sent to Newgate on a charge of high treason; but it appeared on his trial that there were grounds for attributing the act to insanity, and as there was no proof that the pistols were loaded, the jury returned a verdict of "guilty, but that at the time he committed the act he was insane." The consequence was, that he became an inmate of Bethlem for life, as was the case with Hatfield, who forty years before fired off a pistol at George III., in Drury-lane theatre.

The murder of Lord William Russell by Courvoisier, his Swiss valet, had just before excited considerable interest. The crime was committed at his lordship's residence in Norfolk-street, Park-lane, early in the night, and the murderer had employed the remainder of the night in carefully destroying all marks which could cast suspicion upon himself, and in throwing the house into a state of confusion, in order that it might bear the appearance of having been broken into by burglars. Nor would it have been an easy matter to have convicted him on circumstantial evidence, had not a missing parcel of plate been discovered on the very day the trial commenced, which it appeared he had left some days before the murder with Madame Piolane, the keeper of a hotel in Leicester-square.

It is some time since we had occasion to notice anything relative to French affairs; but an event transpired in August which we cannot well omit. On the 6th of that month, Louis Napoleon, (son of the late king of Holland, and heir male of the Bonaparte family), made an absurd attempt to effect a hostile descent upon the coast of France. He embarked from London in the Edinburgh Castle steamer, which he had hired from the Commercial Steam Navigation Company, as for a voyage of pleasure, accompanied by about fifty men, including General Montholon, colonels Voisen, Laborde, Montauban, and Parquin, and several other officers of inferior rank. They landed at a small port about two leagues from Boulogne, to which town they immediately marched, and arrived at the barracks about five o'clock, just as the soldiers of the 42d regiment of the line were rising from their beds. At first the soldiers were a little staggered, as they understood a revolution had taken place in Paris, and they were summoned to join the imperial eagle. One of their officers,

however, having hurried to the barracks, soon relieved the men from their perplexity, and they acknowledged his authority. Louis Napoleon drew a pistol, and attempted to shoot the inopportune intruder; but the shot took effect upon a soldier, who died the same day. Finding themselves thus foiled, the Bonapartists took the Calais road to the colonne de Napoleon, upon the top of which they placed their flag. The town authorities and national guard then went in pursuit of the prince, who, being intercepted on the side of the column, made for the beach, with a view to embark and regain the packet in which he had arrived. He took possession of the life-boat; but scarcely had his followers got into it when the national guard also arrived on the beach and discharged a volley on the boat, which immediately upset, and the whole company were seen struggling in the sea. In the meantime the steam-packet was already taken possession of by the lieutenant of the port. The prince was then made prisoner, and about three hours after his attempt on Boulogne, he and his followers were safely lodged in the castle. From Boulogne he was removed to the castle of Ham, and placed in the rooms once occupied by Prince Polignac. On being tried and found guilty, Louis Napoleon was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment in a fortress; Count Montholon, twenty years' detention; Parquin and Lombard, the same period; others were sentenced to shorter periods; Aldenize was transported for life, and some were acquitted.

This insane attempt to excite a revolution probably owed its origin to the "liberal" permission granted by Louis Philippe, and the no less liberal acquiescence of the English ministers, to allow the ashes of the emperor Napoleon to be removed from St. Helena, that they might find their last resting-place in France. This had undoubtedly raised the hopes of many a zealous Bonapartist, who thought that the fervour of the populace was likely to display itself in a violent *emeute*, which the troops would be more ready to favour than to quell. A grant of a million of francs had been made to defray the expenses of the expedition to St. Helena (which was to be under the command of Prince de Joinville), the funeral ceremony, and the erection of a tomb in the church of the Invalides; so that, in the language of the French minister of the interior, "his tomb, like his glory, should belong to his country." The prince arrived at Cherbourg, with his "precious charge," on the 30th of November; and on the 15th of December Napoleon's remains were honoured by a splendid funeral procession, the king and royal family being present at the ceremony, with sixty thousand national guards in attendance, and an assemblage of five hundred thousand persons. It was observed at the time of Bonaparte's exhumation, that his features were so little changed that his face was recognized by those who had known him when alive; and the uniform, the orders, and the hat which had been buried with him, were very little changed. It was little contemplated when the body was deposited in "Napoleon's Valley," at St. Helena, that it would ever be removed; nay, 't seems that especial care was taken to prevent such an occurrence; for we read, that after having taken away the iron railing which surrounded the tomb, "they then removed three ranges of masonry, and came to a vault eleven feet deep, nearly filled with clay; a bed of Roman cement then presented itself, and underneath was another bed, ten feet deep, bound together with bands of iron. A covering of masonry was then discovered, five feet deep, forming the covering of the sarcophagus."

We conclude this year's occurrences with the accouchement of her majesty, Queen Victoria, who on the 21st of November gave birth at Buckingham palace to a princess, her first-born child; and on the 10th of February the infant princess-royal was christened Victoria Adelaide Mary Louisa.

A. D. 1841.—During the past year the attention of the great European

powers had been drawn to the condition of Syria and Turkey, and an alliance was entered into between England, Russia, Austria and Prussia, to put an end to the dispute which existed between the sultan and Mehemet Ali, the warlike pacha of Egypt. For this purpose it was deemed expedient to dispatch a fleet to the Mediterranean; and on the 14th of August Commodore Napier summoned the Egyptian authorities to evacuate Syria. In reply to this summons, Mehemet Ali declared that on the first appearance of hostility by the powers of Europe, the pacha, Ibrahim, would be commanded to march on Constantinople. Soon afterwards hostilities commenced, and the town of Beyrout was bombarded on the 11th of September, and completely destroyed by the allies in two hours. The war in Syria was now carried on with great activity. The troops of Ibrahim sustained a signal defeat early in October, with a loss of seven thousand in killed, wounded, and prisoners; in addition to which, Commodore Napier, with a comparatively trifling number of marines and Turkish troops, succeeded in expelling the Egyptians from nearly the whole of Lebanon, captured about five thousand prisoners, with artillery and stores, and effected the disorganization of an army of twenty thousand men. In short, more brilliant results with such limited means have rarely been known, particularly when it is considered under what novel circumstances they were accomplished. But the great exploit remains to be related.

St. Jean d'Acre was taken by the allies on the 3d of November. Colonel Smith, who commanded the forces in Syria, directed Omar Bey, with two thousand Turks, to advance on Tyre, and occupy the passes to the northward of Acre; in the meantime Admiral Stopford sailed from Beyrout roads, having on board three thousand Turks, and detachments of English artillery and sappers. The forces and fleet arrived off Acre at the same time. At two o'clock P. M. a tremendous cannonade took place, which was maintained without intermission for some hours, the steamers lying outside throwing, with astonishing rapidity, their shells over the ships into the fortification. During the bombardment the arsenal and magazine blew up, annihilating upwards of twelve hundred of the enemy, forming two entire regiments, who were drawn up on the ramparts. A sensation was felt on board the ships similar to that of an earthquake. Every living creature within the area of sixty thousand square yards ceased to exist. At two o'clock on the following morning a boat arrived from Acre, to announce that the remainder of the garrison were leaving the place, and as soon as the sun rose, the British, Austrian, and Turkish flags were seen waving on the citadel. The town was found to be one mass of ruins—the batteries and houses riddled all over—killed and wounded lying about in all directions. The slain were estimated at twenty-five hundred men, and the prisoners amounted to upwards of three thousand. The Turkish troops were landed to garrison Acre, where a vast quantity of military stores were found, besides an excellent park of artillery of 200 guns, and a large sum in specie.

As the foregoing successes led to the termination of the war in Syria, and its evacuation by Ibrahim Pacha, it is unnecessary to speak of operations of a minor character. Mehemet Ali eventually submitted to all the conditions offered by the sultan, and which were sanctioned by the representatives of Austria, France, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia:—1. The hereditary possession of Egypt is confirmed to Mehemet Ali, and his descendants *in a direct line*.—2. Mehemet Ali will be allowed to nominate his own officers up to the rank of a colonel. The viceroy can only confer the title of pacha with the consent of the sultan.—3. The annual contribution is fixed at 80,000 purses, or 40,000,000 of piastres, or 400,000*l*. —4. The viceroy will not be allowed to build a ship of war without the permission of the sultan.—5. The laws and regulations of the empire are to be observed in Egypt, with such changes as the peculiarity of the

Egyptian people may render necessary, but which changes must receive the sanction of the Porte.

At the commencement of the year news was brought from China that the differences which had existed were in a fair train of settlement, and that the war might be considered as at an end. Hostilities had, however, recommenced, in consequence of Keshen, the imperial commissioner, having delayed to bring to a conclusion the negotiations entered into with Captain Elliot. Preparations were accordingly made for attacking the outposts of the Bogue forts, on the Bocca Tigris. Having obtained possession, the steamers were sent to destroy the war-junks in Anson's bay; but the shallowness of the water admitted only the approach of the Nemesis, towing ten or twelve boats. The junks endeavoured to escape, but a rocket blew up the powder magazine of one of them, and eighteen more which were set on fire by the English boats' crews also successively blew up. At length a flag of truce was dispatched by the Chinese commander, and hostilities ceased. On the 20th of January Captain Elliot announced to her majesty's subjects in China that the following arrangements had been made: 1. The cession of the island and harbour of Hong Kong to the British crown. 2. An indemnity to the British government of $6,000,000, $1,000,000 payable at once, and the remainder in equal annual instalments, ending in 1846. 3. Direct official intercourse between the two countries upon an equal footing. 4. The trade of the port of Canton to be opened within ten days after the Chinese new year.

Thus far all appeared as it should be; but great doubts of the sincerity of Keshen, the Chinese commissioner, were felt both in England and at Canton. Accordingly the Nemesis steamer was sent up the river to reconnoitre, and on nearing the Bogue forts (30 in number), it was discovered that preparations for defence had been made, batteries and field-works had been thrown up along the shore, and upon the islands in the middle of the river, a barrier was in course of construction across the channel, and there were large bodies of troops assembled from the interior. Keshen finding his duplicity discovered, communicated that further negotiations would be declined. The emperor, it appeared, had issued edicts repudiating the treaty, and denouncing the English barbarians, "who were like dogs and sheep in their dispositions." That in sleeping or eating he found no quiet, and he therefore ordered eight thousand of his best troops to defend Canton, and to recover the places on the coast; for it was absolutely necessary (said the emperor), "that the rebellious foreigners must give up their heads, which, with the prisoners, were to be sent to Pekin in cages, to undergo the last penalty of the law." He also offered fifty thousand dollars for the apprehension of Eliot, Morison, or Bermer alive, or thirty thousand dollars for either of their heads. In addition, five thousand dollars for an officer's head, five hundred for an Englishman alive, three hundred for a head, and one hundred for a Sepoy alive. The emperor also delivered Keshen in irons over to the board of punishment at Pekin, and divested the admiral Kwan Teenpei of his button. Before the hostile edicts had appeared, Captain Elliot, confiding in the good faith of Keshen, had sent orders to General Burrel to restore the island of Chusan (which the English had taken many months before), to the Chinese, and to return with the Bengal volunteers to Calcutta. This order had been promptly obeyed, Chusan having been evacuated February 29.

Captain Elliot set sail on Feb. 20, up the Canton river. On the 24th he destroyed a masked field-work, disabling eighty cannon there mounted. On the 25th and 26th he took three adjoining Bogue forts, without losing a man, killing about two hundred and fifty Chinese, and taking one thousand three hundred prisoners. The subsequent operations of the squadron presented one unbroken succession of brilliant achievements, until, on

the 28th of March, Canton, the second city in the Chinese empire, containing a million of souls, was placed at the mercy of the British troops. Every possible means of defence had been used by the Chinese commanders, but nothing could withstand the intrepidity of the British. In consequence of the Chinese firing on a flag of truce, the forts and defences of Canton were speedily taken, the flotilla burnt or sunk, and the union-jack hoisted on the walls of the British factory. But Captain Elliot seemed doomed to be made the sport of Chinese duplicity. He no sooner issued a circular to the English and foreign merchants, announcing that a suspension of hostilities had been agreed on between the Chinese commissioner Yang, and himself, and that the trade was open at Canton and would be duly respected, than the emperor issued another proclamation, ordering all communication with "the detestable brood of English" to be cut off. Several other imperial proclamations in a more furious style followed, the last of which thus concludes: "If the whole number of them (the English), be not effectually destroyed, how shall I, the emperor, be able to answer to the gods of the heaven and the earth, and cherish the hopes of our people." Captain Elliot, however, whose great object hitherto appears to have been to secure the annual export of tea, had succeeded in having 11,000,000 lbs. shipped before the fulminating edicts of the emperor took effect.

In October, dispatches of importance were received from General Sir Hugh Gough, commanding the land forces, and Captain Sir H. F. Senhouse, the senior naval officer of the fleet, detailing a series of brilliant operations against Canton, whither they had proceeded by the direction of Captain Elliot. On the 20th of May the contest began by the Chinese firing on the British ships and letting loose some fire-ships among them, which, however, did no damage. Next morning the fort of Shaming was silenced, and a fleet of about forty junks burnt. On the 24th, a favourable landing-place having been discovered, the right column of the 26th regiment, under Major Pratt, was convoyed by the Atalanta to act on the south of the city, while the Nemesis towed the left column up to Tsinghae. After some sharp fighting, the Canton governor yielded, and the troops and ships were withdrawn, on condition of the three commissioners and all the troops under them leaving Canton and its vicinity, and six millions of dollars to be paid within a week, the first million before evening that day; if the whole was not paid before the end of the week, the ransom was to be raised to seven millions; if not before the end of fourteen days, to eight millions; and if not before twenty days, to nine millions of dollars. After three days, the conditions having been fulfilled, the troops left for Hong Kong, having had thirteen men killed and ninety-seven wounded. Sir H. F. Senhouse died on board of the Blenheim from a fever brought on by excessive fatigue. Notwithstanding this defeat, the Chinese were still determined to resist, and Yeh Shan had reported to the emperor, his uncle, that when he had induced the barbarians to withdraw, he would repair all the forts again. The emperor, on his part, declared that, as a last resort, he would put himself at the head of his army, and march to India and England, and tear up the English, root and branch!

Sir Henry Pottinger, the new plenipotentiary, and Rear-admiral Parker, the new naval commander-in-chief, arrived at Macao on the 9th of August. A notification of Sir Henry's presence and powers was sent to Canton immediately on his arrival, accompanied by a letter forwarded to the emperor at Pekin, the answer to which was required to be sent to a northern station. The fleet, consisting of nine ships of war, four armed steamers, and twenty-two transports, sailed for the island and fortified city of Amoy, on the 21st of August.

This island is situated in a fine gulf in the province of Fokein, the great tea district of China, opposite the island of Formosa, and about three

hundred and fifty miles northeast of the gulf of Canton, five hundred miles south of Chusan, and one thousand three hundred miles from Pekin. It was fortified by very strong defences, of granite rocks faced with mud, and mounted with no less than five hundred pieces of cannon. On the 26th, after a brief parley with a mandarin, the city was bombarded for two hours. Sir Hugh Gough, with the 18th regiment, then landed, and seized one end of the long battery; while the 26th regiment, with the sailors and marines, carried the strong batteries on the island of Koolangsee, just in front of Amoy. The Chinese made an animated defence for four hours, and then fled from all their fortifications, and also from the city, carrying with them their treasures. The Chinese junks and warboats were all captured; and the cannon, with immense munitions of war, of course fell into the hands of the English. Not a single man of the British was killed, and only nine were wounded. The next day Sir Hugh Gough entered the city at the head of his troops without opposition.

The next dispatches from China stated that Chusan had been recaptured on the 1st of October. A resolute stand was made by the Chinese; but the troops, supported by the fire of the ships, ascended a hill, and escaladed Tinghae, the capital city, from whence the British colours were soon seen flying in every direction. On the 7th the troops attacked the city of Cinhae, on the main-land opposite Chusan, which is inclosed by a wall thirty-seven feet thick, and twenty-two feet high, with an embrasured parapet of four feet high. The ships bombarded the citadel and enfiladed the batteries; the seamen and marines then landed, and Admiral Sir W. Parker, with the true spirit of a British sailor, was among the first to scale the walls. Here was found a great arsenal, a cannon-foundry and gun-carriage manufactory, and a great variety of warlike stores.

Several other engagements took place, in all of which the British continued to have a most decided advantage, although it was admitted that the Chinese and Tartar soldiers showed more resolution and a better acquaintance with the art of war than on former occasions. However, as a large reinforcement of troops, with a battering train which had been sent from Calcutta, was shortly expected, Sir Henry Pottinger put off the execution of some intended operations on a more extended scale until their arrival.

Home affairs again require attention. The finances of the country had latterly assumed a discouraging aspect; and on the chancellor of the exchequer bringing forward his annual budget, he proposed to make up the deficiency of the present year, which he stated to be 2,421,000*l.*, besides the aggregate deficiency of 5,000,000*l.*, mainly by a modification of the duties on sugar and timber, and an alteration of the duties on corn. The opposition censured the proceedings of ministers, and Sir Robert Peel commented severely on the enormous deficiency of 7,500,000*l.* incurred during the past five years, with a revenue, too, which had been throughout improving. It appeared that the Melbourne administration was on the wane; and its permanency was put to the test when Lord John Russell, in moving that the house should go into a committee of ways and means, to consider the sugar duties, entered into a defence of the present policy of government. Lord Sandon then moved the amendment of which he had given notice, "that considering the efforts and sacrifices which parliament and the country have made for the abolition of slavery, this house is not prepared (especially with the present prospects of the supply of sugar from British possessions), to adopt the measure proposed by her majesty's government for the reduction of duties on foreign sugars." The debate which ensued adjourned from day to day, and lasted for the unprecedented extent of eight nights. When the house divided, on the 18th of May, there appeared for Lord Sandon's amendment, three hundred and

seventeen; against it, two hundred and eighty-one; majority against ministers, thirty-six.

On the 27th of May Sir R. Peel took an opportunity of minutely reviewing the measures that had been submitted to parliament by ministers, and afterwards abandoned, and the prejudicial effects on the finances of the country which had accrued from the passing of others. Sir Robert added, that in every former case where the house had indicated that its confidence was withdrawn from the ministry, the ministers had retired. The whole of their conduct betrayed weakness and a truckling for popular favour, and the prerogatives of the crown were not safe in their hands. He then moved the following resolution "That her majesty's ministers do not sufficiently possess the confidence of the house of commons to enable them to carry through measures which they deem of essential importance to the public welfare, and that their continuance in office, under such circumstances, is at variance with the spirit of the constitution." This motion was carried in a full house, (the number of members present being six hundred and twenty-three) by a majority of one. On the 22d of June her majesty prorogued parliament, "with a view to its immediate dissolution," and it was accordingly dissolved by proclamation on the following day.

On the meeting of the new parliament, August 24th, the strength of the conservative party was striking. The ministers had no measures to propose beyond those on which they had before sustained a defeat; and when an amendment to the address was put to vote, declaratory of a want of confidence in her majesty's advisers, it elicited a spirited debate of four night's continuance, terminating in a majority of ninety-one against ministers. This result produced an immediate change in the ministry. The new cabinet was:—Sir R. Peel, first lord of the treasury; duke of Wellington, (without office); Lord Lyndhurst, lord-chancellor; Lord Wharncliffe, president of the council; duke of Buckingham, privy seal; Right Honourable H. Goulburn, chancellor of the exchequer; Sir James Graham, home secretary; earl of Aberdeen, foreign secretary; Lord Stanley, colonial secretary; earl of Haddington, first lord of the admiralty; Lord Ellenborough, president of the board of control; earl of Ripon, president of the board of trade; Sir Henry Hardinge, secretary at war; Sir Edward Knatchbull, treasurer of the navy and paymaster of the forces. Earl de Grey was appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and Sir Edward Sugden, Irish lord-chancellor.

On the 30th of October a destructive fire broke out in the Tower, about half-past ten o'clock at night, and continued to rage with the utmost fury for several hours. It was first discovered in the round or bowyer tower, and quickly spread to the grand armory, where the flames gained a fearful ascendency. Notwithstanding the exertions of the firemen and military, the conflagration continued to spread, and apprehensions were entertained that the jewel tower, with its crowns, sceptres, and other emblems of royalty would fall a prey to the devouring element. Happily, by prompt exertion, they were all taken to the governor's residence, and the gunpowder and other warlike stores in the ordnance office were also removed. In addition to the armory and bowyer tower, three other large buildings were consumed. The grand armory was three hundred and forty-five feet long, and sixty feet broad. In the tower floor were kept about forty-three pieces of cannon, made by founders of different periods, besides various other interesting objects, and a number of chests containing arms in readiness for use. A grand staircase led to the upper floor, called the small armory, in which were above 150,000 stand of small arms, new flinted, and ready for immediate service. As that part of the building where the fire originated was heated by flues from stoves, it was the opinion that

the accident was thereby occasioned. The loss sustained, including the expense of rebuilding, was estimated at about £250,000.

The closing paragraph in the occurrences of last year recorded the birth of the princess royal. We have now to state, that on the 9th of November the queen gave birth to a prince at Buckingham-palace, nearly a twelvemonth having elapsed since her majesty's former accouchement The happy event having taken place on lord-mayor's day, it was most loyally celebrated by the citizens so opportunely assembled. On the 25th of the following January the infant prince of Wales received the name of Albert Edward, the king of Prussia being one of the sponsors.

A. D. 1842.—The year commenced with most disastrous intelligence from India. In consequence of reductions having been made in the tribute paid to the eastern Ghilzie tribes, for keeping open the passes between Caboul and Jellalabad, in Affghanistan, the people rose and took possession of those passes. Gen. Sir R. Sale's brigade was therefore directed to re-open the communication. The brigade fought its way to Gundamuck, greatly harassed by the enemy from the high ground, and after eighteen days' incessant fighting, reached that place, much exhausted; they then moved upon Jellalabad. Meantime an insurrection broke out at Caboul. Sir A. Burnes, and his brother Lieutenant C. Burnes, Lieutenant Broadfoot, and Lieutenant Sturt were massacred. The whole city then rose in arms, and universal plunder ensued—while another large party attacked the British cantonments, about two miles from the town. These outrages, unfortunately, were but the prelude to others far more frightful. Akhbar Khan, the son of Dost Mahommed, on pretence of making arrangements with Sir W. M'Naghten, the British envoy at the court of Shah Soojah, invited him to a conference; he went, accompanied by four officers and a small escort, when the treacherous Affghan, after abusing the British ambassador, drew a pistol and shot him dead on the spot. Captain Trevor, of the 3d Bengal cavalry, on rushing to his assistance, was cut down, three other officers were made prisoners, and the mutilated body of the ambassador was then barbarously paraded through the town. It was also stated that some severe fighting had taken place, but under the greatest disadvantage to the British and native troops, and that the army in Caboul had been almost literally annihilated. A capitulation was then entered into, by which the remainder of the Anglo-Indian army retired from the town, leaving all the sick, wounded, and sixteen ladies, wives of officers, behind. They had not, however, proceeded far before they were assailed from the mountains by an immense force, when the native troops, having fought three days, and wading through deep snow, gave way, and nearly the whole were massacred.

So terrible a disaster had never visited the British arms since India first acknowledged the supremacy of England. A fatal mistake had been committed by the former government, and it was feared that all the energy of the new ministry would be insufficient to maintain that degree of influence over the vast and thickly peopled provinces of India, which was necessary to ensure the safety of our possessions. The governor-general, Lord Auckland, was recalled, and his place supplied by Lord Ellenborough, whose reputation for a correct knowledge of Indian affairs was undisputed. His lordship arrived at Calcutta on Feb. 28, at which time Sir Robert Sale was safe at Jellalabad; but he was most critically situated. The garrison, however, maintained their post with great gallantry, and were able to defy the utmost efforts of the Affghans, having in one instance sallied forth and attacked their camp, of 6,000 men, and gained a signal victory. At length General Pollock effected a junction with the troops of Sir R. Sale, and released them from a siege of one hundred and fifty-four days' duration; having previously forced, with very little loss, the dreaded pass of the Khyber, twenty-eight miles in length. Gen. Nott, also, who

advanced from Candahar to meet General England, who had sustained considerable loss at the pass of Kojuck, encountered a large force of Affghans, and completely defeated them. But, on the other hand, Colonel Palmer surrendered the celebrated fortress of Ghuznee, on condition that the garrison should be safely conducted to Caboul.

The day of retribution was at hand. General Nott, at the head of seven thousand men, having left Candahar on the 10th of August, proceeded towards Ghuznee and Caboul, while General England, with the remainder of the troops lately stationed at Candahar, marched back in safety to Quetta. On the 30th of August, Shah Shoodeen, the governor of Ghuznee, with nearly the whole of his army, amounting to not less than twelve thousand men, arrived in the neighbourhood of the British camp, and General Nott prepared to meet him with one half of his force. The enemy came boldly forward, each division cheering as they came into position, and occupying their ground in excellent style; but after a short and spirited contest, they were completely defeated, and dispersed in every direction, their guns, tents, ammunition, &c., falling into the hands of the English. On the 5th of September General Nott invested the city of Ghuznee, which was strongly garrisoned, while the hills to the north-eastward swarmed with soldiery; but they soon abandoned the place, and the British flags were hoisted in triumph on the Bala Hissar. The citadel of Ghuznee, and other formidable works and defences, were razed to the ground.

Early in September General Pollock marched from Gundamuck on his way to Caboul. On reaching the hills which command the road through the pass of Jugdulluck, the enemy was found strongly posted and in considerable numbers. In this action most of the influential Affghan chiefs were engaged, and their troops manfully maintained their position; but at length the heights were stormed, and, after much arduous exertion, they were dislodged and dispersed. Gen. Pollock proceeded onwards, and does not appear to have encountered any further opposition until his arrival, September 13, in the Tehzear valley, where an army of 16,000 men, commanded by Akhbar Khan in person, was assembled to meet him. A desperate fight ensued; the enemy was completely defeated and driven from the field. On the day following this engagement the general advanced to Boodkhak, and on the 16th he made his triumphal entry into the citadel, and planted the British colours on its walls. "Thus," said Lord Ellenborough, in his general orders, "have all past disasters been retrieved and avenged on every scene on which they were sustained, and repeated victories in the field, and the capture of the citadels of Ghuznee and Caboul have advanced the glory and established the accustomed superiority of the British arms."

At length the long and anxiously desired liberation of the whole of the British prisoners in the hands of the Affghans was effected. Their number was 31 officers, 9 ladies, and 12 children, with 51 European soldiers, 2 clerks, and 4 women, making in all 109 persons, who had suffered captivity from Jan. 10 to Sept. 27. It appeared that, by direction of Akhbar Khan, the prisoners had been taken to Bamecan, 90 miles to the westward, and that they were destined to be distributed among the Toorkistan chiefs. General Pollock and some other officers proposed to the Affghan chief, that if he would send them back to Caboul, they would give him £2,000 at once, and £1,200 a year for life. The chief complied, and on the second day they were met by Sir Richmond Shakspear, with 610 Kuzzilbashes, and shortly afterwards by General Sale, with 2,000 cavalry and infantry, when they returned to Caboul. Besides the Europeans, there were 327 sepoys found at Ghuznee, and 1,200 sick and wounded who were begging about Caboul. On the arrival of General Nott's division, the resolution adopted by the British government to destroy all the Affghan strongholds was carried into execution, though not without re-

sistance, particularly at the town and fort of Istaliff, where a strong body of Affghans, led on by Ameer Oola, and sixteen of their most determined chiefs, had posted themselves. This town consisted of masses of houses built on the slope of a mountain, in the rear of which were lofty eminences shutting in a defile to Toorkistan. The number of its inhabitants exceeded 15,000, who, from their defences and difficulties of approach, considered their position unassailable. The greater part of the plunder seized last January from the British was placed there; the chiefs kept their wives and families in it; and many of those who had escaped from Caboul had sought refuge there. Its capture, however, was a work of no very great difficulty, the British troops driving the enemy before them with considerable slaughter. The Anglo Indian troops soon afterwards commenced their homeward march in three divisions; the first under General Pollock, the second under General M'Caskill, and the third under General Nott. The first division effected their march through the passes without loss; but the second was less successful, the mountaineers attacking it near Ali-Musjid, and plundering it of part of the baggage. General Nott, with his division, arrived in safety; bearing with them the celebrated gates of Somnauth, which it is said a Mohamedan conqueror had taken away from an Indian temple, and which for eight centuries formed the chief ornament of his tomb at Ghuznee.

The Niger expedition, which was undertaken last year by benevolent individuals, supported by a government grant of £60,000, was totally defeated by the pestilential effects of the climate. The intention was, to plant in the centre of Africa an English colony, in the hope, by the proofs afforded of the advantages of agriculture and trade, to reclaim the natives from the custom of selling their captives into slavery.

On the 30th of May, as her majesty, accompanied by Prince Albert, was returning down Constitution-hill to Buckingham-palace, from her afternoon's ride, a young man, named John Francis, fired a pistol at the carriage, but without effecting any injury. He was immediately taken into custody, when it appeared that he was by trade a carpenter, but being out of employ, had attempted to establish a snuff-shop, in which he was unsuccessful. It was supposed that he was incited to this criminal act partly by desperation, and partly by the eclât and permanent provision—though in an apartment at Bedlam—awarded to Edward Oxford, who it will be remembered, performed a similar exploit at nearly the same spot in June, 1840. The news reached the house of commons while the debate on the property tax was in progress, which was suddenly stopped, and the house broke up. The next day, however, the bill was again proposed, and carried by a majority of 106.

A joint address congratulating her majesty on her happy escape, was presented from both houses of parliament on the 1st of June, and a form of thanksgiving was sanctioned by the privy council. It appeared that some danger had been apprehended in consequence of the same person having been observed in the park with a pistol on the preceding day; and Lord Portman stated in the house of lords that her majesty in consequence would not permit, on the 30th of May, the attendance of those ladies whose duty it is to wait upon her on such occasions. Francis was examined before the privy council, and then committed to Newgate; he was tried, found guilty of high treason, and sentenced to be hung, beheaded, and quartered; but it was deemed proper to remit the extreme penalties and commute his sentence to transportation for life.

Scarcely more than a month had elapsed, when a third attempt, or pretended attempt, on the life of the queen was made in St. James' park, her majesty being at the time on her way from Buckingham-palace to the chapel royal, accompanied by Prince Albert and the king of the Belgians. A lad, about eighteen years of age, named John William Bean, was ob-

served to present a pistol at her majesty's carriage, by a youth named Basset, who seized him, and related the circumstance to two policemen. They treated it as a joke, and Bean was allowed to depart; but he was subsequently apprehended at his father's house, and committed to prison. On his examination he persisted in asserting that that there was nothing but powder and paper in the pistol, and that he did not intend to hurt the queen; in fact, he appeared to be one of those weak beings who seem actuated by a morbid desire of notoriety.

It was evident that the false sympathy shown to Oxford had encouraged others in their base attempts; and Sir Robert Peel, acting on that conviction, introduced a bill into parliament for the better security of her majesty's person, his object being to consign the offenders to that contempt which befitted their disgraceful practices. The bill was so framed as to inflict for the offences of presenting fire-arms at her majesty, or attempting to strike her person with missiles, and for other acts intended to alarm her majesty, or disturb the public peace, the penalty of seven years' transporatation, with previous imprisonment and flogging, or other bodily chastisement.

We must once more recur to the warlike operations in China. After an arrival of reinforcements, the British expedition, June 13th, entered the large river called Yang-tze-Kiang, on the banks of which were immense fortifications. The fleet at daylight having taken their stations, the batteries opened a fire which lasted two hours. The seamen and marines then landed, and drove the Chinese out of their batteries before the troops could be disembarked. 253 guns were taken, of heavy calibre, and 11 feet long. On the 19th two other batteries were taken, in which were 48 guns. The troops then took possession of the city of Shanghai, destroyed the public buildings, and distributed the contents of the granaries among the people. Two other field-works were also taken, and the total number of guns captured amounted to 364. The squadron set sail from Woosung on the 6th of July; on the 20th the vessels anchored abreast the city of Ching-Keang-foo, which commands the entrance of the grand canal, and the next morning the troops were disembarked, and marched to the attack of the Chinese forces. One brigade was directed to move against the enemy's camp, situated about three miles distant, another was ordered to co-operate with this division in cutting off the expected retreat of the Chinese from the camp, while the third received instructions to escalade the northern wall of the town. The Chinese, after firing a few distant volleys, fled from the camp with precipitation, and dispersed over the country. The city itself, however, was manfully defended by the Tartar soldiers, who prolonged the contest for three hours, resisting with desperate valour the combined efforts of the three brigades, aided by a reinforcement of marines and seamen. At length opposition ceased, and ere nightfall the British were complete masters of the place. Ching-Keang-foo, like Amoy, was most strongly fortified, and the works in excellent repair. It is supposed that the garrison consisted of not less than 3,000 men, and of these about 1,000, and 40 mandarins, were killed and wounded. The Tartar general retired to his house when he saw that all was lost, made his servants set it on fire, and sat in his chair till he was burned to death. On the side of the British, 15 officers and 154 men, of both services, were killed and wounded.

A strong garrison being left behind for the retention of Ching-Keang-foo, the fleet proceeded towards Nankin, about forty miles distant, and arrived on the 6th of August, when preparations were immediately made for an attack on the city. A strong force under the command of Major-general Lord Saltoun, was landed, and took up their position to the west of the town; and operations were about to be commenced, when a letter

was sent off to the plenipotentiary, requesting a truce, as certain high commissioners, specially delegated by the emperor, and possessed of full powers to negotiate, were on their way to treat with the English. After several visits and long discussions between the contracting powers, the treaty was publicly signed on board the Cornwallis, by Sir H. Pottinger and the three commissioners. Of this convention the following are the most important articles: 1. Lasting peace and friendship between the two empires. 2. China to pay twenty-one millions of dollars in the course of that and three succeeding years. 3. The ports of Canton, Amoy, Foo-choo-foo, Ningpo, and Shanghai, to be thrown open to British merchants, consular officers to be appointed to reside at them, and regular and just tariffs of import and export (as well as inland transit) duties to be established and published. 4. The island of Hong-Kong to be ceded in perpetuity to her Britannic majesty, her heirs, and successors. 5. All subjects of her Britannic majesty (whether natives of Europe or India), who may be confined in any part of the Chinese empire, to be unconditionally released. 6. An act of full and entire amnesty to be published by the emperor, under his imperial sign-manual and seal, to all Chinese subjects, on account of their having held service or intercourse with, or resided under, the British government or its officers. 7. Correspondence to be conducted on terms of perfect equality among the officers of both governments. 8. On the emperor's assent being received to this treaty, and the payment of the first instalment, six millions of dollars, her Britannic majesty's forces to retire from Nankin and the grand canal, and the military posts at Chinghai to be also withdrawn; but the islands of Chusan and Kolangsoo are to be held until the money payments and the arrangements for opening the ports are completed.

A. D. 1843.—On the 2d of February the parliamentary session commenced; the royal speech, which was read by the lord-chancellor, referred in terms of just congratulation to: 1. The successful termination of hostilities with China, and the prospect it afforded of assisting the commercial enterprise of her people. 2. The complete success of the recent military operations in Affghanistan, where the superiority of her majesty's arms had been established by decisive victories on the scenes of former disasters, and the complete liberation of her majesty's subjects, for whom she felt the deepest interest, had been effected. 3. The adjustment of those differences with the United States of America, which from their long continuance had endangered the preservation of peace. 4. The obtaining, in concert with her allies, for the Christian population of Syria, an establishment of a system of administration which they were entitled to expect from the engagements of the sultan, and from the good faith of this country. And, 5. A treaty of commerce and navigation with Russia, which her majesty regarded as the foundation for increased intercourse between her subjects and those of the emperor.

When the expedition to Affghanistan was first undertaken, it was intended to open the Indus for the transit of British merchandise, and render it one of the great highways to Asia. The object was not lost sight of, though Affghanistan had been abandoned; and endeavours were made to obtain from the Ameers of Scinde such a treaty as would secure the safe navigation of that river. In December, Major Outram was dispatched to Hyderabad to conclude the best terms in his power with the native chiefs. Not being in a condition immediately to refuse to give up for the use of navigation certain strips of land lying along the river, they temporised, until at length their troops were collected, when on the 14th of February they sent word to Major Outram to retire from their city. The major, not supposing they would proceed to extremities, delayed. The next day the residence of the British political agent was attacked; it was gallantly defended by one hundred men for several hours; but at length, their ammunition having been expended, the British soldiers retired with a small

lose to the steamers, and proceeded to join Sir C. J. Napier, then at the head of about twenty-seven hundred men, at a distance of about twenty miles from the capital of the Ameers. The latter hastened, at the head of twenty-two thousand men, to attack the British force. On the 17th a battle took place, in which, after a severe struggle of three hours, the Ameers were totally routed, although they outnumbered the British force by seven to one. The Ameers on the following day surrendered themselves prisoners of war, and Hyderabad was occupied by the conquerors. Treasure and jewels were found to an amount considerably exceeding one million sterling. In consequence of this success, the territories of Scinde, with the exception of that portion belonging to Meer Ali, the morad of Khyrpore, was then declared by the governor-general to be a British province, and Sir Charles J. Napier was appointed governor.

The new governor, however, was not to remain in undisturbed possession for any length of time. An army of Beloochees, twenty thousand strong, under the command of Meer Shere Mahomed, had taken up a strong position on the river Fullalie, near the spot where the Ameers of Scinde were so signally defeated, and Sir C. J. Napier, on ascertaining the fact, resolved to attack them forthwith. On the 24th of March he moved from Hyderabad at the head of five thousand men. The battle lasted for three hours, when victory declared for the British; eleven guns and nineteen standards were taken, and about one thousand of the enemy were killed, and four thousand wounded; the loss of the British amounting to only 30 killed and 231 wounded. By this victory the fate of Scinde and Beloochistan was sealed, and the whole territory finally annexed to the Anglo-Indian empire.

In an age of experimental science like the present, it appears almost invidious in a work of this kind to allude to *any*. In truth, our limits have compelled us to omit the mention of many works of national importance, but we trust to be excused for such omissions, while we insert the following: In order to save the vast amount of manual labour necessary to form a sea-wall on the course of the south-eastern railway, near Dover, the great experiment of exploding eighteen thousand five hundred pounds of gunpowder, under Round-down cliff, was on the 26th of January attempted by the engineers, with perfect success. On the signal being given, the miners communicated, by connecting wires, the electric spark to the gunpowder deposited in chambers formed in the cliff; the earth trembled for half a mile each way; a stifled report, not loud but deep, was heard, and the cliff, extending on either hand to five hundred feet, gradually subsided seaward; in a few seconds, not less then one million tons of chalk were dislodged by the shock, settling into the sea below, frothing and boiling as it displaced the liquid element, till it occupied the expanse of many acres, and extended outward on its ocean bed to a distance of two or three thousand feet. This operation was managed with such admirable skill and precision, that it would appear just so much of the cliff was removed as was necessary to make way for the sea-wall, while an immense saving in time and labour was also effected.

Now that we have trespassed on the province of art, we cannot forbear to notice that wonderful and gigantic undertaking, the Thames tunnel For twenty years that stupendous labour had been going on, when on the 25th of May it was opened for foot passengers, at one penny each. At a recent meeting of the proprietors, a vote of thanks was offered to the engineer in the following terms: "That the cordial thanks and congratulation of the assembly are hereby tendered to Sir Isambert Brunel, F.R.S., for the distinguished talent, energy, and perseverance evinced by him in the design, construction, and completion of the Thames tunnel, a work unprecedented in the annals of science and ingenuity, and exhibiting a triumph of genius over physical difficulties, declared by some of the

most enlightened men of the age to be insurmountable." This great work was commenced in 1825, but stopped in 1828 by an irruption of the Thames, and no further progress was made until 1835. Loans were then granted by government, and the works were uninterruptedly continued, the total expense being £446,000.

On the 21st of April, his royal highness the duke of Sussex died. On the 25th the queen was safely delivered of a princess, who was christened Alice Maude Mary. And on the same afternoon that the queen gave birth to a princess, the king of Hanover arrived in London, from Calais, it being his majesty's first visit to England since his accession.

On the 28th of June the princess Augusta, eldest daughter of the duke of Cambridge, was married to his royal highness Frederic William, hereditary grand duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz. A grant of three thousand pounds per annum was settled on her by the government, and in a few days after the marriage they embarked for the continent.

In Carmarthenshire and some of the neighbouring Welsh counties, a novel species of insurrection had kept the country in a state of alarm, and rendered military assistance necessary. Certain small farmers, and the agricultural population generally, united under the the singular appellation of "Rebecca and her daughters," for the avowed object of resisting the payment of turnpike tolls, which were notoriously exorbitant there, and for the abatement of certain other grievances—the present administration of the poor laws being among the number—of which they loudly and with no little show of justice complained. Scarcely a night was suffered to pass without the removal of a gate or the demolition of a toll-house; and it usually happened that as soon as the work of destruction was completed, Rebecca's band quietly and stealthily dispersed to their respective homes. It will be sufficient to give merely one instance of these riots; but we should remark that the riot we here subjoin an account of, was on a much larger scale, and attended with more serious results, than any that occurred either before or since:—They were expected to attack the town of Carmarthen on Sunday the 18th of June, but did not come. On the following morning, however, at 12 o'clock, several thousand of the rioters were seen approaching, about nine hundred being on horseback, with one in front disguised with a woman's curls, to represent Rebecca, and from seven to eight thousand on foot, walking about fourteen or fifteen abreast. Every man was armed with a bludgeon, and some of them had pistols. At their head were carried two banners, bearing inscriptions in Welsh, of "Freedom, Liberty, and Better Feed;" and "Free Toll and Liberty." On reaching the work-house, they broke open the gates of the court in front, and having gained an entrance into the house, they immediately demolished the furniture, and threw the beds and bedding out of the windows. While they were thus pursuing the work of destruction a troop of the 4th light dragoons arrived from Neath, and having entered the court succeeded in taking all those within prisoners, about two hundred and fifty in number, during which time they were pelted with stones and other missiles. The riot act being read, and a cry being raised that the soldiers were going to charge, the mob fled in every direction, leaving more than sixty horses, besides the above prisoners, in the hands of the captors.

With respect to the proceedings in parliament, a great portion of the session was occupied in opposing the "Irish arms bill." On the second reading, May the 20th, the attorney-general for Ireland declared that the objects of the present repeal agitators were, first, the total abolition of the tithes commutation rent-charge; next, the extension of the parliamentary suffrage to all sane male adults not convicted of a crime; next, fixity of tenure—a phrase meaning the transfer of the whole landed property of Ireland from the landlord to the tenant; and some other extreme propo-

sitions of the same class. The measures provided by this bill had been in existence with little intermission for almost a century, and the extreme avidity shewn by the Irish peasantry for the possession of arms proved its necessity to be most urgent. For about a month, almost every alternate evening was occupied with discussions in committee on the said bill. Afterwards a motion was brought forward by Mr. O'Brien for "the redress of grievances in Ireland," the debate on which was again and again adjourned, till at length the motion was negatived. On that occasion, Sir Robert Peel discussed the alledged grievances *seriatim;* and in reply to an observation of Lord Howick's, he said that the Roman catholics now enjoyed equal civil rights with the other subjects of the crown, and that the oaths were so altered that the offensive portions relating to transubstantiation were abolished. "I am asked," said the right honourable baronet, "what course I intend to pursue? 'Declare your course,' is the demand. I am prepared to pursue that course which I consider I have pursued, namely, to administer the government of Ireland upon the principles of justice and impartiality. I am prepared to recognize the principle established by law, that there shall be equality of civil privileges. I am prepared in respect of the franchise to give a substantial and not a fictitious right of suffrage. In respect to the social condition of Ireland we are prepared also to consider the relations of landlord and tenant deliberately, and all the important questions involved therein. With respect to the established church, we are not prepared to make one alteration in the law by which that church and its revenues shall be impaired. He was not ashamed to act with care and moderation; and if the necessity should arise, he knew that past forbearance was the strongest claim to being entrusted with fuller powers when they thought proper to ask for them." On the 9th of August, the third reading of the Irish arms bill was carried by a majority of sixty-six. Parliament was prorogued on the 24th August by the queen in person; on which occasion her majesty expressed herself highly gratified with the advantageous position in which the country was placed by the successful termination of the war in China and India, and with the assurances of perfect amity which she continued to receive from foreign powers.

A. D. 1844.—The events of this year are so recent as to require but slight notice. The Irish state trials, resulting in the imprisonment and subsequent pardon of Daniel O'Connell and his associate traversers, are familiar to all.—The visit of the emperor of Russia to Queen Victoria, as well as her trip to France, Belgium, &c., and the return of her majesty's visit by Louis Philippe (after an absence of quarter of a century from the shores of Britain) may be chronicled as events something more than commonplace.—The birth of another prince, in August, who was christened Alfred Ernest Albert, is also of some importance.—In the same year died, in London, Sir F. Burdett, aged 72, of whom considerable mention has been made in this history.—About the same time, at Bath, died Sir R. S. Fitzgerald, vice-admiral of the red.—At Bothwell castle, Scotland, Lord Douglass, aged 71.—And in or near London, the lords Say & Seal, Grafton, Keane, &c.

A. D. 1845.—The year commenced auspiciously. The queen's opening address to the houses of parliament, declared her entire satisfaction with the aspect of affairs, both domestic and foreign. Farming interests, manufactures, and trade, were in a sound and flourishing condition; and the country at large was now reaping the wholesome fruits of a universal peace. Death, however, in the first three months of the year, cut down lords Mornington, Aston, and Wynford, the marquess of Westminster, and Rev. Sidney Smith—the last named gentleman being distinguished as one of the clearest and best of British writers, as well as a powerful yet unpretending advocate of humanity.

Edric
Edred
Adhelm
Edric
Aldred
Odo
Adela
Lionel